Northern French Tomb Monuments in a Period of Crisis, c. 1477-1589

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2014

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Despite the frequently world-class nature of French funerary monuments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a period of prolonged social, cultural and military upheaval in France, no English-speaking scholar has studied them in any depth since Anthony Blunt in the 1950s and 1970s. This neglect is partly due to the impact of the iconoclasms, mutilation and destruction of monuments during the sixteenth-century Wars of Religion and the French Revolution in the eighteenth century. In consequence, most literature has focused on a limited selection of high-status sepulchres, mainly preserved in the Louvre and Saint-Denis. Although some of the best works of their kind, these monuments are not representative of sixteenth-century French funerary sculpture as a whole, as they were placed into artificial repositories in the process of revolutionary iconoclasm and post-revolutionary nationalism. In consequence, they have been alienated from their original locations, their architectural frameworks and historical contexts, which distorts their significance and meaning. Drawing upon a much wider database of monuments assembled during an extended research trip, this thesis challenges these preconceptions, demonstrating that France's early modern sepulchral heritage is richer than previously assumed. By analysing a broader base of samples from a multitude of geographical locations against their historical circumstances and architectural settings, this thesis attempts to reconstruct some of the socio-political and religious contexts which led to noble patrons' preference of a specific mode of tomb at a certain point in time. Using a chronological approach focusing on key critical events, it promises to provide a fuller understanding of the variety of sixteenth-century tomb sculpture and its significance in French history.

Acknowledgements

As with every project of this scale, it would have been impossible to complete it without the assistance of a significant number of wonderful people. I thank my supervisor Phillip Lindley for giving me the opportunity to pursue this project and for his guidance, encouragement and inspiration throughout. I also thank my second reader David Ekserdjian and my colleagues on the project Representing Re-Formation for their support, especially Paul Bryan for lending me his 3-D camera. Next, I am grateful to the AHRC for funding my work and particularly my research in France. Further thanks go to various church wardens in France for granting me exclusive access to their monuments. Special thanks go to my friends and family, in particular to my parents for enabling me to follow my dreams and for their unceasing moral support through all these years, to Conny Bailey for lots of good advice and tea, and to Vicky Bending, Katie Logan, and Fran Hutchings, for Paris.

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Introduction

The title, 'Northern French tomb monuments in a period of crisis, c. 1477-1589', immediately calls for a series of definitions. What is 'Northern French' and what exactly constituted the 'crisis', or even 'crises'? For the purposes of this study, Northern France consists of modern France north of Poitiers and Moulins. The meaning of the term 'crisis' is more complex to establish. The Oxford English Dictionary suggests that 'crisis' means 'a decisive moment', 'a time of great danger or great difficulty' and 'the turning-point'.[2] All three definitions apply, in one way or another.

The nineteenth-century French term 'Renaissance', based upon the sixteenth-century Italian term 'rinascita', provides a useful start.[3] 'Rinascita' means rebirth (of culture, science, humanity, etc.) after the period derogatively dubbed 'the Middle Ages'. Although this terminology has been rightly contested, for instance due to the anachronistic degradation of previous phases of history as inferior, it does indicate the perception that a historical

Map 1 France in the late fifteenth century
Source: [http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/maps/15cfrance.jpg], downloaded 12 September 2013.

turning point occurred in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[4] Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Northern Europe underwent a series of socio-political and cultural transformations, which did not always go smoothly or without difficulty.[5] Key

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[2] 'Crisis', in R. E. Allen (ed.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (Oxford, 1991), p. 275.
[3] The impact of this terminology remains visible in famous scholarly works such as Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1955), and Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (London, 1965).
[4] See, for instance, Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic: Architecture and its Art in Northern Europe 1470-1540* (London, 2012), pp. 1-3, on the hybridity of the period.
[5] Perhaps one could argue that the Hundred Years' War and the period prior to 1477 were equally significant turning points in French history, but for the scope of this study I will focus on the period after 1477.

events in this period include the French annexation of parts of Valois Burgundy and the loss of its claims to the Burgundian Low Countries in the late fifteenth century; the short-lived conquests of Naples and Milan in the early sixteenth century; and the disastrous defeat of Francis I at the battle of Pavia in 1525. Other decisive events range from the disastrous harvest failures and famine in the 1520s, to the religious struggles of the Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century, and finally to the French Wars of Religion from the massacre of Vassy in 1562, which sparked over 25 years of civil war in France. As is commonly accepted by art historians, it is impossible to interpret art without the socio-political framework from which it emerged, in turn predetermining a connection between a monument's outward appearance and its socio-political context.[6] In order to understand funerary sculpture of this period of turmoil, it is necessary to examine its art in correlation with the historical events which surrounded it.

Let us briefly examine the subject nature of this study, funerary monuments, and the availability of the source material. Perhaps French tomb sculpture is an unusual choice, and it is of paramount importance to discuss the function of sepulchral monuments and their suitability as an object of study before attempting at interpretations. In the late medieval and early modern world, noble sepulchres fulfilled a series of spiritual and secular functions of a religious, political and cultural nature. From a religious perspective, tombs visually and symbolically represented the transition from this world to the next.[7] They were designed to encourage the observer to pray for the soul of the deceased represented before him and thus to facilitate the latter's passage through purgatory. In return for his pious deed, the observer would be given credit when his own time came at the Day of Judgement. Hence sepulchres crucially served a memorial and spiritual function, but they equally served as a mirror to advocate correct conduct.[8] Recently, however, it has been increasingly acknowledged that artefacts could serve strategic and political functions as well.[9] In order to ease, and to represent, the

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[6] See, for instance, Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (London, 1993), pp. 23- 81. Lena Liepe, 'On the epistemology of images', in Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (eds.), *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 415-430.

[7] Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge en France* (Paris, 1925), p. 406.

[8] Nigel Saul, *English church monuments in the Middle Ages: history and representation* (Oxford, 2009), p. 334.

[9] On general political meaningfulness of art, see David E. W. Fenner, *Art in context: understanding aesthetic values* (Athens, 2008), pp. 245-246; and Semjon Aron Dreiling, 'Herzvereinung von König und Konnetabel: Das *monument du coeur* des Anne de Montmorency in der Pariser Cölestinerkirche als monumentaler Loyalitätsbeweis', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft,* 36 (2009), pp. 145-183, for the heart monument of Francis I's male courtier Anne de Montmorency.

deceased patron's successful entry into heaven, tombs needed to create a secular as well as a spiritual legacy of the dead to represent them in a positive fashion before God and Man. In doing so, it was common practice to exaggerate the patron's worldly achievements. Often erected within significant convents, such as the Célestins or the Cordeliers in Paris, or in close proximity to their patron's main castles and parish churches built specifically to house their tombs, monuments also fulfilled public functions. Situated prominently within sacred space, the sanctity of the environment and, associated with it, the notion of credibility of the messages conveyed on the tombs offer insight into the expressions of noble spiritual and secular identities. The study of funerary sculpture as artefacts emerging from the constraints of this turbulent time thus also promises to mirror, and to elucidate, the impact of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century times of crisis on the nobility.

　　Despite these potential historical uses, many aspects of sixteenth-century French tomb sculpture, and a huge selection of non-royal monuments in particular, remain understudied until today. In part, this negligence is due to the myth that very few sepulchres have survived the mutilations and destructions of the Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century, the French Revolution in the eighteenth century, the World Wars and various conflicts in between.[10] Admittedly, the extent of the damage to sixteenth-century tomb sculpture has been considerable compared to the multitude of sepulchres depicted in eighteenth-century sources, most notably in the drawings by Roger de Gaignières (1642-1715).[11] As a result, very few specimens remain intact or in their original locations. The most significant of the remaining monuments are thus generally assumed to lie in the two well-known repositories of Paris, that is to say, in the Musée du Louvre and the royal basilica of Saint Denis.[12] In consequence, most scholarship predominantly focuses on these few tombs, leaving many, lesser known monuments understudied. Before seeking a fuller interpretation to the relative neglect of French noble and lesser noble tomb sculpture, however, it is necessary to gain an overview over the existing literature, and to assess its strengths and its weaknesses.

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[10] Kurt Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild: figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (New York, 1976), p. 6. Mâle, *Moyen Âge*, pp. 392-396.

[11] Jean Adhémar, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières. Dessins d'archéologie du XVIIe siècle', *Gazette des beaux-arts,* 88 (1976), pp. 3-128 [unless indicated otherwise, 'Gaignières' hereafter specifically refers to the 1976 volume].

[12] Most prominently discussed in the literature are the tomb of Francis II of Brittany and Marguerite de Foix in Nantes; the sepulchre of the children of Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany in Tours; Raoul de Lannoy and his wife at Folleville; Louis de Brezé and the Cardinals of Amboise in Rouen; and the three tombs of Philibert of Savoy, Margaret of Austria and Margaret of Bourbon at Brou.

Literature overview

From its creation, tomb sculpture has always served a political purpose beside its commemorative and pious functions. Scholarly interest emerged in the seventeenth century, yet it was not devoid of contemporary political concerns until the twentieth century.[13] From the late Middle Ages, heralds used the armorial bearings portrayed on tombs to control and legitimise the land claims of their masters.[14] Initially intended to be a combined tomb for herself and Edward III, Philippa of Hainault's tomb showed her family connections to enhance her husband's claims to the French throne.[15] With similar goals in mind, Philip the Good (1396-1467), duke of Burgundy, restored the damaged tombs of his ancestors, the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant, in 1435 in order to emphasise his own illustrious lineage.[16]

At times, however, the display of family connections on tombs could prove decisive evidence in potentially lethal discord, as in the execution of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517-1547). Surrey was arrested for the alleged improper use of the arms of England. In a portrait of himself, he had displayed his own arms with those of England in the first quarter rather than the second, interpreted as a claim to the throne.[17] To the ageing King Henry VIII (1509-1547) who feared for the safety of his young heir Edward upon his own death, the powerful Howards in general and the charismatic earl of Surrey in particular seemed to pose a very real threat indeed. An inquiry despatched to Thetford Priory in Norfolk, then the mausoleum of the Howard family and their predecessors the Mowbray dukes of Norfolk, was under orders to establish whether any of the tombs employed the royal arms in a treasonous manner. Although the evidence was more than scarce, Surrey was executed in what historians now consider a show trial, whilst his father Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, merely survived

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[13] Phillip Lindley, *Tomb destruction and scholarship: medieval monuments in early modern England* (Donington, 2007), pp. 5-6, 90, 96-104, as John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* in 1631 referenced and critiqued continental studies.

[14] Saul, *Church Monuments*, p. 2.

[15] However, Edward decided against her request and chose to be buried independent of his wife. Veronica Sekules, 'Dynasty and patrimony in the self-construction of an English queen: Philippa of Hainault and her images', in John Mitchell (ed.), *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale: Proceedings of the 1996 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 2000), pp. 157-174.

[16] Ann McGee Morganstern, *Gothic tombs of kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (Pennsylvania, 2000), p. 34.

[17] Peter R. Moore, 'The heraldic charge against the earl of Surrey, 1546-1547', *The English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), p. 560.

execution by a strike of fortune, outliving the king by several hours.[18] In all three cases tombs were employed as a source of legitimising claims and accusations, suggesting that in contemporary understanding they were designed as a historical record which could be cited in politics as necessary.

Actual scholarly interest, however, began with Bernard Abbé de Montfaucon (1655-1741). A devoted historian and antiquarian, this Benedictine monk spent his lifetime collecting antique artefacts in order to draw conclusions about the past and people's ways of life. The most important work for the study of medieval tomb sculpture is *Les monumens de la monarchie françoise* (1729-33), a compilation of plates and their historical contexts in five volumes.[19] From the first kings of France through to the reigns of Charles VIII to Francis I, it ends prematurely well before Montfaucon's own lifetime, the final volume but exploring the reigns of Henri II to Henri IV.[20] The work was never completed due to contemporary lack of interest in the French monarchy as opposed to more popular classical antiquity.[21] Although it does not exclusively deal with tomb sculpture, covering costume, portraits of dukes and kings, battles, tournaments and various other scenes of noble life, there are some valuable depictions of tombs. Unfortunately, they often fail to show the monument as a whole, instead focusing on the effigies only, such as in the case of Louis de la Trémoîlle and his wife Gabrielle de Bourbon.[22] Nevertheless, as one of the earliest collections of funerary monuments, Montfaucon's work has formed the basis or inspiration of many other studies.[23] For instance, art historians have since roughly followed Montfaucon's chronological divisions, beginning the study of Renaissance art with the reign of Charles VIII, the classical period under Francis I and its decline under Henri II to Henri IV.

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[18] Ibid., p. 581.

[19] There is an English translation in two volumes available published not long after the original but more easily accessible than the work in the original language: Bernard de Montfaucon, *A collection of regal and ecclesiastical antiquities of France, in upwards of three hundred large folio copper plates. ... representing ... the kings, queens, ... First collected and publish'd in France, by that very learned antiquary Bernard de Montfaucon, and now printed with an historical explanation of the several plates in English. In two volumes. ...* (London, 1750). It lists translations of the comments on the plates, before printing the plates themselves at the end of the volumes.

[20] To avoid confusion with the English kings of the same name, I use the French spelling Henri for the French monarchs.

[21] Francis Haskell, *History and its images: art and interpretation of the past* (Yale, 1993), p. 133.

[22] Montfaucon, *Regal antiquities*, II, plate 236.

[23] Haskell, *History*, p. 133.

One of the painters working with Montfaucon later superseded his fame. The collections of drawings by Roger de Gaignières (1642-1715) are now considered among the most important and influential works for the study of French tomb sculpture.[24] Although there was a certain element of true scholarly interest in his studies, as a royal equerry, Gaignières also had close connections with court culture and the nobility.[25] Towards the close of the reign of Louis XIV, the king himself requested to be sent the collection of approximately 3,000 drawings of tomb sculptures of medieval and early modern France to raise his spirits. An impressive collection of 14 volumes, the drawings range from monumental brasses to tomb slabs to freestones dedicated to royalty, nobility and clergy. Despite their political connections, these drawings helped spark off Europe-wide interest in funerary monuments as a new scholarly topic.[26] Although a significant number of drawings were either (temporarily) lost or stolen in the late eighteenth century, the drawings provide an invaluable supplement to the sepulchres destroyed or missing during the French Revolution, such as the tomb of Charles VIII.[27] While there are some problems with the use of the Gaignières drawings, for instance his tendency to alter the position of the effigy, as a supplement to tombs now destroyed, they are invaluable.[28]

After the Revolution, interest in the reconstruction of the royal tombs at Saint-Denis raised wider interest in funerary sculpture.[29] Best-known today for his plays and novellas, writer Prosper Mérimée also had an active interest in contemporary cultural affairs. A member of the committee tasked with the recovery of the Gaignières drawings and in his official position as 'inspecteur-générale des monumens historiques', he undertook a series of travels for the ministry of the interior to explore

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[24] For thumbnail prints of the original drawings, see Jean Adhémar, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières. Dessins d'archéologie du XVIIe siècle', *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 84 (1974), pp. 5-192; 88 (1976), pp. 3-128; and 90 (1977), pp. 3-76. See also Michel Hennin, *Les monuments de l'histoire de France: catalogue des productions de la sculpture, de la peinture et de la gravure relatives à l'histoire de la France et des Français,* I (Paris, 1856), pp. 269-282.

[25] Haskell, *History*, p. 133.

[26] For a similar situation of scholarship evolving after large-scale mutilation and destruction of English tombs, see Lindley, *Tomb destruction*, especially pp. 74-79, 237-242.

[27] Many were rediscovered in the nineteenth century. See Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'The Oxford Collection of the Drawings of Roger de Gaignières and the Royal Tombs of Saint-Denis', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 78 (1988), pp. 1-74.

[28] Haskell, *History*, p. 134.

[29] For Alexandre Lenoir's efforts to create the *Musée des monuments français*, see Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: art, politics and the origins of the modern museum in eighteenth-century Paris* (London, 1999), pp. 155-197.

the state of the republic's monumental treasures.[30] He summed up his experiences in four volumes: *Notes d'un voyage dans le midi de France* (Paris, 1835), *Notes d'un voyage dans l'ouest de la France* (Paris, 1836), *Notes d'un voyage dans l'Auvergne* (Paris, 1838), and *Notes d'un voyage dans la Corse* (Paris, 1840). Mérimée meticulously covered a large quantity of regional curiosities from castles to churches and monuments, supplying historical overviews and remarking on the architectural styles of secular and spiritual buildings. Funerary monuments received somewhat less attention in terms of styles and possible date ranges, although he still listed changes and mutilations.[31] While his selection of tombs is often highly subjective, for instance favouring the tomb of Guillaume du Bellay in Le Mans over the sepulchre of Charles IV of Anjou in the same location, Mérimée's comments have often sparked localised interest in previously neglected monuments, most notably the tomb of Bishop Thomas James in Dol-de-Bretagne.[32] Written in almost 'tourist guide' fashion with dating only accurate in terms of centuries, his books nevertheless provide one of the earliest accounts of funerary sculpture surviving the Revolution in France.[33]

In addition to the national imperative behind the official governmental reports on the state of the nation's monuments, attempts to recover the Gaignières drawings also produced the first scholarly works on the subject. Like Mérimée a member of the committee bestowed with the installation of the royal tombs at Saint-Denis, Michel Hennin published his catalogue of French monuments in connection with the attempted recovery of the drawings between 1856 and 1863.[34] Léon Palustre published the next notable work *La renaissance en France* between 1879 and 1885.[35] His books followed a similar pattern to Mérimée's official reports. Choosing a geographical approach, the first of his collection of three volumes covered the north of France, followed by the Île-de-France, Normandy and Brittany. Unlike Mérimée's reports, Palustre's volumes benefit from the technological advances enabling him to accompany his observations with photographic plates and pictures of the artefacts in question. Although he

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[30] Prosper Mérimée, *Notes d'un voyage dans l'ouest de la France* (Paris, 1836), pp. 436-438. His results for the west of France were devastating. He stated that almost all monuments were in desperate need of repair if they were to remain witnesses to the nation's past.

[31] Ibid., p. 44.

[32] Ibid., pp. 120-121.

[33] Ibid., p. 85.

[34] Michel Hennin, *Les monuments de l'histoire de France: catalogue des productions de la sculpture, de la peinture et de la gravure relatives à l'histoire de la France et des Français*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1856-1863). Brown, 'Oxford collection', pp. 37, 61.

[35] Léon Palustre, *La renaissance en France,* I (Paris, 1879); II (Paris, 1881); and III (Paris, 1885).

sometimes covers some monuments in very good detail and mentions a selection of the lesser known ones in passing, his analysis for instance of Renée d'Orléans-Longueville, but of many others also, is sadly superficial.

Despite its short-lived popularity in the nineteenth century, French tomb sculpture has always been a neglected field within twentieth-century art history.[36] Similarly, there are very few books dealing with Northern European sculpture as opposed to Renaissance art in general and none exist on French Renaissance tomb sculpture in particular. A small selection of works on medieval tomb sculpture also deal with a small quantity of Renaissance funerary monuments. One notable, yet early exception is Paul Vitry's *Michel Colombe et la sculpture française de son temps*.[37] It focuses primarily on the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries. Based upon an impressive range of available monuments this work arguably provides the fullest coverage of early French Renaissance sculpture.

His methodology and scope of analysis are still unmatched today. Instead of focusing almost exclusively on the Italian influence as later scholars have tended to do, Vitry also examined the Flemish impact on late Gothic and its continuation in French sculpture of the time. Thus he began his analysis with the Flemish sculptures prevalent in fifteenth-century France. He suggested that the Flemish influence survived and counterbalanced the Italian influx for a considerable amount of time. Thus for him the famous school of the Loire was not a point of departure, but an arrival, signifying an art-historical achievement with a history of its own right.

A further methodological innovation was his shift away from the schools-based approach to the sculptor as a recognisable individual.[38] Instead of focusing on the workshops of Tours or the Loire area in chronological and geographical isolation as was the common approach for late medieval sculpture, he was the first to place the regional output of sculpture and the work of Michel Colombe into the wider national context. Thus his analysis of Michel Colombe's work not only included biographical notes on the sculptor, but he also pointed out that political, geographical and economic

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[36] Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago, 2005)*,* p. 16, on the lack of articles on the French Renaissance in the *Art Bulletin* compared to the abundance of articles on the Italian Renaissance.

[37] Paul Vitry, *Michel Colombe et la sculpture française de son temps* (Paris, 1901)*.*

[38] For an introduction to Vasari's methodology, see Eric Fernie, *Art history and its methods: a critical anthology* (London, 1995), pp. 22-42.

circumstances had an impact on the region's art.[39] Vitry's work serves as a reminder that art does not exist in a geographical and socio-historical vacuum, but emerges equally as the product and commentator of its time.[40]

Émile Mâle's study *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen age en France* is another classic and as is the case with most benchmark studies, his work has caused a considerable amount of controversy.[41] Pointing towards the similarities between the canopied tombs of Louis XII, Francis I and Henri II, Mâle was the first to suggest that sculptors engaged in an artistic dialogue with each other, often copying each other's ideas during the creation process.[42] Unlike his predecessors who primarily analysed schools of art or costume, Mâle attempted to place art into the wider cultural and religious context with the goal of understanding the moral life of the time. For him, funerary sculpture served as an ideal medium in the portrayal and practical application of contemporary perceptions of death, culminating in the emergence of *transi* tombs as part of the late medieval preoccupation with death as a subject. He further suggested that late medieval tombs increasingly tended to depict the deceased in the form of a corpse or in combination of representations *au vif* and *de la mort* for the same reason.

Whilst the motifs of classical antiquity were of some importance to Mâle, his main interest lay with the emergence, continuation, and impact of Christian motifs in medieval art. For him, there were two purposes to art: historical art dealt with the passion of Christ and the Virgin Mary; didactic art was meant to educate the viewer in the Christian faith. Mâle's greatest strength, the incorporation of the Christian motifs and his explanation of a general wave of sentimentality introduced by the late medieval mystery plays, is, unfortunately, also his greatest weakness.[43] In particular his emphasis on the impact of the Reformation in bringing about the downturn of Christian art in sixteenth-century France has often been criticised in terms of the increasing realism of Renaissance art and the impact of classical antiquity.[44] Despite his disproportionate emphasis on religious factors, Mâle's socio-cultural approach was ground-breaking at the time.

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[39] Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. xii-xiii.
[40] Ibid., p. xii.
[41] Mâle, *Moyen Âge*. For criticism, see Morganstern, *Kinship tombs*, p. 7; and Bauch, *Grabbild*, p. 229.
[42] Ibid., p. 436.
[43] Ibid., pp. 66-67, 85.
[44] Ibid., pp. 481-483.

Focusing on similarities between funerary art and architecture, Pierre du Colombier opposed Vitry's respect for the Flemish works of art.[45] Colombier argued that the imported Italian styles were vastly superior to Flemish traditions. He claimed that Renaissance art in France was characteristically imported from Italy as a superior replacement of the native style.[46] He divided the onset of Renaissance art into three phases connecting sculpture with parallel developments in architecture: the importation of craftsmen from Naples under Charles VIII, followed by Francis I's building endeavours and subsequent import of Italian architects. The final phase was the heyday of Italian Renaissance culture in France between 1541 and 1562, followed by its untimely decline due to the disruption of the Wars of Religion. He did not think much of the early Italian masters whom he claimed lacked the authority to bring their styles into France, particularly the brothers Juste whom he termed 'médiocres' at best.[47] For Colombier, the master sculptors under Francis I and Henri II were the epitome of French Renaissance art, most notably Jean Goujon, and a little less prominent, Germain Pilon, who had travelled and trained in Italy themselves prior to their careers in France.[48]

The contention that the significance of the French Renaissance was primarily its Italian connection was soon challenged again on a number of levels. Otto Benesch countered Colombier's view that French Renaissance art relied solely on Italian imports.[49] A student of Max Dvořák who characteristically insisted that his students have a thorough grounding in classical humanist education rather than specialising in art history, Benesch deserves credit for shifting from a purely national or schools-based approach to attempting to incorporate wider socio-political and cultural interpretations into his art historical analysis.[50] He perceived a change from the 'serenity of spirit' of the court of Francis I to a 'serious, contemplative and mournful mood' of the Wars of Religion and the counter-Reformation.[51] Instead of a continuation of the motif of the revival of antiquity popular in the 1530s and 1540s, he perceived a return to Gothic

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[45] Pierre Du Colombier, *L'Art Renaissance en France: Architecture, Sculpture, Peinture, Arts Graphiques, Art Appliquées* (Paris, 1945).
[46] Ibid., p. 8.
[47] Ibid., p. 56.
[48] Ibid., pp. 9, 67.
[49] Otto Benesch, *The art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe: its relation to the contemporary spiritual and intellectual movements* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).
[50] Ibid., p. vii.
[51] Ibid., p. 138.

traditions in the second half of the century as the vanity of earthly life once again gained in importance at the onset of the disruptive Wars of Religion.[52]

Following a chronological approach based upon parallel developments in architecture, Anthony Blunt's work is the most notable among English scholars of French tomb sculpture.[53] He divided the long sixteenth century into the beginning of the Italianisation of art with Charles VIII's military expeditions in 1494 until the imprisonment of Francis I after the battle of Pavia in 1525, followed by a transition period between 1525 and 1540. The phase between 1540 and 1565 he named the classical period and the height of French Renaissance art before it disintegrated during the Wars of Religion. For the first phase, he argued that sculpture still had a strong Gothic influx with the emergence of Italian elements. The major innovation was the replacement of *pleurants* with apostles, as on the tombs of the dukes of Orléans, and the emergence of kneeling as opposed to recumbent effigies.[54] For the middle years, he perceived this period as a time of political instability and increasing centralisation of the state reflected in the shift of architectural endeavours from the Loire valley to Paris. In sculpture, he noticed an increase in highly skilled Italian sculptors' appearance at the royal court, such as Giovanni Battista Rosso and Francesco Primaticcio. The so-called classical period was for Blunt the culmination of French Renaissance culture now separate from its Italian forbears. Whilst Italian masters such as Primaticcio or Benvenuto Cellini were still influential, French sculptors such as Jean Goujon emerged no less prominently at court. Finally, the onset of the religious wars commenced the decline of the Renaissance style. As a sign of this shift, Gothic elements increasingly found their way back into sculpture. Instead of relishing the beauty of antiquity, the second half of the sixteenth century increasingly incorporated depictions of violence into its works of art and literature.[55]

By contrasting historical developments and innovations in art, Blunt attempted to integrate historical into art historical analysis. Neither his attempt to link the onset of Renaissance art with the military expeditions into Italy under Charles VIII and Louis XII nor the idea that the Wars of Religion brought about the decline of Renaissance art in France was innovative. His analysis of the transitional and classical periods was more

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[52] Ibid., pp. 128, 135, 138.

[53] Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700* (London, 1953). He revised his work in the 1970s.

[54] Ibid., p. 14.

[55] Ibid., p. 90.

progressive. Although he failed to analyse it explicitly, he may have detected a possible correlation between the political instability following Francis' capture in 1525 and the subsequent focus on self-fashioning via artistic means after his release.[56] However, the majority of his historical analysis remains limited to brief overviews at the beginning of his chapters rather than being seamlessly woven into his work. Instead of integrating his art historical finds into the wider spectrum of historical context, his emphasis on court culture and high status architecture has led to a distortion of art historical analysis towards viewing Renaissance splendour in isolation from historical depictions of the century as a whole. Due to his dwelling on architectural developments as opposed to full scale historical analysis, his helpful distinctions of art corresponding to historical phases are not as successful as they could have been.

The 1960s witnessed in increased interest in scholarly works on the French Renaissance and tomb monuments. In 1960, Ralph Giesey published his benchmark study on royal funerary ceremonies in France.[57] Focusing on the significance and meaning of French royal ceremony through the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, Giesey successfully allowed for an appreciation of the independent tradition and symbolism of French funerary practices.

Although following the same scholarly tradition as Benesch, few other art historical works have received more attention than Erwin Panofsky's classic study on funerary monuments.[58] Panofsky is well-known for his innovative analysis of the double-decker tomb, consisting of the effigy represented as alive in stately regalia or armour, the representation *au vif*, and the representation *de la mort*, as a corpse or in some cases as a skeleton. Unlike others before him who perceived the *transi* tombs as gruesome, he interpreted the double-decker as a deliberate contrast of representations of the live patron and his depiction as a decaying corpse. He argued that the living effigy represented the immortal soul and the deceased's social dignity, thus indicating his worldly and spiritual achievements.[59] The decaying body served as a vivid reminder of the inevitability of death and the associated need to preserve one's immortal soul. Its macabre depiction was therefore intended to rouse the onlooker's pity and to incite him

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[56] Ibid., pp. 25, 34.

[57] Ralph E. Giesey, *The royal funeral ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960).

[58] Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb sculpture: its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Britain* (London, 1964). Albert William Levi, 'Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte: The lesson of Panofsky', *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 20 (1986), pp. 79-83.

[59] Panofsky, *Tomb*, pp. 64-65.

to prayer, ensuring that the deceased's soul was not forgotten and purgatory shortened by repeated prayers in his name.[60] Panofsky thus perceived tomb sculpture and above all double-deckers as part of the medieval doctrine of purgatory in which the living prayed for the dead to shorten their agony as they suffered for their sins before entering heaven.

Often characterised as the last true humanist, Panofsky too argued for a holistic approach to Renaissance art.[61] He distinguished between five major innovations in Renaissance funerary sculpture: the revival of classical symbolism, including the use of magical and mystical creatures of antiquity, such as centaurs, sirens and griffins, for instance on the tomb of Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany's deceased children; the re-introduction of biographical elements, such as the tomb of Louis XII showing the king's march across the Alps in a semi-triumphal fashion; the use of the virtues, mostly Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice; the 'activation' of the effigy, meaning the change of the effigy from a recumbent position to kneeling positions in the first half of the century and later to depictions propped up on the side; and finally, the use of the personified liberal arts instead of mourners.[62]

Few works on tomb sculpture have been as influential as Panofsky's, not least since no other conclusive study has since been produced on the subject covering such wide chronological range and geographical scale. If anything, it suffers from this bold approach encompassing four millennia which prevents in-depth analysis of individual tombs. Whilst his stylistic analysis alone is widely respected, Panofsky's legacy is undoubtedly the impact of more holistic approaches and wide-scale cultural interpretations on the study of funerary monuments in the last fifty years.

In many ways, the 1970s with its socio-cultural focus also sparked interest in the study of death and commemoration. In 1973, Kathleen Cohen published her study on *transi* tombs in late medieval and Renaissance Europe.[63] She argued that there were three main functions for *transi*s in this period: the traditional interpretation of *memento mori* contrasting mortal worldly and eternal heavenly life, an expression of mortal apprehension about death and humbleness in the hope for resurrection, and, associated

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[60] Ibid., p. 60.

[61] Jan Białostocki, 'Erwin Panofsky: Thinker, Historian, Human Being', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 4 (1970), p. 87.

[62] Panofsky, *Tomb,* pp. 74-80.

[63] Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a death symbol: the transi tomb in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1973).

with it, an expression of the hope for salvation.[64] Sadly limited to this one aspect of funerary sculpture, her chapter on French *transi* tombs is particularly useful, as it also covers some monuments frequently neglected.[65]

Although not strictly focusing on funerary monuments or even sculpture as such, Philippe Ariès' famous and hugely influential study of death in the Western world must be mentioned as a benchmark study on the social aspects of the study of death.[66] Expanding his study to all aspects of society, he institutionalised death as a scholarly subject.

On the topic of Western European tomb sculpture, Kurt Bauch's study of late medieval sepulchres follows in Mâle's and Panofsky's footsteps.[67] He too argued for a wider regional study than focusing on fixed modern boundaries in order to gain an overview of possible interpretations. He rightly pointed out that in many cases, tomb sculpture can only be interpreted in the light of social, political, confessional and biographical circumstances, making them suited to the study in specialised monographs.[68] Although his work is highly preoccupied with theoretical considerations whether tomb sculpture as such qualified as a likeness, a true depiction of the individual mortal, or as a stylised immortal depiction, similarly to Panofsky his main interest is in the essence of the medieval human.

Bauch began his analysis with the early brass tomb slabs of the eleventh century German territories, followed by an overview of early French and English material through to High Gothic. He argued that tombs were used in a political fashion as early as that of Dagobert I from the seventh century, stating that this tomb portrayed his personality as political and vice-versa, as well as pointing out the genealogical portrayal of history on his tomb.[69] The most important part of his work however is his analysis of *transi* tombs. He argued that from the fourteenth century, death no longer provided the transition to the glory of everlasting life, but instead signified the loss of worldly life.[70] Death became final, as the depictions of toads, worms and snakes feeding on the decaying corpses of representations *au mort* suggest. For Bauch, this shift emerged due to the onset of different approaches to death and mourning among the aristocracy and

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[64] Ibid., pp. 48, 100-119, 181-182.

[65] Ibid., pp. 133-182.

[66] Philippe Ariès, *Western attitudes toward death: from the Middle Ages to the present* (London, 1974).

[67] Bauch, *Grabbild.*

[68] Ibid., p. 6.

[69] Ibid., pp. 73, 244-245.

[70] Ibid., p. 262.

the rising bourgeoisie.[71] In contrast to the more innovative bourgeoisie, Bauch argued that the aristocracy was remarkably resistant to the adoption of the new style.[72] Thus the striking Flemish tombs of Mary of Burgundy, Margaret of Austria and her husband Philibert of Savoy were constructed in flamboyant high Gothic rather than in the Italian style. This shift away from sublime depictions and stylised effigies characteristic of the centralised monarchy of France and ducal power required more individual depictions to accommodate bourgeois values.[73]

In more recent years, Paul Binski's work on the study of medieval death deserves mentioning.[74] Focusing on the Christian theological and ideological implications of death and the afterlife, he suggested that the concepts of commemoration and intercession for the dead, both saintly and mortal, were central to Western European funerary practices. His chapter on the social and commemorative functions of tombs is particularly useful. He argued that sepulchres could serve as objects of identity, but also as sites of ritual to continue the perpetual memory of the deceased.[75] Although perhaps exaggerated in scale, his concept of a 'highly-developed guilt culture' may explain the duality between self-denigration and the need for intercessors on the one hand; and the display of worldly pomp on the other.[76]

Arguing for the 'Frenchness' of the Renaissance in France, Henri Zerner followed a similar approach to Blunt.[77] Focusing on the different genres of Renaissance art, his interest was mainly based around the royal court of Francis I and Henri II. He suggested that there was a specifically French version of Renaissance art, not just the copying or importation of Italian styles, although the French court seemed highly preoccupied with Italy for most of the period. For him, the 1540s to 1560s brought about the onset of French classicism, that is turning towards and imitating classical antiquity, which was well-suited to the requirements of the royal court with its focus on the increasing centralisation of the state.[78] Thus the style of Fontainebleau was for Zerner the epitome of French Renaissance art and its increasing emphasis on national

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., p. 279.
[73] Ibid., pp. 262, 279-280.
[74] Paul Binski, *Medieval death: ritual and representation* (London, 1996).
[75] Ibid., pp. 70-123.
[76] Ibid., p. 131.
[77] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*. The French version was published in 1996.
[78] Ibid., pp. 6, 8.

pride.[79] Nevertheless, he further suggested that the emergence of a specifically national type of art was not limited to France, but part of a wider Northern European phenomenon via the continuation of Gothic rather than consisting of a full-scale replacement with Italian elements.

However, Zerner did not think much of tomb sculpture which he claimed suffered from 'tedious uniformity'.[80] In consequence, he too focused on the well-known sepulchres of the royal family and some striking works of art, such as the tomb of Louis XII which he perceived as the beginning of new styles in funerary sculpture. Stating that Louis's tomb predominantly paid tribute to Francis' predecessor whilst simultaneously legitimising the king's own reign, Zerner unfortunately did not expand his otherwise highly useful analysis to a wider selection of monuments.[81]

Providing an alternative approach to the emphasis on artistic schools or the royal court, Anne McGee Morganstern has attempted to incorporate dynastic considerations into the spiritual or stylistic focus in the literature on tomb sculpture.[82] She distinguished between kinship tombs, meaning tombs with armorial bearings or representations of relatives as mourners, and ceremonial tombs. Instead of focusing on modern geographical boundaries, she examined a wide range of monuments throughout Northern Europe in order to trace the chronological and geographical spread of stylistic developments. She found that family tombs became fashionable in Champagne and Brabant in the thirteenth century before they spread to Burgundy in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and from there to England. She explained that Flemish kinship tombs were highly politicised with a strong individual human element.[83] Although she attempts to explain the complexities of medieval history with kinship tombs alone in her conclusion, she nevertheless deserves credit for using tombs as a source for creating historical genealogies and exploring dynastic considerations against the background of medieval liturgy, a topic previously unexplored in such depth.

One of the most recent works seeking to incorporate new methodologies is Nigel Saul's benchmark study on *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*.[84] Although mainly focusing on English material, his study provides a range of useful and

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[79] Zorach, *Blood,* p. 14, expanded on this argument, suggesting that the motifs of fruitfulness and abundance were an element of royal propaganda.

[80] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 372.

[81] Ibid., p. 374.

[82] Morganstern, *Kinship tombs*.

[83] Ibid., p. 63.

[84] Saul, *Church Monuments*.

innovative methodologies for the study of tomb sculpture in general. Instead of limiting monuments to works of art, he used tombs as case studies for social, political and religious change, arguing for the use of tomb sculpture as an additional historical source.[85] He has pointed out that tombs are equally constitutive of, and reflections of, contemporary issues.[86] Instead of limiting his focus to stylistic considerations, Saul explored the human considerations behind the patronage of certain sculptors and the choice of specific elements on the tomb chest, incorporating the human element behind the production process into the interpretation of funerary sculpture. Exploring the meaning behind the construction of monuments, Saul has helped to develop a more complete picture of tomb sculpture as a medium and witness to its time period. This new angle in interpretation has emerged from a shifting theoretical framework and rising interest in tomb sculpture within other disciplines, providing a more varied picture of the capabilities the study of tomb sculpture may offer.[87]

This new approach to tomb sculpture also influenced Julian Blunk. His study *Das Taktieren mit den Toten: die französischen Königsgrabmäler in der frühen Neuzeit* offers a varied and insightful study of French royal tombs in the early modern period.[88] For Blunk, the key to the proliferation of the Renaissance in France and the allegedly incomplete understanding of the Italian models during the early period should be solely attributed to the political and genealogical usefulness of the individual sepulchres, rather than to more aesthetic considerations.[89] While his socio-political approach fruitfully explores the symbolic and propagandist functions of tomb monuments during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in particular under Louis XII, it sadly once again focuses exclusively on the sepulchres at Saint-Denis.

In contrast, Ethan Matt Kavaler does not as such focus on the political or spiritual usage of tombs specifically, but on form and content in church architecture.[90] Kavaler effectively argues against the strict division into Gothic versus Italianate styles

[85] Ibid., p. vii.
[86] Ibid., p. 10.
[87] Ibid., pp. 8-9. For examples of these new approaches, see Jean Guillaume, 'Les tombes des Gouffier: deuil familial et piété personele au milieu du XVIe siècle', in Jean Balsamo (ed.), *Les funérailles à la Renaissance* (Geneva, 2002), pp. 131-139; Sekules, 'Philippa', pp. 157-174. For an introduction to new methods in art history, see Fernie, *Art*.
[88] Julian Blunk, *Das Taktieren mit den Toten: die französischen Königsgrabmäler in der frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2011).
[89] Ibid., pp. 183-184.
[90] Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic: Architecture and the Arts in Northern Europe 1470-1540* (London, 2012), p. 6.

in art and architecture. Instead he advocates a concept of hybridity and, to a certain extent, also of international exchange, suggesting that the designs and forms of sculpture were much more the result of the patron's individual choice rather than based upon the artist's artistic and cultural heritage.[91] Instead of assuming that early Renaissance artists and architects only had an incomplete or 'superficial' understanding of Italian Renaissance art, he argued for the coexistence and often deliberate combination of the conflicting stylistic concepts of Gothic and Renaissance.[92]

Analysis

There is a series of problems with the literature to date. Undoubtedly, French tomb sculpture is a neglected subject even in the history of art. French Renaissance tomb sculpture is even less well explored than medieval funerary sculpture. Whilst some innovative work on French Renaissance art and architecture has been published recently, hardly any English-speaking scholars since Blunt have dealt with the French material.

The assumption that the Wars of Religion and the French Revolution caused irreparable damage to the majority of monuments is one decisive factor for the lack of scholarly interest. Inferring that only a narrow base of evidence was available, this has led to a disproportionate focus on a few select monuments only: predominantly the tombs at Saint-Denis and the Louvre, and a handful of monuments scattered throughout the country.[93] The emphasis on the two modern repositories with its artificial selection of specimens has led to the isolation and insulation of funerary monuments from their original locations. In consequence, most French tombs today can only be studied in an artificial environment devoid of their original architectural settings.[94] This at best distorts their significance and meaning in communal as well as in hierarchical contexts;

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[91] Ibid., pp. 2-3, 17-18.

[92] Ibid., pp. 244-246, 259, 264. See also Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 2.

[93] See above. However, the 'narrow base' in French tomb sculpture is only narrow if one focuses on intact, elite or fully restored monuments. On my research trip to France in 2011, I found more than one hundred monuments in the northern half of France alone. See the list in Appendix A.

[94] See Donald Preziosi, *Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science* (Yale, 1989), pp. 122-124, 165-166, for the problem of conveying relationships and meaning in the presentation of art, which must depend on the selector's interpretation of artwork.

at worst it alienates the monuments from their original purposes, preventing accurate analyses.[95]

Frequently the works of famous sculptors, it is doubtful as to how representative the extremely high status works of art preserved at Saint-Denis or the Louvre were of sixteenth-century French funerary sculpture as a whole. Perhaps the vast numbers of unattributed tombs outside of Paris, where usually less is known about the sculptor than the patron, are also a key factor in the lack of scholarly interest in other monuments. More than half of the sepulchres outside of Paris cannot be attributed to a specific artist, let alone his origin.[96] With so many tombs unattributed to any sculptor, it would be unwise to dwell on the sculptor overly much. Instead, it is more conclusive to focus on the patron when attempting to expand the data.

Rather than focusing exclusively on the most famous monuments, this thesis incorporates a variety of practically unexplored material from copious, often original geographical locations to supplement the existing royalty-focused literature and to gain a fuller understanding of the purposes of sixteenth-century tomb sculpture. This approach at times means choosing between an artistically significant royal tomb and a lesser known, yet from a perspective of artistic patronage equally significant monument. In this case, with the aim of expanding the existing taxonomy, the preference must be for new, artistically significant material over better explored tombs, thus promising to highlight wider trends in early modern funerary sculpture.

Finally, the absence of new studies on French tomb sculpture bridging the mid-twentieth-century outdated divergence between art historical and historical methodologies has led to a regrettable absence of more integrative analyses of tomb sculpture.[97] The nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries focus on contemporary dress and mid-twentieth century stylistic considerations increasingly shifted the emphasis from biographical to purely stylistic analyses of tombs.[98] For much of the twentieth century, scholarship on tombs hence continued to focus on the concept of rivalling 'styles', in particular (Burgundian) Gothic being replaced by (Italian) Renaissance style. Although this terminology was, perhaps, somewhat useful in assisting with the

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[95] See Jae Emerling, *Theory for Art History* (London, 2005), pp. 19-23; Anne d'Alleva, *Methods and Theories of Art History* (London, 2005), pp. 51-56, for Marxist approaches to art.

[96] See Appendix A.

[97] This divergence has long been addressed favourably in other fields of art history, and the study of English and Burgundian tombs.

[98] Saul, *Church Monuments,* p. 7.

classification of a broad and diverse range of monuments, it is problematic for a variety of reasons. First, the terms Gothic or Renaissance style with their associated notions of modernity for Renaissance and medieval for Gothic did not exist in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century France. On the contrary, contemporaries described what we now consider to be Renaissance as 'antique' and what we consider 'Gothic' as 'modern', making the terminological division into 'Gothic' or 'Renaissance' anachronistic and artificial.[99] Furthermore, the division into Flemish versus Italian art implies a direct and intentional rivalry of styles based on Burckhardt's and Huizinga's influential interpretations of linear historical progress in art, which are difficult to prove in late medieval and Renaissance France.[100] As Kavaler has argued, many artists such as Jan Gossart, Pierre Chambiges or Roland le Roux competently employed both styles at the same time, suggesting that the patron's personal preference was more significant in determining a sculpture's stylistic appearance than the choice of artist alone.[101] In consequence, the term 'style' has been increasingly challenged by scholars of the 'Gothic Renaissance', and has accordingly been replaced with the term 'mode'.[102] This new term allows for an altered relationship between the patron and the artist, signifying that the outward appearance of tombs in the early modern period was due to the patron's preference for one form, its 'mode', and not the result of the sculptor's heritage or a conscious breakaway of the Renaissance style from Gothic.[103] Since the term 'mode' successfully avoids the impression of rivalry between Gothic and Renaissance styles, suggesting instead that different stylistic appearances could coexist on the same monument without one or the other being incomplete or superficial, I will use the term 'mode' to describe a monument's outward form.[104]

Nevertheless, the artificial division into the preference for Italian or Flemish art raises important questions about the relationship between a tomb's appearance, its patrons, and the socio-political and artistic framework from it emerged; concepts which are still relevant today. For instance, the mainstream literature in art history and in the

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[99] Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic,* pp. 14, 17; Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, 'Le paysage artistique vers 1500: les mots et les choses', in *France 1500: entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance,* ed. Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier and Thierry Crépin-Leblond (Paris, 2010), pp. 31-37.

[100] See Huizinga, *Waning*; and Le Pogam, 'Paysage', p. 36.

[101] Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, pp. 17-18, 70.

[102] For a useful overview on this debate, see Monique Chatenet, et al., *Le Gothique de la Renaissance: Actes des quatrième Rencontres d'architecture européenne, Paris, 12-16 juin 2007* (Paris, 2011).

[103] Ibid., pp. 9, 34.

[104] For similar approaches, see also Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*; and Blunk, *Taktieren*, pp. 178, 183-184, on the political usefulness of a monument's appearance to its patrons.

study of English tomb sculpture today successfully discusses tombs in the context of patronage and production, concepts which can also be applied to the study of French tomb sculpture.[105] While attempts have recently been made to shift away from the limitations of a purely style-based approach in the study of French church architecture and its monuments, regrettably, a significant proportion of the modern literature on French tombs, including the Louvre catalogue, is still predominantly descriptive and does not offer interpretations of any kind.[106] There are thus three main issues emerging from the literature in order to modernise the study of French sepulchral monuments: the detrimental isolation of funerary monuments from their original surroundings; the reliance on a narrow database in tomb sculpture; and finally the need to re-integrate architectural context and, above all, patronage considerations into the study of French funerary art.

In order to explore these three key points, this thesis uses a case studies-based approach. As Bauch pointed out, tombs are particularly suited to the study in monographs, yet their wider context also needs to be considered.[107] The use of individual case studies situated within the wider context retains this in-depth analysis, while also permitting a more general overview of their construction phase. This approach promises to highlight the significance of individual patronage choices in the construction of noble sepulchres at certain points in time.[108] Although this approach cannot be entirely representative due to the need for artificial selection, it does allow for a cross-cut of samples which may in turn shed light on the patronage considerations of certain historical periods. While it is equally perhaps not always possible to discern a pre-determined correlation between a monument's outward form and the patron's political allegiances or interests, the re-integration of funerary sculpture into the socio-political and spatial contexts from which it emerged promises a better understanding of its wider and specific appeal and functions.

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[105] For more integrative approaches to (tomb) sculpture, see for instance Kathleen Wren Christian and David J. Drogin, *Patronage and Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (Farnham, 2010); Saul, *Church Monuments*; Lindley, *Tomb destruction*; Morganstern, *Kinship tombs*; Cohen, *Metamorphosis*.

[106] Michèle Beaulieu (ed.), *Description raisonnée des sculptures de la Renaissance française du Musée de Louvre* (Paris, 1978). It appears that the alienation of art from its original surroundings prevents its interpretation.

[107] Bauch, *Grabbild*, p. 6.

[108] See E. H. Gombrich, *Ideals and Idols: Essays on values in history and in art* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 24-59, esp. 47-49.

This thesis comprises six chapters based upon six key phases of critical events impacting on the patrons' choice of mode in funerary sculpture, which may be divided into two sections. The first part deals with the impact of concrete concepts of crisis on different modes in funerary art, such as shifting political allegiances and the expression of patronage affiliations. The key historical phases constitute the impact of the loss of Burgundy to Maximilian of Austria between 1477 and 1494; followed by a shift in French foreign politics towards Italy, resulting in the conquest of Naples and Milan between 1494 and 1512, and finally the influx of Italian culture in France between 1512 and 1539. The second part of the thesis deals with the influence of more abstract concepts on patrons' choices of mode and iconography, such as the psychological impact of military disaster and religious change between the battle of Pavia in 1525 and the beginning of the reign of Henri IV in 1589. Key historical events include the impact of the French defeat in 1525, the onset of the French Reformation, and the impact of the Wars of Religion on French funerary sculpture. By following this socio-political approach to tomb sculpture, this thesis argues that funerary monuments were by no means conservative or exclusively pious objects of devotion. Instead, it offers a more conclusive and integrative interpretation of funerary sculpture as a communicative medium and political tool for its noble patrons, who reflected on, incorporated, and commented on the latest socio-political events of late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century France.

Chapter 1:

The Franco-Burgundian conflict in 'modern' funerary sculpture, c. 1477-1494

Traditionally, it was the Italian expedition of Charles VIII (1483-1498) in 1494 and the campaigners' first-hand experience of Italian culture subsequently imported to their home country that marked the birth of the Renaissance, and the end of Gothic, in France.[109] In consequence, most of the mainstream literature on Renaissance tomb sculpture begins with the benchmark year of 1494, and the decade immediately preceding this date is rarely included in studies on Renaissance funerary sculpture.[110] However, the change from Gothic to Renaissance was neither instantaneous nor complete. On the contrary, the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries have increasingly been seen as a period of co-existence of both modes, summed up in the phrase 'Renaissance Gothic'.[111] It is therefore essential to view the period c. 1500 as a period of innovation and experimentation in different modes, rather than as the end of Gothic.

It is crucial to the understanding of 'Renaissance Gothic', however, that 'Gothic' sepulchres were, in fact, viewed by contemporaries as 'modern' monuments; the majority of tombs from this time could be described as such (Figs. 1-4).[112] A number of explanations are possible for the preference of 'modern' sculpture among patrons, including standard practice, an element of chance and easy availability of sculptors and materials.[113] Considering that some Renaissance tombs did emerge, such as Charles IV of Anjou's tomb at Le Mans or Guillaume Filastre's Florentine monument shipped to St Bertin, for some patrons there was perhaps also an element of deliberation in choosing the 'modern' mode.[114] The perception of 'modern' Gothic sculpture as artistically cutting-edge and innovative suggests that this mode was perhaps particularly suited to expressing modern political concerns and political innovations in an artistic context.

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[109] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 5.

[110] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 13.

[111] Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, pp. 2-3.

[112] See Appendix A.

[113] The construction of tombs is hardly ever the product of a single moment in time. Most funerary monuments took a decade or sometimes even longer from their date of commission to their completion, which provides for a certain degree of inaccuracy in interpreting the patron's intentions.

[114] Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, pp. 18, 20.

Late fifteenth-century French politics was predominantly concerned with the developments following the death of Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1433-1477) and his heiress Mary of Burgundy's (1457-1482) marriage to the rival Habsburg Maximilian of Austria (1459-1519) rather than to Charles VIII of France, and subsequent attempts to reintegrate the duchy into France proper. It was only the accession to the duchy of Maximilian and Mary's son Philip the Fair (1478-1506) in 1494 that marked the end of French claims to the Burgundian territories. As one of the key political subjects in the late fifteenth century, the Franco-Burgundian conflict and the tombs of its key actors thus promise to shed light on high status patrons' preference for 'modern' sculpture and the expression of contemporary political concerns through this particular medium. Unfortunately, very little is known about the sculptors or the patrons outside the court.[115] Hence this chapter explores two monuments of patrons involved in Franco-Burgundian politics, the tomb of former Burgundian vassal Philippe Pot (1428-1493) and Burgundian heiress Mary of Burgundy. The discussion of the tomb of minor nobleman Jacques d'Estouteville (1448-1489) seeks to investigate the appeal of both modes on a single tomb and the impact of the innovation of artistic concepts in French funerary tradition. Working from the premise that art is not merely aesthetic but also fulfils a socio-political purpose, this chapter argues that the 'modern' mode in sculpture was at times particularly suited to expressing a correlation between the patron's contemporary political interests and his patronage affiliations through artistic innovations.

The innovation of tradition: the tomb of former Burgundian vassal Philippe Pot (1428-1493)

The tomb of the seneschal of Burgundy Philippe Pot is probably the most well-known and artistically radical monuments of its time (Fig. 5).[116] This 'modern' sculpture is

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[115] Tomb sculpture is traditionally seen as a 'top-down' topic, perhaps because it is mostly out of date. Many more angles of analysis are possible, such as social structures, impact on religion, 'political culture', patronage, the relationship between high nobility and the lesser nobility, etc. It often lends itself to an approach loosely based upon Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York, 1967), pp. 5-8. This is a familiar problem also in the study of death. See Anne-Valérie Solignat, 'Funérailles nobiliaires et pouvoir seigneurial à la Renaissance', *Revue historique*, 661 (2012), pp. 101-130.

[116] Its current location is the Musée de Louvre in Paris. Although it is included in all mainstream literature, the first full-length monograph on this tomb is a fairly recent MA thesis, Robert Marcoux, 'Le tombeau de Philippe Pot: Analyse et interprétation' (Montréal, 2003). See also Gilles Blieck, 'A propos

attributed to the Burgundian court sculptor Antoine de Moiturier (c. 1425- after 1495) and was commissioned by Philippe himself for the abbey of Cîteaux between 1477 and the early 1480s. This famous sepulchre reinterprets all previous rules of Burgundy's prestigious fully polychrome funerary sculpture. Instead of placing the effigy on top of a solid tomb chest usually decorated with mourners underneath canopied niches following Burgundian tradition, eight circa four-foot tall hooded mourning figures bear the slab upon their shoulders (Fig. 6).[117] Each mourner carries a shield, hung from a strap on the outside of his body (Figs. 8-9).[118] Following common practice in portraying effigies in their armour, the *gisant* is dressed for battle. Unlike most suits of armour for effigies, the material appears blackened and very crude.[119] Philippe is further represented wearing a thick tunic in the same quartered pattern as on his personal coat-of-arms, carried by the first mourner on the right side of his head (Fig. 7).[120] His hands are folded in prayer. Philippe's head rests upon a scarlet tasselled cushion. The visor of his equally blackened helmet remains open, and his open eyes look towards the sky. A comparatively large long-haired dog rests alert at the knight's feet (Fig. 10).[121]

Philippe Pot, capitaine du château de Lille (1466-1477)' in Jean-Marie Cauchies and Jacqueline Guisset (eds.), *Du métier des armes à la vie de cour, de la forteresse au château de séjour: familles et demeures aux XIVe-XVIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organise au château fort d'Ecaussinnes-Lalaing, 22-24 mai 2003* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 217-239.

[117] Morganstern, *Kinship tombs*, p. 7, has recently pointed out that tombs displaying kinship affiliations were common outside of Burgundy. However, the hooded mourner appears to be an element originating, and most frequently found, in Burgundy itself.

[118] There has been some controversy which coats-of-arms they represent. Moreau de Mautour and after him Jean-Baptiste de Vaivre have suggested that they represent (clockwise facing the effigy from the top left corner to the top right): Pot with Courtjambe; Vergy, Vaudrey; Blaisy; Pot; Nagu de Varennes; Du Ble and Montagu-Sombernon. See Marcoux, 'Pot', pp. 90-92. Max Prinet suggested that they are Pot (new), Courtiamble, Anguissola, Blaisy, Pot (old), Guenant, Nesle and Montagu. Marcoux, 'Pot', p. 93.

[119] I must thank Ann Adams for this comment, who suggested that the armour and the helmet appear to be deliberately old-fashioned. The rather prominent top section of the helmet does indeed resemble the *bascinet* of c. 1400, while the knee section of the greaves is also quite prominent and much less sophisticated than later fifteenth-century models. See the medieval and Renaissance armour collection in the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris. However, it is difficult to prove her idea with full certainty.

[120] Bauch, *Grabbild*, p. 269, suggests that the effigy's face was presumably a likeness.

[121] There has been some controversy as to the identity of the beast, either a dog, a bear or a lion, summarised well but solved unconvincingly by Marcoux, 'Pot', pp. 138-141. The beast on Pot's tomb shows an animal with long-hair covering its entire body, with a short curly stump of a tail, a long muzzle and a closed mouth. Bears on tombs are extremely rare and visual comparisons with the few examples (such as Jean de Berry) (Fig. 1), are negative. A comparison with lions on tomb sculpture (commonly depicted as having short muzzles, a discernible mane and long tail ending in a tassel) suggests that it cannot represent a lion either. As for a dog, the beast here does not resemble the more common pointer, greyhound or a small companion dog frequently found on tombs. It does, however, resemble the rough-haired pastoral dog type found throughout Western Europe with minor variations in type and size, such as the Bouvier de Flandres, the Briard, or the Dutch Schapendoes, to name just a few modern breeds. The purpose-bred working dog of Western and Central Europe still survives in some rare breeds,

In keeping with the overall composition of altered traditional motifs, the epitaph also breaks with the standard format found on the top of the tomb slab, which normally consists of the phrase 'Cy gist (name) en son vivant (titles and territories) lequel/laquelle trespassa (date of death). Priez dieu pour son ame. Amen.' Instead of this standard formula, the rather lengthy inscription weaves around the tomb slab in three separate lines and offers a summary of its patron's political life, most significantly his early political career at the court of the dukes of Burgundy, his recent change of allegiance from Mary of Burgundy to the king of France and his rewards for his change of loyalties.

Cy demor[r]a mess[i][r]e ph[elipp]e pot ch[eua]l[ie]r seig[neu]r de la roiche de nolay de chastelneu[f] en lauxois Ƶ de geurey en cha[lo]nois po[u][r] la pl[us] p[ar]t gra[n]t/ seneschal de bourg[ogn][e] seig[neu][r] de thorey sur oische Ƶ de neestres q[ui] fut nou[rr]i [en] lhost/el de monse[igneur]* le bon duc ph[elip]e de[rnier] t[res]passe leq[uel] le fit ch[eua]l[ier] fut parra[in] dicellui Ƶ par/ lelectio[n] des ch[eua]l[ie]r[s] de lord[re] d[e] la toiso[n] ur la lui do[nn]a Ƶ et mis au col lui fit de gra[nd]s bie[n]s Ƶ ho[ne]urs en plus[ieu][r]s Ƶ diu[er]ses ma[n]nie[re]s Ƶ en diu[er]s estas selo[n] le aige qua[n]t le s[er]uit Ƶ ta[nt] q[ue] e[n]uir[ons] ii ou iii an aua[n]t so[n] t[re]s[p]as il se mist en lestat/ de pr[e]mier cha[m]bella[n] Ƶ luy don[n]a les capitaineries du chastel et des uilles de lisle// douhay Ƶ et orchies ap[re]s la mort de sond[it] ma[i]stre fut retenu par mo[n]s[eigneur] le duc charles son filz en so[n] s[er]uice lun de les p[ri]ncipaulx cha[m]bella[ns] Ƶ g[e]n[er]alm[en]t luy laissa to[u][s] les offices dont il se trouua en posse[ssi]on auxquel/ *...oura la uie dura[n]t de sond[it] s[eigneu][r] Ƶ maistre apr[e]s la mort duq[ue]l po[ur] ceulx de/ la uille de lisle ta[n]t offic[er]s q[u]e to[us] aut[re]s il fut mis hors du chastel Ƶ de lad[ite] uille de lisle Ƶ par le co[m]ma[n]dem[en]t de ma damoiselle de bourg[ne] qui po[u][r] lors estoit dame de l[es]d[its] lieux Ƶ luy fut force de se retirer en/ la uille de to[u][r]nay en laq[ue]lle po[ur] ce te[m]ps les gens du roy Ƶ de mad[ite] damoiselle aloie[n]t et/ *...uenaie[n]t par le co[n]se[n]tem[en]t des d[e]ss[us]d[its] s[eigneu][r] Ƶ dame auq[ue]l lieu le roy e[n]uoia qu[e]r[i]r led[it] s[eigneu][r] d[e] la roiche Ƶ le uolut auoir en son s[er]uice lui fit de gra[nd]s bie[n]s et lui osta lad[ite] ordre quil p[o]rtait en lui fa[i]s/ cest hon[eu]r q[ue] d[e] lui do[n]ner la si[enne]* [Ƶ]* le crea [gran]d se[nes]*chal de bourg[ne] en telle p[r]er[o]gatiue Ƶ drois co[m]me le/ gra[n]t seneschal de

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*n[or]*ma[n]d[ie]   *[tr]e[s]pas[sa]   le * io[u]^r du mois d[e]
s[e]pt[e]m[b]^r[e] la[n] milcccxciv.*[122]

Most of the academic dating for this sepulchre has relied on the epitaph. Following Panofsky's argument that the opening phrase 'Cy demorra' points towards the future burial of Philippe Pot rather than his present interment, it has repeatedly been claimed that his monument was completed well before Pot's death.[123] Simultaneously, the inscription mentions the death of Charles the Bold, his daughter Mary's accession to the duchy and Philippe's new title as seneschal of Burgundy; all of which set 1477 as starting date. Combined with the absence of the name Charles VIII who became king in 1483, the inscription has been used to date the sepulchre between 1477 and 1483, placing it firmly but somewhat unsatisfactorily between Charles the Bold's death and Charles VIII's accession to the throne.[124]

Although it is a striking monument, it remains somewhat of a mystery to scholars. The most significant comment is that this thoroughly 'modern' sepulchre breaks with traditional funerary sculpture in general and Burgundian tradition in particular, redefining the essence of a sepulchral monument from a stationary object to an object in motion.[125] Bauch termed it the work of an 'artiste visionnaire', emphasising

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[122] * indicates damage, which was amended using the eighteenth-century transcript recorded in Marcoux, 'Pot', pp. 35-36. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own. 'Here will lie mylord Philippe Pot, knight, lord of the Roche, of Nolay, of Chastelneuf in Auxois and of Gevrey in Chalonnais, for the greater part seneschal of Burgundy, lord of Thorey upon the Oiche and of Neestres, who was raised in the house of mylord the good Duke Philip, lately passed away, who knighted him, was godfather to him and who, by the election of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, invested him with the collar. He gave him great goods and honours in many diverse ways and diverse offices according to the age/time he had served him and two or three years before his death he granted him the position of first chamberlain and gave him the captaincies of Chastel and of the towns of Lisle, Douhay and Orchies. After the death of his aforesaid master he was retained in his service by mylord Duke Charles, his son, as one of his principal chamberlains, and he generally left him all the offices, which he found himself in possession of during the life of aforesaid monsieur and master. For those of the town of Lisle, all officers and all others, he was sent outside of Chastel and the aforesaid town of Lisle and by the command of mylady of Burgundy who since then has been lady of said places, and he was forced to retire to the town of Tournay in which at this time the men of the king and of aforesaid lady came and went. By the consent of aforesaid lord and lady, the king sent enquiry to said mylord of Roiche and wanted to have him in his service. He gave him great goods and in honour of him issued him said order which he bears and made him great seneschal of Burgundy on such prerogative and rights as the great seneschal of Normandy. He passed away the --- day of the month of September in the year MCCCCXCIV.' As Blieck, 'Pot', p. 226, points out, the death date is erroneous.
[123] Erwin and Gerda Panofsky, '"The Tomb in Arcady" at the "Fin de Siècle"', in Angela Dreßen and Susanne Gramatzki, *Erwin Panofsky – die späten Jahre*, p. 3, viewable at [http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/kunsttexte/2011-4/panofsky-erwin-3/PDF/panofsky.pdf], viewed 08 February 2012. Marcoux, 'Pot', p. 36.
[124] See below.
[125] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 372; Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 41.

the novelty of the composition.[126] While its artistic value is undoubted, the overall interpretation remains a major enigma. Zerner has suggested that the hooded pallbearers carrying the raised tomb slab and effigy were designed to distance the spectator, viewing the object in this world, from the deceased moving on to the next, thus contrasting heaven and earth as well as life and death.[127] Others have proposed more pragmatically that the sense of motion may hint at the tomb representing a funeral ceremony.[128]

Since there has been considerable controversy over the meaning of the tomb, it is necessary to examine its elements more closely. The rather lengthy epitaph is a good starting point for our discussion. The most striking point in the inscription is the reference to Pot's career at the Burgundian as well as the French court. Beginning his career at the court of Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy, Pot changed his allegiance after the defeat of Charles the Bold at Nancy in January 1477 to Charles' rival Louis XI of France.[129] Rising rapidly to royal favour during the final years of Louis' life, he received the post of seneschal of Burgundy on 21 September 1477. In consequence of his perceived disloyalty to Mary, the heiress of Valois Burgundy, he forfeited his place among the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1481 but was soon admitted to the prestigious French Order of Saint-Michel instead.[130] Although both orders are mentioned in the epitaph, the effigy is depicted without either the collar of the Golden Fleece or the collar of the Order of Saint-Michel as if not to cause offence to either party.

The problem of political allegiances summed up in the life of Philippe Pot was indicative of a wider concern in Franco-Burgundian relations throughout the later Middle Ages. Since Philip the Bold had been granted the duchy of Burgundy by his father, King John the Good of France in 1363, as count of Flanders Philip was officially

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[126] Bauch, *Grabbild,* p. 419.

[127] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 372.

[128] James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance art: painting, sculpture and graphic arts from 1350-1575* (New York, 1985), p. 314. Morganstern, *Kinship tombs*, p. 8, speculates that mourners may have carried the shields of the deceased in funeral processions, yet unfortunately we have no evidence for this. See Colette Beaune, 'Mourir noblement à la fin du moyen âge', *Actes des congrès de la société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public. 6ᵉ congrès* (Strasbourg, 1975), pp. 134-135.

[129] A number of local knights and even some of the most prestigious members of the Golden Fleece did likewise, such as Jean Damas, Philip de Crèvecoeur, Anton of Burgundy, Jacob of Luxembourg and Lodewijk van Halewyn. See Jelle Haemers, *For the Common Good: State Power and Urban Revolts in the Reign of Mary of Burgundy (1477-1482)* (Studies in European Urban History 17 (1100-1800)), (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 103-104. For Pot's concern for his reputation in the epitaph, see Blieck, 'Pot', pp. 218, 223, 239.

[130] Haemers, *Common Good*, p. 130, describes Pot's expulsion from the order.

a vassal of the French king and therefore owed him his loyalty.[131] Furthermore, this hierarchical allegiance meant that the subjects of the duke of Burgundy were equally subjects of the king of France, resulting in double-, and at times conflicting, loyalties.[132] After Charles the Bold's death at the battle of Nancy, Louis XI appealed to this notion of allegiance to both lords simultaneously, but specifically to himself as master over the duke of Burgundy in his call for the lords of Burgundy to follow him instead of Mary of Burgundy. Despite the 'desertion' of a significant number of high ranking Burgundian nobles and this act being consequently termed treason by the Burgundians, from a French perspective the change of allegiance was not as such deemed problematic, being but a lord's legitimate call for service from his vassals.

The problem of dual allegiances forms a fundamental part not only of the epitaph, but also of the iconography of the tomb of Philippe Pot. Chronologically coinciding with the commission of the tomb, the emphasis on Pot's transition of loyalties is further enhanced by the use of the dog motif, traditionally used to represent fidelity.[133] Although short-haired dogs are more commonly seen in funerary sculpture than long-haired ones, the latter are not entirely unknown. In his study *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild*, Bauch shows the early fifteenth-century tomb panel of Aribo, founder of the Bavarian abbey of Seeon in the tenth century, displaying a similar type of long-haired dog.[134] This animal is placed adjacent to Aribo, represented as a bishop with his crook, and opposite a coat-of-arms showing a lamb. Both animals flank the bishop and face towards him in the centre of the panel, suggesting that they are to be understood as three components making up one image. Although Bauch neither remarks on this striking composition nor investigates it further, the panel triggers associations with the medieval understanding of the bishop's role as a shepherd of his people by combining the motifs of the shepherd's crook, long-coated dog and lamb.[135] This would

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[131] Frederik Buylaert, 'La noblesse et l'unification des Pays-Bas. Naissance d'une noblesse bourguignonne à la fin du Moyen Age?', *Revue historique*, 653 (2010), p. 18.

[132] Ibid., p. 24.

[133] Mâle, *Moyen Âge*, pp. 426-427, rightly pointed out that male sepulchres favoured hunting dogs, while lapdogs frequently appear on female tombs as symbols of fidelity in marriage. However, from the mid-fifteenth century hunting dogs appear more often on female tombs than companion dogs, perhaps indicating a shift in hunting practices. See Mary of Burgundy below, Marguerite de Foix in Nantes, or Claude Baudoche in Nancy.

[134] Bauch, *Grabbild*, p. 274. The tomb was commissioned by Abbot Simon Farcher in c. 1400 to commemorate the founder of the abbey.

[135] Ibid., p. 273.

suggest that the rough-haired dog, identifiable as a sheepdog by contemporaries, was deliberately chosen to complete the shepherd imagery on Aribo's sepulchral monument.

Although the sheepdog motif is not commonly found in French tomb sculpture, it is well-known in late medieval French political thought, particularly in tracts on the proper function and duties of the three estates. In her *Book of the Body Politic,* Christine de Pisan (c. 1364-c. 1430) suggested that good kings and their soldiers should be more like shepherds with their dogs safeguarding the flock than tyrants, who she likened to wolves.[136] The writings of Christine de Pisan were particularly suited to comment on Franco-Burgundian relations since they emerged from the heart of the political tensions between France and Burgundy at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Written between 1404 and 1407 as an instruction manual in the tradition of the 'mirrors of princes' for the French dauphin Louis of Guyenne, the *Body Politic* emerged as one of Pisan's numerous political treatises lamenting the state of civil war between Burgundy and France as well as warning of its dangers.[137] Among these politically relevant treatises were the *Lamentation on the troubles of France*, presumably commissioned by John the Fearless of Burgundy in 1410, which warned of the dangers of continued civil war, and the *Book of Peace*, written for the French dauphin in 1412, which called for the cease of hostilities between the two countries.[138]

It is evident that Philippe Pot was familiar with Christine de Pisan's writings since he picked up on the same imagery in his famous speech delivered at the election of a regent for the young King Charles VIII, then thirteen years old, at the Estates General in February 1484.[139] This speech solved the question of who was to become regent for Louis XI's underage son at his father's death in favour of the late king's sister Anne of Beaujeu (1461-1522) and her Bourbon husband Pierre (1438-1503), the latter a close relative of the Burgundian dukes. Thanks to the intervention of Philippe Pot on behalf of Anne's husband Pierre, they won the young king's guardianship against their rival Louis of Orléans, later Louis XII (1498-1515).[140] In this speech on the nature of just kingship, Pot compared tyrants to wolves and good rulers to

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[136] *Christine de Pisan: The Book of the Body Politic*, ed. Kate Langdon Forhan (Cambridge, 1994), p. 16.
[137] Ibid., p. xvii.
[138] Ibid., p. xvi.
[139] The legal age for a king of France to rule in his own right was fourteen years old.
[140] Marcoux, 'Pot', pp. 1, 37, has kindly reminded us that this speech made Philippe Pot famous, but, other than being puzzled by its failure to appear in the epitaph, he does not attribute further significance to it. See Robert J. Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France, 1483-1610* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 23-25, for historical background.

shepherds, suggesting that Pot considered his role in society to be that of a good soldier, loyally supporting his master by voicing his concerns against the potentially imminent regency of Louis of Orléans.[141] The use of the wolf terminology was pointedly chosen to identify Louis as the perpetrator, since the wolf was part of Louis of Orléans' emblem and motto, thus making the association between Pot as the shepherd and Louis as the wolf even more obvious to his audience.[142]

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        John the Fearless ∞ Margaret of Bavaria
                             |
Charles of Bourbon ∞ Agnes of Burgundy ——— Philip the Good ∞ Isabella of Portugal
                    |
    Pierre of Bourbon          Isabella of Bourbon ∞ Charles the Bold
                                              |
                                    Mary of Burgundy
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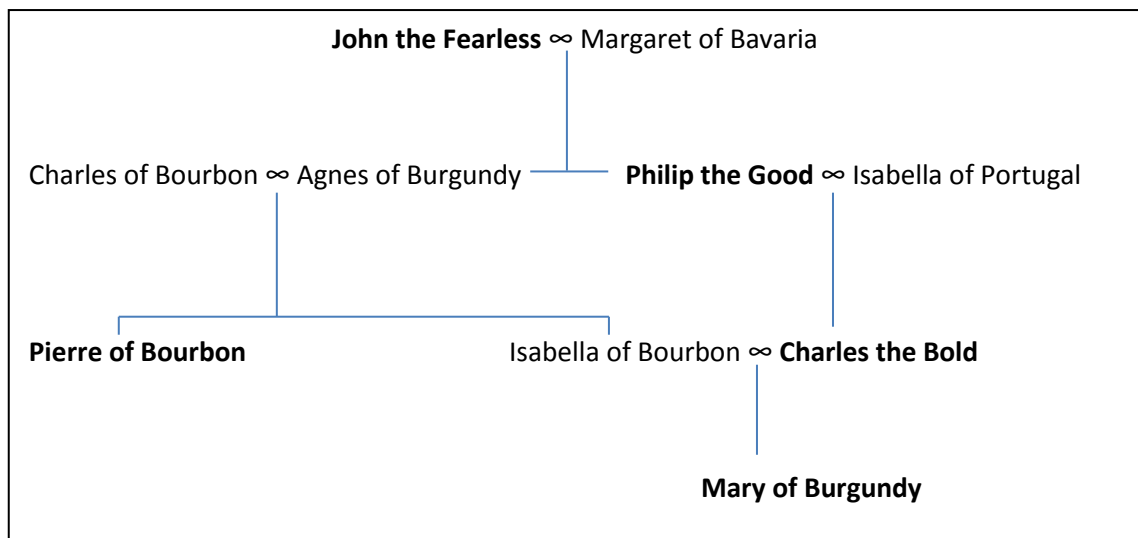
Table 1 Genealogy of Pierre of Bourbon in relation to the Burgundian dukes

More significantly, however, Pot's backing of Anne of Beaujeu and Pierre of Bourbon shows that he supported a couple with familial connections to both branches of the house of Valois: the French branch of the Valois line via Louis XI' sister Anne, and the Burgundian branch of the Valois dynasty via her Bourbon husband, who was the brother of Mary of Burgundy's mother Isabella of Bourbon and the nephew of Philip the Good via his mother Agnes of Burgundy. Even after abandoning Burgundy in favour of France, Pot's choice of patrons suggests a continued affinity with service to the descendants of both houses on par with his own political allegiances. This suggests that as late as 1484 the problem of Philippe's dual allegiances still hovered at the forefront of his mind.

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[141] 'History and tradition tell us the kings were originally created by the votes of the sovereign people, and the prince is placed where he is, not that he may pursue his own advantage, but that he may strive unselfishly for the welfare of the nation. The ruler who falls short of this ideal is a tyrant and a wolf, and is no true shepherd of his flock.' See J. Russell Major, *From Renaissance monarchy to absolute monarchy: French kings, nobles and estates* (Baltimore, 1994), pp. 53-54.

[142] For Louis's use of the wolf imagery, see Nicole Hochner, *Louis XII: les dérèglements de l'image royale, 1498-1515* (Seyssel, 2006), pp. 41, 96-98.

Since there has been no reliable date for the end of the tomb's construction, it is perhaps imprudent to dismiss the potential connection between the iconography representing the idea of the soldier as the king's guardian against tyranny and the, almost contemporaneous, historical event of Pot's famous speech directed against Louis of Orléans as a potential tyrant.[143] Scholars have tended to follow Courajod in his interpretation that the absence of mention of the French king Charles VIII in the epitaph indicates a completion date of 1483, the last year of Louis XI's reign, rather than the biographically significant year 1484.[144] There is a lack of new entries and titles acquired in France after his appointment as seneschal in 1477, although the epitaph clearly states that Pot was seneschal 'pour la grande parte', for the greatest part.[145] This would indicate that the inscription must have been finished sometime after September 1477, yet the exact time span is entirely uncertain. Details such as the death day were obviously added at a later point than 1483. Based upon analysis of the epitaph, there is no sign why it should not have been almost complete by 1483 as Courajod has suggested. Yet with the exception of the absence of Charles VIII in the inscription, there is no evidence to the contrary either. Equally, there can be no way of determining whether Courajod's proposed completion date of 1483 based upon the epitaph alone is applicable to the rest of the tomb as well. The absence of the collar of the Golden Fleece indicates that the effigy was completed after Pot was expelled from the Order in 1481. The tomb's iconography based upon Pot's affinity with the writings of Christine de Pisan as advocator of peace and just kingship would perhaps indicate a slightly later date. This iconography appears to suggest that the patron wanted to be commemorated as a loyal subject safeguarding the interests of the people of France rather than as the supporter of a tyrant, deemed to be the Beaujeus' political opponent Louis of Orléans who had unsuccessfully attempted to gain the regency for himself. Against this background, perhaps a minor alteration of the tomb's completion date to 1484 instead of 1483 would not be too far-fetched.

Yet even if the tomb was constructed between 1477 and 1483 as has been commonly accepted, the iconography of the tomb as well as its innovative continuation of Burgundian funerary tradition with its mourners would indicate that it was intended

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[143] Marcoux, 'Pot', p. 37, agrees that there is no reliable end date.

[144] See Louis Courajod, *Leçons professées à l'École du Louvre (1887-1896). II: Origines de la renaissance* (Paris, 1901), p. 387.

[145] This is an extraordinary comment for someone who had spent 49 years of his life in Burgundy prior to embarking on his political career in France.

as a political statement on the Franco-Burgundian conflict. In the epitaph as well as in the iconography, Pot appeared as a man who had served both countries. In doing so, he successfully solved the dilemma of conflicting loyalties to the dukes as well as to the king of France which had vexed the lords of Valois Burgundy for so long. Hence the iconographic references to Christine de Pisan and her time in the choice of beast serve as an appeal to the Burgundian and French rulers to cease their hostilities. Perhaps the tomb's extraordinary sense of being in motion thus also represents a call for change. Far from simply representing a funerary procession or producing a pious statement on life and death, proclaiming his own position in life as a loyal servant to his French and Burgundian masters, Pot used his 'modern' sepulchre with its artistic innovations to achieve what contemporary politics had failed to achieve: the reconciliation of France and Burgundy in his very person. Hence the 'modern' mode of his tomb and its connection with contemporary political concerns also pays tribute to his greatest personal achievement, his individual solution to the great political dilemma of the late fifteenth-century Burgundian lords, and its transcendence by successfully serving both masters during his lifetime.

Artistic innovation to mark the end of French claims to Valois Burgundy: the tomb of Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482)

The second tomb worth discussing in terms of innovative artistic solutions to political questions in Franco-Burgundian relations is the monument of Valois heiress Mary of Burgundy (Fig. 11). While the sepulchre lies in modern-day Belgium, not France, this unmatched monument is included here for two reasons: on the one hand, it is a radically innovative 'modern' sepulchre which breaks with all previous forms and traditions; on the other hand it is a prime example of the ways that rulers could use innovative funerary sculpture to tackle political questions and to reinforce their political ambitions. Commissioned by Mary's husband Maximilian I of Austria in 1488 and finished in 1502, this tomb reflected her role as a female heiress, the rival claims to her inheritance by the French king Louis XI, as well as her husband's political struggles in the Netherlands.[146] As the last heiress of Valois Burgundy, she found herself in an unusual and challenging situation upon the death of her father Charles the Bold at the battle of

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[146] See Ann M. Roberts, 'The chronology and political significance of the tomb of Mary of Burgundy', *The Art Bulletin,* 71 (1989), pp. 376-400, for this earlier date.

Nancy in 1477. As closest male kin, Louis XI refused to accept the legitimacy of her inheritance due to her sex, drawing upon his alleged right to inherit Burgundy as next male relative according to Salic law, while simultaneously attempting to marry his son, the dauphin Charles, to Mary in order to gain access to her domains.[147] It came as a shock to Louis when Mary instead held firm upon her betrothal with his enemy and rival Maximilian of Austria, an alliance conducted by their fathers previously. This marriage planted the Burgundian Low Countries firmly into the hands of the Habsburg dynasty; a move contrary to French plans to return the duchy to France proper.

Nevertheless, the marriage to the rival Habsburg dynasty did not curb French ambitions to construct an alliance between the dauphin and the heirs of the Burgundian line. Only one year after Mary's death in 1482, her two-year old daughter, Margaret of Austria, was betrothed to the newly crowned Charles VIII and sent to live with him. This alliance aimed at eventually restoring the ducal domains back to her mother France, an endeavour which probably would have worked if Philippe Pot's intervention for the Beaujeus had not made an enemy of their cousin Louis of Orléans. He was the closest adult male relative of Charles VIII and therefore believed that he, not the late king's sister, should be guardian for the young king. Louis allied with the surrounding powers: Francis II Duke of Brittany (d. 1488), Richard III (1452-1485) and Henry VII (1457-1509) of England, and Maximilian of Austria to diminish the power of the Beaujeus family in the so-called *Guerre Folle*.[148] Francis died shortly after his defeat, leaving his thirteen-year old daughter and sole heiress Anne of Brittany (1477-1514) vulnerable and unprotected. Despite her previous marriage by proxy to the widower Maximilian of Austria, Charles VIII intercepted the lady on the way to her husband. After persuasion from her counsellors, she agreed to annul her marriage to Maximilian, and to marry Charles instead in return for the restoration of her duchy. Charles' former fiancée Margaret of Austria was returned to her father shortly after this incident, marking the end of French ambitions to recover Burgundy by marriage. This change in French foreign policy from Burgundy to the western duchy of Brittany concluded more than half a century of French attempts to recover the territories of Valois Burgundy, an endeavour which was abandoned after Mary's son and heir Philip the Fair reached his majority in 1494.

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[147] Ibid., p. 392-393.
[148] Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 25-31.

Against this background, it is hardly surprising that the sepulchre of Mary of Burgundy, too, incorporated traditional Burgundian chivalric iconography while simultaneously transforming her funerary practices into something new and unmatched in all of Northern Europe. Mary's remains were buried not among her relatives in the mausoleum of the Valois dukes of Burgundy at Dijon, but as first of the Burgundian dukes and duchesses she was interred at her own request in the Flemish town of Bruges. Instead of showing relatives as mourners in the Burgundian tradition, the tomb itself mirrors a five generation-long family tree with Mary's paternal heritage displayed among golden angels on the south side (the heraldic right, if one was to stand opposite the effigy) and her maternal heritage on the north side (the heraldic left) of the tomb chest (Fig. 12). The family tree links Mary with all major ruling houses of late medieval Europe, in particular with France appearing on both sides of the family tree (via Philip the Bold, son of John the Fearless), England (via John of Gaunt, son of Edward III) and Portugal (via Isabella of Portugal, daughter of the Portuguese King John I). The head panel of the *tumba* displays the duchess's married coat-of-arms, consisting of her husband Maximilian of Austria's shield on the heraldic right and her father Charles the Bold's shield on the heraldic left (Fig. 13).[149] The foot panel shows a rather lengthy epitaph which supports her role as Maximilian's wife and Charles' heiress, while also naming her son Philip the Fair as her heir.[150] The tomb slab is lined with the coats-of-

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[149] It consists of the escutcheons of Lower Austria (sable, five eagles or), Upper Austria (gules, a fess argent, gules), Styria (vert, a panther argent, horned and incensed), an inversion of the escutcheon of Carinthia (palewise or, three lions passants sables and gules, a fess argent, gules), Crain (or, a sable eagle, gules-taloned) and Tyrol (argent, an eagle displayed gules) for Maximilian on the heraldic right. The heraldic left consists of the escutcheon of Mary's father Charles the Bold, that is to say Valois (azure, fleurs-de-lis or, a bordure gules) in the first and third quarters, old Burgundy (bendy or and azure, a bordure compony gules and argent) in the second and third quarters, Brabant (sable, a lion rampant), Limbourg (argent, a rampant lion queue-fourché gules), and Flanders (or, a rampant lion sable).

[150] 'Sepulcre de tres illustre prĩcesse dame Marie/ de bourgoĩgne par̃ la grace de dieu Archiduchesse/ dAutriche duchesse de bourg^ne de Lothr̃ de Brabant/ de Lembourg de Lucembourg et de Gheldres/ Contesse de Flandres dArtois de Bourg^ne / Palatine de Haynnau de Hollande de zeelande/ de Namur et de zutphen Marquise du Saint/ empire Dame de Frise de Salins et de Malines/ Femme et espouse de tresillustre prince/ Monß^r maximilian lors Archiduc daustriche/ et depuis roy de Roᷞains· Fils de Frederic/ Empereur de rome· laquelle dame trespassa/ de ce siecle En leage de vint cinq ans le xxvii^e / jour de mars lan mil quatrecens quatre vins/ et ung · Et demoura delle son heritier Phelipe/ dautriche et de Bourg^ne son seul filz en leage/ de trois ans et neuf mois · et aussi Marguerite sa fille en leage de quatorze mois· Et cinq ans/ fut dame des pays dessusd, quatre ans et neuf/ mois fut en mariage vertuesement et en grãnt/ amour vescut avec monsds^r son mary Regrete^z / plainte et ploree fut de se subgetz et de tous/ autres qui la congnoissoient autant que fut/ onques prĩcesse· priez dieu pour son ame. Amen.'

arms of Mary's eighteen territories (Fig. 14).[151] Mary herself is represented as a bronze gilt effigy wearing a gold brocade dress, a ducal crown with mesh headdress and a fine cloak embroidered with the initial M. Two dogs, a pointer and an oversized lapdog, guard her at the foot end of the slab.[152] At the four corners of the sepulchre, the four evangelists stand underneath Gothic canopies (Figs. 15-16).

Although it is a strikingly innovative 'modern' monument, virtually nothing has been published on it since Ann Roberts' benchmark article in 1989. In this publication, she provided evidence that the first payment for the tomb occurred in 1488; much earlier than previously assumed by scholars such as Valentin Vermeersch.[153] This reconsidered construction period between 1488 and 1502 has placed the creation of the monument into the heart of Maximilian's struggle to pacify the Low Countries to safeguard it for his son and heir Philip. As Roberts has demonstrated, the commission of the tomb closely followed Maximilian's release from his four-months long captivity in Bruges in May 1488, suggesting that the sepulchre was constructed as a medium to reinforce Maximilian's political position as guardian of the Low Countries until his three-year old son reached his majority.[154] There is, however, still more to be extracted from the tomb than Roberts has pointed out. The two dominant and recurrent iconographical motifs on the tomb, heraldry set among golden trees, draw upon three main associations specifically relevant to late-fifteenth century Burgundian domestic and foreign politics.

The simplest interpretation of the sides of the tomb chest with its heraldry hanging from the branches of a golden tree is the function of the noble family tree, yet it too bears a political component directly related to the Flemish context. The right to create a family tree was the exclusive privilege of the nobility and as such, the two-sided family tree on Mary's sepulchre visually proclaims her noble status.[155] The

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[151] Starting in the south corner of the west face, the territories are Brabant, Lotharingia, Burgundy; Malines, Salins, Frisia, Antwerp, Zutphen, Namur; Zeeland, Holland, Hainault; Palatinate of Burgundy, Artois, Flanders, Guelders, Luxembourg, Limbourg.

[152] Roberts, 'Mary', p. 377, has pointed out the similarities of the little dog with the animal in the Vienna Book of Hours. See Mireille Madon, 'Marie et l'héritage de bourgogne', in ed. An Blockmans-Delva et al., *Bruges à Beaune: Marie l'héritage de bourgogne* (Paris, 2000), p. 92, for the dog.

[153] *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578: Catalogus, II,* ed. Valentin Vermeersch (Bruges, 1976), p. 371, placed the construction of the tomb into Philip the Fair's hands. Curiously, although Roberts' article has made considerable impact on the English-speaking scholarship of tomb sculpture, An Blockmans-Delva et al., *Bruges à Beaune: Marie l'héritage de bourgogne* (Paris, 2000), pp. 68-69, still adheres to the later date and names Philip the Fair as commissioner of the monument.

[154] See Haemers, *Common Good,* p. 1.

[155] Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), pp. 145-151.

emphasis on her nobility and right to rule as Charles the Bold's legitimate heiress were particularly important in late fifteenth-century Flanders where a newly ennobled bourgeoisie and increasingly strong guilds challenged the powers of the old aristocracy.[156] Maximilian himself came to experience the Flemish sense of independence and their refusal to accept foreign authorities when he was imprisoned in the city of Bruges in the spring of 1488. His release immediately preceding the commission of his wife's tomb, one should not underestimate the impact of his personal experience on his commission.[157]

In addition, the family tree also emphasised Mary's right to the duchy against Louis XI's insistence that he was the legitimate heir as the next male relative according to Salic law. The family tree links Mary with the house of Valois on both her paternal and her maternal side. Although the five-generation long family tree may seem arbitrary, four generations were the common requirement to prove noble land claims.[158] Counting back four generations from Charles the Bold and Isabella of Bourbon, Philip the Bold appears in the fourth generation on both sides. Philip the Bold was the founder of the Burgundian branch of the Valois house. He received the duchy of Burgundy from his father John the Good of France in return for his military achievements in 1363. Reference to him on both sides of the family tree suggests that the lineage deliberately traces the claims of Mary's father Charles the Bold to Philip the Bold as first Valois duke of Burgundy in order to reiterate Mary's legitimate claims to the duchy after her father's death. This specifically sent a message to Louis XI, who had raised claims to the duchy himself, countering his entitlement to the dukedom as lacking foundations.

The second association of shields among trees is the chivalric tree of honour, a tree with contestants' shields hung from its branches most notably displayed at tournaments, which again supports that the tomb explicitly addressed Franco-Burgundian relations.[159] The tree with contestants' shields was a common motif in Burgundian chivalric tradition, used at encounters such as the famous *pas d'armes* (a

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[156] Wim de Clercq, Jan Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers, '"Vivre noblement": material culture and elite identity in late medieval Flanders', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 38 (2007), p. 29; Jan Dumolyn, 'Nobles, patricians and officers: the making of a regional political elite in late medieval Flanders', *Journal of Social History*, 40 (2006), pp. 431-452.

[157] Roberts, 'Mary', p. 392.

[158] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 146.

[159] Sydney Anglo, 'L'arbre de chevalerie et le perron dans les tournois', in Jean Jacquet and Elie Konigson (eds.), *Les fêtes de la Renaissance III* (Paris, 1975), pp. 285-287. For a depiction of such a tree, see the Hampton Court painting of the Field of Cloth of Gold.

knightly contest of strength, valour and honour) of Pierre de Bauffremont and twelve other knights at the Tree of Charlemagne in 1443.[160] The men vowed to fight any man who came within quarter of a league of their camp, in a manner chosen by the arriving contestants who touched either the black shield for the joust or the purple shield for combat on foot. Both shields were hung from a nearby tree, signifying that the image of shields hanging from a tree at *pas d'armes* was synonymous with a knight's challenge to his opponent.

A series of key events in Franco-Burgundian relations merited this challenge: Louis XI' and his son Charles' failure to accept Mary's right to Burgundy as its legitimate heiress; Charles VIII' interception of Maximilian's bride Anne of Brittany; and Charles' subsequent refusal of Maximilian's daughter Margaret as Charles' bride. All three factors feature most prominently in Maximilian's famous woodcuts, *Theuerdank*, *Freydal* and *Weisskunig*, commissioned by Maximilian later in his life to promote his self-image while equally targeting the rival king of France.[161] In these woodcuts, Maximilian presented himself as the ideal knight, husband and king. Despite taking a second wife, he continued to portray himself in these terms and with reference to his first wife Mary in most of the commissions of his later life, for instance on his triumphal arch.[162] The tomb also draws upon this imagery of challenging a worthy opponent. In accordance with late medieval gender roles which portrayed the knight as his lady's protector, the usage of the married coat-of-arms on the west face combining Maximilian's shield on the heraldic right and Charles the Bold's coat-of-arms on the heraldic left draws upon the idea of the knight as defender of his lady and her property, a position Maximilian accepted forthwith.

Although later fifteenth-century politics dominates the imagery on the tomb and the adherence to the 'modern' mode, Mary's sepulchral monument also draws upon Burgundy's previous struggle with France at the beginning of the century in order to legitimise and to reinforce its continued independence in the fifteenth century. While Philippe Pot's monument quoted Christine de Pisan as a mediator between the countries, Mary of Burgundy's tomb refers to imagery derived from the same early

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[160] *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, II, ed. Thomas Johnes (London, 1849), pp. 129-131.

[161] Robert W. Scheller, 'Imperial themes in art and literature of the early French Renaissance: the period of Charles VIII', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 12 (1981-82), pp. 13, 17, 20, 40; and Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: the visual ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton, 2008), pp. 99, 169-214, have pointed towards an opaque rivalry between Maximilian and the French kings.

[162] Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, p. 9. He married Bianca Sforza in 1494.

fifteenth-century quarrel between France and Burgundy in the opposite function. The three golden trees harken back to the short-lived Order of the Golden Tree founded by Philip the Bold in 1403 to counter the French threat.[163] While this Order was not very successful in the long term, it fulfilled its immediate purpose of helping to repel French attempts to reconquer the duchy. By referencing Burgundy's 'golden age' during a time when the duchy was once again under threat from annexation through France, Mary's tomb deliberately points to France's unsuccessful efforts to reconquer the duchy in the past. By drawing upon this connection, the reinterpretation of the traditional imagery on the tomb creating a vibrant modern monument equally serves as a deterrent and as a taunt of France's abilities while emphasising Burgundy's legitimacy as a proud and independent duchy. Hence the innovative, flamboyant design particularly suited this monument's political purpose.

Finally, in addition to its pious and commemorative functions, Mary of Burgundy's sepulchre also conveyed a series of political messages to the Flemish and to the king of France. Instead of surrendering Burgundy, as Louis XI and Charles VIII had anticipated, Maximilian sent a strong challenge to the French: even after Mary's death, as her faithful husband he continued to secure the duchy until their son was old enough to rule in his own right. Whereas Philippe Pot's tomb emphasised that his change of allegiance opened up the possibility for dialogue between the two countries, Mary's tomb referencing traditional Burgundian symbolism, yet simultaneously accommodating the radical innovation of her marriage to her Habsburg husband in mode and iconography, communicated quite the opposite: instead of allying with France by marrying Charles and Margaret as had originally been planned, the blunder of Charles' marriage with Maximilian's bride Anne of Brittany had the end result that the Burgundian Low Countries were to remain firmly in Habsburg hands. Drawing upon traditional Burgundian iconography but equally breaking with traditional funerary sculptures in form and material, Mary's tomb insisted that even under Habsburg rule, Burgundy would never resort back to France. Standing at the forefront of a new rivalry between France and the Habsburgs, Mary's 'modern' sepulchre was the first to engage in a conflict that, on new battlegrounds, would dominate most of French foreign politics for the next century.

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[163] Its emblems were the tree of gold, an eagle and a lion. Carol Chattaway, *The Order of the Golden Tree: the gift-giving objectives of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy* (Turnhout, 2006), p. 33.

<u>Multiple modes: Jacques d'Estouteville (1448-1489) and Louise d'Albret (d. 1494)</u>

Although hardly as sophisticated as the famous tombs of Philippe Pot and Mary of Burgundy, artistically innovative monuments were also found in other areas of France. In its current mutilated condition, the sepulchre of Jacques d'Estouteville and Louise d'Albret in the monastery of Valmont appears as a fairly typical Gothic monument (Fig. 17).[164] However, the Gothic elements of the tomb today were only part of its former appearance and perhaps this reduction of the monument from a vibrant Renaissance Gothic tomb to a seemingly standard Gothic sculpture explains why it has received little attention from scholars.[165] Despite this adaptation of the monument, it is striking in its own right. It consists of two recumbent alabaster effigies lying on a black stone tomb slab on a limestone *tumba*. There are considerable remains of polychromy on the chest and the effigies.[166] The knight, Jacques d'Estouteville, is represented wearing a turtle-neck style chainmail shirt underneath a tunic embroidered with his heraldic beast, a rampant lion, each on his chest and his arms against horizontal stripes (Fig. 19).[167] His lower arms and legs are covered in plate mail. His feet are placed upon a dormant lion. His bare head rests upon an embroidered cushion with tassels which show traces of reddish-brown polychromy.[168] He wears a dagger on his right hip and a cross-hilted longsword from a scabbard worn on his left hip. The sword rested on his inside knee guard before it was broken off, only to show some remains further down his calf. The lady, Louise d'Albret, is represented on the heraldic left in a long gown from the chin to

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[164] Gaignières shows a monument with Renaissance-style candelabra flanking the south-face saints, Gothic canopies above the effigies' heads and a vertical epitaph at their feet (Fig. 18).

[165] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, pp. 40-42, remarks on the Renaissance ceiling of the abbey church of Valmont and its ascension sculpture, yet he overlooks both Estouteville tombs. The first mention of this tomb after the Revolution is in Victor Hugo, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (Philadelphia, 1834), p. 147, followed by a short travel report, see Jules Claretie, *A l'abbaye de Valmont* (Fécamp, 1890). See Gabriel de la Morandière, *Histoire de la Maison d'Estouteville en Normandie* (Paris, 1903), pp. 533-537, for some useful information.

[166] Claretie, *Valmont*, p. 12, thinks they are contemporary to the construction of the tomb (see also Fig. 24).

[167] The high-necked mail shirt on the Estouteville tomb shows an unusual and distinctive fish-net texture rather than the stylised half-moons worn by most fourteenth-century knights or the interlinked metal circles found on the mail shirt worn by Pierre d'Evreux at Saint-Denis (d. 1412). Charles IV of Anjou at Le Mans also shows the interlinked rings around his neck. The strange texture appears to be merely the result of wear rather than deliberate design. Given the high attention of detail on the *gisants* otherwise, it seems unlikely that a significant detail such as the unusual chainmail would have been missed while every other buckle on Jacques' armour is authentic in location, function and appearance. See Bauch, *Grabbild,* pp. 228-232, for a general discussion of similitude and accuracy on French tombs.

[168] His face has recently been restored. Claretie, *Valmont,* p. 11, reports that hands and faces were missing in 1890.

her feet (Fig. 20).[169] Her nose has been reattached and her once folded hands have been cleanly cut off. At her feet, a ram with gold-tinted curls lies gazing outwards. Along her body, there are traces of yellow on the side of her gown facing towards her husband. The bottom half of her gown shows black traces and a reddish tinge. The south side of the *tumba* is lined with figures of saints underneath ogee arches (Fig. 21). The east face is wiped blank, suggesting that the sepulchre has been moved (Fig. 23). The west face has been put together again in a haphazard way after suffering severe mutilations to its three saints' figures (Fig. 22).[170]

While the use of the 'modern' mode itself was perhaps less of a politically-conscious choice than on the previous two monuments, it is worth pointing out, however, that the exquisite alabaster effigies compositionally and iconographically harken back to the great mid-fifteenth century monuments, such as the tombs of the duke of Berry at Bourges (Fig. 1), Louis XI's young mistress Agnes Sorel (1425-1450) at Loches (Fig. 4) or the Bourbon family tombs at Souvigny (Figs. 2-3).[171] The ram at Louise's feet, which has been interpreted as a symbol of her sweet nature, may be a direct reference to the two rams on the tomb of Agnes Sorel at Loches by Jacques Morel (Figs. 4, 24).[172] They appear to be the same breed of round-horned sheep and they also show the same woolly curls. It is conceivable that the parallels are intended, as the Estouteville were directly related by marriage to one of Agnes Sorel's daughters by Louis XI.[173] Furthermore, it is possible to draw parallels to other sheep on tombs, such as the headless sheep attributed to Jean de Cambrai in the museum of Souvigny. While this may suggest that the curly sheep was a common motif in French funerary art, it could equally point towards the sculptor being influenced by the work of Jacques Morel or Jean de Cambrai. However, without the contracts or his identity, it is difficult to prove this suggestion.

Nevertheless, the three-part composition of the Estouteville tomb is strikingly similar to the Burgundian ducal tombs at Dijon and to their close relatives Charles I of

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[169] This is the correct side for the representation of female effigies on a French tomb. Unlike in France, in England the strict adherence to heraldic conventions in the representation of funerary effigies is less common.

[170] The north panel does not join with the southern panels of the west face and it is carved in a different style. There also appears to be a date 1518 inscribed above the misaligned north panel of the west face. Morandière, *Estouteville*, p. 536, reports that this was the year the tomb was erected in the church.

[171] See Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 98-100, on Agnes' tomb.

[172] Claretie, *Valmont*, p. 12.

[173] *Correspondance de la famille d'Estouteville (1460-1535)*, ed. Paul LeCacheux (Rouen, 1935), pp. 27-28. Perhaps the sculptor also came from the same school.

Bourbon and Agnes of Burgundy at Souvigny, which were themselves based upon the French royal tomb of Charles V at Saint-Denis.[174] Constructed between 1449 and 1453 by the famous Flemish sculptor Jacques Morel who also created Agnes Sorel's tomb at Loches, the tomb of Charles I of Bourbon shows the same three-part pattern of white marble effigies (as opposed to alabaster on the Estouteville tomb) on a black marble slab surmounting a limestone chest with Gothic niches set inside ogee arches.[175] The floral pattern set inside ogee arches equally seen on the Valmont tomb is rather unusual and seems restricted to the Burgundian area in origin.[176] It, too, can be seen on the sepulchre of Charles of Bourbon and his wife at Souvigny or on the tombs of Philibert of Savoy and Margaret of Bourbon at Brou; all of which were created to a great extent if not entirely by Flemish masters.[177]

Although the black-and-white composition appears to be influenced by the famous monuments of the Burgundian dukes and the French kings, instead of the traditional Burgundian mourners normally situated underneath the niches, the bas-reliefs underneath their flourished canopies show figures of saints in the French tradition. From left to right the south face shows the Virgin with a now mutilated, headless Child with traces of light blue and azure in the first niche.[178] The second incorporates a headless male, presumably St John the Baptist, holding a headless lamb in his left arm, which he is feeding with his right hand.[179] The third niche shows St Anne teaching Mary to read, followed by St Adrian or St Eloi with a lion at his feet.[180] St Catherine with the sword and wheel stands in the fifth niche, followed by St Louis. Despite the French motifs, the saints display Flemish overtones in their composition and dress. In between the niches, there are five badly mutilated human figures on pedestals underneath little canopies, which are rather unusual in Normandy. This is a design more commonly found in the region of Flanders and Northern Germany, such as

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[174] See Antje-Fee Köllermann, 'Das Grabmal von Louis II de Bourbon und Anne d'Auvergne', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 51 (2000), p. 42, for the royal models of the monuments at Souvigny.
[175] The finishing date coincides with their daughter Isabelle's marriage with her cousin Charles, later named the Bold.
[176] Many thanks to Conny Bailey for pointing out a connection with this specific pattern found on retable sculpture mostly from the Bruges area.
[177] Köllermann, 'Grabmal', pp. 33-62. Gardner, *Medieval sculpture*, pp. 448-456.
[178] The Gaignières drawing of this monument shows the same colours inside the niches.
[179] Claretie, *Valmont*, [no pagination]. Jacques Baudoin, *La sculpture flamboyante en Normandie et Ile-de-France* (Paris, 1992), p. 139.
[180] Claretie, *Valmont*, [no pagination], thinks it is St Eloi, presumably on the basis that the anvil represents a blacksmith. Jacques Baudoin, *La sculpture flamboyante en Normandie et Île-de-France* (Paris, 1992), p. 139, suggests St Adrian. This interpretation is more likely, since the anvil and the lion are the typical attributes of Adrian.

the evangelists on the tomb of Mary of Burgundy or the angels on pedestals on the tomb of Margaret of Bourbon at Brou. This observation would again support that this tomb is the work of a Flemish sculptor.

The reasons for employing a Fleming to construct this funerary monument so far northwest are unclear. Vitry's suggestion regarding the general popularity of Flemish art in late medieval France alone is insufficient, although Flemish skill in tomb carving presumably also played a role in the choice of sculptor.[181] The family's connections with other patrons are perhaps more conclusive in finding suitable models for the tomb's overall design. The Estoutevilles had no direct family connection with the Valois dukes, unlike the Bourbon family who had married into the Valois dukes of Burgundy via the wedding of Agnes, daughter of Philip the Bold, with Charles I of Bourbon and again via Isabella of Bourbon's marriage to Charles the Bold in 1453. Instead, the Estouteville family had close connections with the dukes of Bourbon after Jacques's death in 1489.[182] When the guardianship of the couple's four underage children fell to the king, he passed it on to Anne of Beaujeu and her husband Pierre, who had also been his own guardians at the beginning of his reign.[183] The children moved out to live with their new guardians at Moulins.[184] It seems suggestive that this personal connection impacted more strongly on the choice of funerary models on which they based the tomb for their parents than the mode alone.

However, the tomb in its original state as recorded by Gaignières is also indicative of the artistic innovations and successful combinations of different modes during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Fig. 18). It is recorded that the monument was erected in the church of Valmont in 1518, suggesting that it was constructed anytime between the 1490s and 1518.[185] Originally set out as a Gothic tomb consisting of white effigies, a black slab and freestone *tumba*, the Gaignières drawings show a very different monument. The addition of the epitaph at the foot end and the distinctly Renaissance candelabra on the flanking columns suggest that the mainstay of the sepulchre was already carved and maybe even in place when they were added. Perhaps the 'antique' additions must be read in conjunction with the erection of a

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[181] Vitry, *Colombe,* pp. xx, 270.

[182] The family had further connections with the Bourbons in the subsequent generations: Jacques' and Louise's daughter Louise married Jacques de Bourbon. Their granddaughter Adrienne married François de Bourbon. *Correspondance,* p. 76.

[183] Morandière, *Estouteville*, p. 533.

[184] *Correspondance,* pp. 61, 73.

[185] Morandière, *Estouteville*, p. 536.

monument for the twelfth-century founder of the abbey, Nicholas d'Estouteville, in 1524. The 'antique' mode for the additions would have helped create an impression of the longevity of the family, but it could have just as easily been pure coincidence or predominantly had aesthetic considerations. Nevertheless, their addition, perhaps caused by deliberate design or through later alterations, creates the impression of a new creativity and vivacity within this funerary creation, a new vibrancy and artistic experimentation so typical of the period reflected in the use of multiple modes on the same monument.

Rather than patrons remaining entrenched in clear-cut stylistic choices for their monuments along chronologically progressive divisions, that is to say Gothic gradually being replaced by Italian Renaissance style, this chapter has suggested that the late fifteenth century was a period of restructuring, experimentation and innovation in funerary sculpture which, to some extent, reflected the restructuring of Europe after the end of the Hundred Years' War. Politicians and individuals actively engaged in the Franco-Burgundian conflict such as Philippe Pot or Maximilian of Austria reinterpreted traditional funerary elements in innovative artistic creations, making these monuments truly 'modern' and cutting-edge media commenting on their patrons political concerns. Lesser nobles such as the Estoutevilles joined the artistic and political dialogue; they were equally inspired by, and displayed, their patronage connections in their choice of funerary sculpture, in the Estouteville's case their connection with the house of Bourbon. Their primary contribution to the innovation of funerary sculpture in France, however, was that they, too, began using different modes on the same tomb, either by coincidence or by deliberate design.

However, the struggle for power and domination in Europe soon shifted from Northern Europe to the south when the Burgundian question was solved in favour of the Habsburgs.[186] Philip the Fair's majority concluded the French endeavours to secure Burgundy, although it did not conclude hostilities between the two rulers and new political requirements equally called for, and enabled, artistic innovations. In response to Maximilian of Austria's coronation as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1493, the rivals Maximilian and Charles soon turned their attention towards a new battleground: Italy.

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[186] Janine Garrisson, *A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483-1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion* (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 4, on the political focus on Burgundy.

Chapter 2:

The attraction of the 'antique' mode in tomb sculpture: the French presence in Italy, c. 1494-1512

It has traditionally been argued that the Renaissance in France began with the onset of the Italian wars to conquer the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan under Charles VIII and his successor Louis XII.[187] Although the military victories and the French occupation of the conquered territories were short-lived, the true impact of these expeditions has been considered to be the influx of Italian Renaissance art and Italian lifestyle on French culture.[188] Upon their return to their home country, Charles and Louis brought with them a large number of Italian craftsmen and artists, such as Girolamo da Fiesole or Girolamo Viscardo.[189] Once these men arrived in France, the fascination with Italy was developed and enhanced by their production of Renaissance artworks at court.

In the light of more recent literature on 'Renaissance Gothic', however, this broadsweeping statement is too simplistic.[190] The period between 1494 and 1512 shows a multitude of 'antique' elements in funerary sculpture being introduced throughout France, although the majority of Renaissance monuments were not installed before the onset of the new century.[191] Instead of assuming a predetermined success of Italian Renaissance art over its Gothic predecessor, it is therefore necessary to examine the impact of historical and geographical opportunity as well as patrons' initiative in the impact of 'antique' sculpture on French funerary art. Out of a sample of seventeen surviving monuments commissioned, constructed or completed between 1494 and 1512, only eight monuments can be distinguished as directly influenced by the Italian

[187] See for example Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, pp. 36-38. Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 35-37, has pointed out that Charles VIII wanted Naples to make good the claims to the kingdom which Louis XI had been unable to fulfil, but also as a starting point for a crusade. Louis XII's right to Milan was based on his Milanese grandmother's inheritance. See ibid., p. 49, and below.
[188] All mainstream literature, although this broad statement has at times been contested or qualified. See for instance Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 13; Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 5; 8; 10; 36. André Chastel, *French Art: the Renaissance, 1430-1620* (Paris, 1995). Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 131-223.
[189] Fiesole worked on the tomb of Francis II of Brittany in Nantes. Viscardo most prominently worked on the sculptures in Fécamp. See Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 40. There are plenty more examples. Although obviously an old work, Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 134-137, gives a good overview of Italian artists imported to France. Useful, if somewhat old-fashioned, are also the two chapters on sculpture by Arthur Tilley, *The dawn of the French Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 457-528.
[190] See Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*; and Chatenet et al., *Gothique*.
[191] For the term 'antique' for Renaissance monuments in contemporary thought, see Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, p. 14.

Renaissance, that is to say, they were either constructed in Italy, using Italian material, 'antique' ornaments or Italian craftsmanship.[192] This number is representative of early sixteenth-century sepulchral monuments in France, as the Gaignières drawings confirm.[193] All eight of these 'antique' monuments were commissioned by patrons from the highest social order: three were commissioned by Louis XII or his wife Anne of Brittany; two were commissioned by prominent nobles; and three by members of the nobility or the clergy.[194] Rather than analysing all relevant commissions of significant artistic influence, this chapter focuses on three case studies, representative for three different categories of patron: the tomb of the dukes of Orléans, commissioned by King Louis XII, the tomb of nobleman Raoul de Lannoy (d. 1513) and his wife in Folleville, and the sepulchre of Bishop Thomas James (d. 1504) at Dol-de-Bretagne.[195] By examining specific examples of these three categories of patron, this chapter suggests that the Italian expeditions opened a window of political and artistic opportunity to royalty and nobility alike. It proposes that between 1494 and 1512 'antique' elements in funerary sculpture were actively and deliberately chosen by their patrons to utilise, to represent, and to enhance their occupational and political interests in Italy.[196]

<u>The 'antique' tomb of the dukes of Orléans: the monumental expression of Louis XII's ancient claim to Milan</u>

The sepulchre of the dukes of Orléans, today in Saint-Denis, demonstrates in what ways an 'antique' funerary monument could enhance its royal patron's political agenda in

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[192] This sample is based upon my research trip in the summer of 2011. See Appendix A.

[193] The sample of non-Italian sepulchral monuments is by no means complete, the sample of Italian tomb sculptures according to the Gaignières drawings, however, is representative as well as exhaustive with the exception of the tomb of Pierre de Roncherolles at Ecouis.

[194] The monuments commissioned by the royal couple were the tomb of the dukes of Orléans; the monument of Francis II of Brittany and his wife at Nantes; and the monument of Charles Orland and Charles of France (the deceased children of Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany) at Tours. Commissioned by prominent nobles were the tombs of Raoul de Lannoy and his wife at Folleville, and Louis de Blanchefort at Ferrières-en-Gâtinais. In the final category, there are the tombs of Bishop Thomas James at Dol-de-Bretagne and Bishop Guillaume Guéguen at Nantes. Perhaps one may also count the remnants of the *enfeu* of Claude de Saint-Marcel at Montbrison to this category.

[195] Other options would have included the tomb of Francis II of Brittany or the sepulchre of the children of Charles VIII at Tours. However, there is more understudied material available for the tomb of the dukes of Orléans, for instance the epitaphs, hence the focus on this royal tomb instead of the other two.

[196] This works in conjunction with Vitry's emphasis on the continuation of Flemish art in France during the early sixteenth century. See Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 224-271.

terms of its location, material and craftsmanship (Fig. 25).[197] Its turbulent history demonstrates the need for its analysis against its socio-historical and spatial contexts. It is worth giving a brief account of the monument's history to help illustrate this prime example of the political usage of 'antique' sepulchral monuments during the early Renaissance period. In 1498, Louis XII inherited the throne of France, after Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany had lost all their children at an early age. He commissioned the monument of the dukes of Orléans, his direct ancestors, in 1502, thus shortly after his accession to the throne. It was completed in Genoa and erected within the Orléans chapel at the esteemed Célestins of Paris two years later.[198] During the French Revolution, like many other burial sites throughout the country, the church and the vast majority of its tombs were mutilated or destroyed. A few fragments and monuments survived in the *Musée de monumens français*, among them the tomb of the dukes of Orléans.[199] During the short reign of Louis XVIII, the tomb of the dukes of Orléans was moved to the royal burial site at Saint-Denis.[200] It was restored to its current appearance under the famous architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) in the second half of the nineteenth century.[201]

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[197] The literature on this monument is vast and yet vastly noncommittal. Although it is mentioned in all the mainstream literature and often accompanied by high quality photographs, case studies of more than a few sentences rarely exist. For some very brief comments, see Palustre, *Renaissance*, II, pp. 140-141; Chastel, *French Art*, p. 127. See Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 142-145; Tilley, *French Renaissance*, pp. 481-482; Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 36-37; and Blunk, *Taktieren,* pp. 105-112, for some more detailed analysis.

[198] In the sixteenth century, this was the most prestigious burial site for members of the aristocracy outside the immediate royal family. The Orléans chapel of the Célestins was built by Louis of Orléans in 1394. Emile Raunié, *Épitaphier du vieux Paris*, II (Paris, 1893), p. 369; and Tilley, *French Renaissance*, p. 481.

[199] Brown, 'Oxford collection', p. 8.

[200] It was moved to its current location between 1817 and 1818.

[201] The removal and elevation of the non-royal tomb of the dukes of Orléans to its current resting place at the royal burial site must also be assessed in the wider context of the reconstruction of French funerary sculpture under Napoleon Bonaparte and the nineteenth-century attempts to reinstate the Bourbon monarchy. The first attempt to reinstate the royal tombs was undertaken by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1806 as part of his imperial propaganda, as he aimed to portray himself as the legitimate ruler of France in order to justify his rule against the genealogically superior claims of the Bourbon monarchists. Part of Napoleon's plans to create a monarchy for himself also involved transforming the basilica of Saint-Denis into an imperial museum to lend legitimacy to his newly created hereditary empire, most notably by portraying the French kings as his immediate ancestors. The aim of recreating Saint-Denis as an imperial or royal mausoleum continued throughout the nineteenth century, as part of Louis XVIII and Louis-Philippe's royal propaganda, and again as an imperial mausoleum under Napoleon III. Although perhaps the most significant, the tomb of the dukes of Orléans is only one of many Bourbon sepulchres which were moved from non-royal burial sites to the royal basilica for dynastic reasons. Louis of Orléans depicted on the tomb was the son of Charles V and his wife Jeanne de Bourbon, thus a direct ancestor of the Bourbon kings. It is difficult to imagine any other reason for the relocation of the tomb of the dukes of Orléans to the royal mausoleum than Louis XVIII's need to

In its current format in the basilica of Saint-Denis, this white marble sculpture consists of an unusual square composition of the Orléans family group with four elevated effigies and prominent niches with six figures of apostles and a number of saints on each side. The two *gisants* in the middle of the construction are placed higher than the outer effigies (Fig. 26). From the left to right, the monument shows Louis' father Charles (1394-1465), his grandparents Louis of Orléans (1372-1407) and Valentina Visconti (1366-1408), and their other son Philippe (1396-1420).[202] The couple takes an elevated position above their sons to signify their seniority. The clothing on the effigies reflects that this work was a high status project. The dukes are shown wearing a symbolic fur – most likely ermine – cloak and mantle. They each wear the ducal coronet to indicate their rank. Each effigy is accompanied either by their heraldic beast or their personal emblems. Moving from the outside wall to the nave, the effigy of Charles displays a porcupine; Louis is accompanied by a lion.[203] A dog as the traditional symbol of matrimonial fidelity lies at Valentina's feet, and Philippe is accompanied by a ferret.[204]

A number of inscriptions, now disappeared, accompanied the monument, although unfortunately there is little indication as to when they were created. The names and titles of the deceased accompanied the effigies on the sides for the sons and on the foot end for the couple are presumably contemporary.[205] The effigies were introduced as 'LOIS, DUC/ D'ORLEANS', 'VALENTINE DE/ MILAN, SA FEMME', 'CHARLES DUC D'ORLEANS. LEUR FILZ, PERE DE ROI LOIS XII[E]' and finally,

emphasise the longevity and impact of the Bourbon dynasty on French history, particularly after his long-term rival Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat and second exile. This relocation of tomb monuments not previously at Saint-Denis to rest at the royal mausoleum suggests that even 300 years or more after their initial construction, funerary monuments were restored in a more prestigious location by the nineteenth-century French emperors and kings for the very same reason they were erected originally: as an instrument of propaganda designed to elevate the current ruler by glorifying the historic achievements of his real or alleged ancestors, as well as to demonstrate the continuity of his line, his own legitimacy and the continued sanctity of his office. See 'Bonapartism', in Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (London, 1994), pp. 62-63. Brown, 'Oxford collection', pp. 19, 22, for background on the reconstructions.

[202] Although Louis XII and his grandfather both held the title Louis of Orléans, in this chapter the latter signifies Louis XII's grandfather unless otherwise stated.

[203] The porcupine was deemed a belligerent animal which could kill its enemies in close-range combat and from a distance by shooting its quills at the opponent. The porcupine appears on a variety of royal commissions from the reign of Louis XII as his personal beast. See Robert W. Scheller, 'Ensigns of authority: French royal symbolism in the age of Louis XII', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 13 (1983), pp. 79-80.

[204] Raunié, *Épitaphier*, p. 377.

[205] See ibid., p. 367 for a drawing, and p. 379 for a transcript.

'PHILIPPES, CONTE DE VERTUS, LEUR SECOND FILZ'.[206] A further Latin inscription again introduced the patron and the people commemorated.[207]

An accompanying inscription in golden letters was placed on a black marble slab on a pillar to the right of the monument. It read:

> QUIS TUMULUM POSUIT! REGUM REX MAXIMUS ILLE
>   FILIUS ET REGUM REX LUDOVICUS HONOR.
> QUANDO! POST LIGUREM, INSUBREM, SICULUMQUE TRIUMPHUM
>   POST CAPTOS REGES SFORCIADASQUE DUCES.
> QUIS JACET HIC! MAGNI HEROES, LUDOVICUS ET UXOR
>   ALMA VALENTINA, REGIA PROGENIES;
> AURELI PROCERES, CAROLUS CUM FRATRE PHILIPPO;
>   ILLE AVUS, ILLA AVIA EST; HIC PATER, HIC PATRUUS.
> QUI[D] GENUS! A FRANCIS. STUDIUM QUOD! REGNA TUERI
>   BELLAQUE SANGUINEA SOLLICITARE MANU!
> QUE MULIER! DUCIS INSUBRII PULCHERRIMA PROLES;
>   JUS MEDIOLANI SCEPTRAQUE DOTE DEDIT.
> VIVERE DEBUERANT PROPTER FATA INCLITA* SEMPER;
>   DEBUERANT! SED MORS IMPIA CUNCTA RAPIT.
> HOS ERGO RAPUIT PROCERES! NON[:]* CORPORA TANTUM;
>   SEMPER ERUNT ANIM[A]E*, GLORIA SEMPER ERIT.[208]

A further inscription in gold letters was placed on a second pillar, again on a black marble base:

> HOC TECUM ILLUSTRIS, PARIO, LUDOVICE, SEPULCHRO
>   JUNCTA VALENTINE CONJUGIS OSSA CUBANT;
> EMERITO INSUBRIS TIBI JURA DUCALIA SCEPTRI
>   TRADITA LEGITIME PREMIA DOTIS ERANT.
> SUBJACET ET CAROLO CLAUSUS CUM FRATRE PHILIPPUS,
>   INCLITA JAM VESTRI PIGNORA BINA THORI.
> MAGNIFICUS CAROLO NASCENS LUDOVICUS AB ALTO,
>   HEC POSUIT LARGA BUSTA SUPERBA MANU,
> SFORCIADEM INDIGNA PEPULIT QUI EX SEDE TIRANNUM

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[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid., pp. 380-381.

[208] Ibid., pp. 379-380; Blunk, *Taktieren*, pp. 109-110 gives a slightly different transcription: * indicates such amendments. 'Who placed the tomb! This great king of kings, son and honour of kings, King Louis. When! After his triumph over the Genoese, the Milanese and the Sicilians, after he captured the kings and Sforza dukes. Who lies here! Great heroes, Louis and his wife Mother Valentina: royal lineage; Orléan(i)s(h) nobility, Charles with his brother Philippe; he the grandfather, she the grandmother; this the father, this the uncle. Of which people! Of the Franks. What strife! To protect the realm and to stir bloody war by [his own] hand! What [of the] woman! The most beautiful offspring of the Milanese duke, she gave the right to Milan and the sceptre [realm]as dowry. They always owed [them] living close to their famous destinies; they owed them! Still, death carried off all heinous ones. Thus it also took these nobles! Not merely the bodies, but the souls will always be, glory will always be.'

> *ET SUA QUI SICULAS SUB JUGA MISIT OPES;*
> *UT TANTOS DECORATA DUCES AURELIA JACTAT,*
>   *GALLICA SIC ILLO SCEPTRA TENENTE TUMENT.*[209]

Opposite the monument, a further French inscription served as an external epitaph:

> *CY GIST LOUYS, DUC D'ORLEANS*
> *FILS DE CHARLES, FONDEUR DE CEANS,*
> *ET FRERE DE CHARLES SUYVANT,*
> *DE FRANCE ROYS TRES CHRESTIENS;*
> *LEQUEL, SUR TOUS DUCS TERRIENS*
> *FUT LE PLUS NOBLE EN SON VIVANT;*
> *MAIS UNG QUI VOULT ALLER DEVANT*
> *PAR ENVIE LE FIT MOURIR,*
> *DONT JUSQU'ICY EN ESTRIVANT*
> *ON A VEU MAINT SANG DECOURIR.*
> *LE JOUR SAINCT CLEMENT, OU FLOURIR,*
> *[IL] TRESPASSA, COMME [L']ON SCAIT*
> *DE NUICT, QU'ON N'Y PUST SECOURIR,*
> *EN L'AN MIL QUATRE CENS ET SEPT.*
> *DIEU LUY FACE PARDON A L'AME*
> *ET A VALENTINE SA FEMME,*
> *AU COMTE DE VERTUS LEUR FILS,*
> *LESQUELS DEPUIS, COMME ON REMEMBRE,*
> *SUR LUY FURENT ENSEVELIS,*
> *LE VINGTIESME JOUR DE SEPTEMBRE*
> *MIL QUATRE CENS QURANTE SIX.*[210]

The question of hierarchy and its reflection in the elevation of the effigies is significant to the understanding of this monument.[211] The ducal couple is elevated to emphasise that they were the ancestors who produced the offspring depicted on the lower level. Although the couple is presented in a raised position, their effigies are inferior in terms

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[209] Raunié, *Épitaphier*, p. 380. 'Louis, in this white marble sepulchre the bones of your illustrious wife Valentina lie combined with you; as an old man, the Milanese gave you the ducal right to the realm as legitimately inherited prize as dowry. He is inferior [defeated] and already Philippe, with Charles, his brother, has tied two famous pledges to your bier. The great Louis, born from the high Charles, erected these large tombs of superb workmanship, he who expelled the Sforza tyrant from his unworthy seat, and he who placed the Sicilian powers under the yokes, how decorated Orléans prided herself in such great dukes, the Gaulish realms swelled so (much) when he held them.'

[210] Ibid., p. 381. 'Here lies Louis, duke of Orléans, son of Charles, founder of this chapel, and brother of Charles following, of French kings most Christian; the latter, above all [other] landowning dukes, was made the most noble during his lifetime; but one who wished to go before him [place himself above him], whose bloody hand one would have wished to restrain until now, for envy made him die. In 1407 on the day of St Clement, where he was flourishing, he passed away during the night as one knows so he could not be saved. God will grant his soul absolution, and his wife Valentina also, and their son the count of Vertus. They were buried above him, as one remembers, on the twentieth day of September 1446.'

[211] See also Blunk, *Taktieren*, pp. 110-111.

of carving and clothing.[212] Their dress follows their body line in only a few plain folds, while their sons' dress is more elaborately draped around their body in a multitude of folds. The hands, in particular the veins, and the facial features of the outside effigies Philippe and Charles are more refined and more detailed than for their parents (Fig. 27). The couple's elevated position pays tribute to the greater distance between the effigies and the viewer, thus details were deemed less important.

Nevertheless, the funerary monument of the dukes of Orléans is one of the most highly esteemed Renaissance sculptures in France. Blunt has remarked that its true significance and artistic innovation is the shift from mourners to the depiction of apostles on the tomb chest, marking the transition from Burgundian Gothic to Italian Renaissance art.[213] On each side of the elaborately carved tomb chest, it features six shell niches with an apostle or a saint underneath each (Figs. 28-30). Although it is possible to identify a small number of figures, the lack of unambiguous and decisive attributes makes their accurate identification rather more difficult.[214] On the basis of the few remaining attributes, such as books to indicate apostles, as well as some surviving individual attributes such as a long beard, a satchel or a staff, it seems conclusive to suggest that the twelve apostles line the north and south faces of the monument. Other identifiable figures of saints on the east and west face include St Agnes, and St Catherine, as well as St Sebastian, St Jerome and perhaps St Louis or St Demetrius. As mourners were unknown in Italy where the monument was created, however, one should perhaps not exaggerate their absence in favour of figures of saints.[215]

At a time when most Northern European patrons did not turn to Italy in their commissions of art, Louis' commission of Italians for this 'antique' monument needs explanation. Instead of commissioning Northern European sculptors, Louis chose the Genoese and Florentine sculptors Girolamo Viscardi, Michele d'Aria, Donato di

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[212] Presumably they were also conducted by different hands.

[213] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 37.

[214] Although most possess some identifier, such as belonging to a certain age group, featuring a beard or holding a book, there are several possible options for many of the individuals displayed. It is equally telling, if unhelpful, that the literature does not attempt at identification either, generally only referring to saints and apostles lining the tomb chest. For help in identifying the saints, see George Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Paintings* (Florence, 1965) and his *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy* (Florence, 1978); Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien, III* (Paris, 1958); and John J. Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints* (Tadworth, 1982).

[215] Robert W. Scheller, 'Ung fil tres delicat: Louis XII and Italian affairs, 1510-1511', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 31 (2004-2005), pp. 36-37, quotes a confused Italian observer of a French funeral in Milan.

Battista Benti and Benedetto da Rovezzano to produce this monument in Genoa.[216] While there may have been some artistic appeal to Louis' extraordinary choice, from a historical perspective, it is difficult to overlook the strategic and political implications of creating a monumental Italian connection. The tomb was commissioned by Louis XII in 1502 at the height of his Italian campaigns and most pertinently, constructed after his successful military quest to acquire Milan, which he considered to be his hereditary right based upon his grandmother Valentina Visconti.[217] She was the daughter of the meanwhile extinct family of the Visconti dukes of Milan. Her marriage contract specified that if the house of Visconti failed to produce a male heir, the duchy should resort to the progeny of Valentina and her husband.[218] Although the ruling house of Milan had since been replaced by the Sforzas, as Valentina's grandson Louis insisted that he had rights to the duchy – a claim that he also enforced militarily.[219]

Scheller has convincingly argued that Louis XII increasingly commissioned visual propaganda to legitimise his conquest of Milan between 1498 and 1507 as the return of its rightful ruler, based upon his family connection with the house of Visconti.[220] Louis even adopted as his royal emblem the porcupine of the chivalric *Ordre du porc-epic et du camail* (the Order of the Porcupine), founded by his grandfather in 1394, thus visually linking his own device with that of his grandparents.[221] It is worth investigating if the tomb of the dukes of Orléans supports the function as a medium constructed with the direct political aim to visualise Louis' ancient family claims to the duchy. The introduction of the effigies as 'VALENTINE DU MILAN', and Charles, introduced as 'PERE DU ROI LOIS XII[E]' works to establish an immediate family connection between the king and the duchy of Milan.[222]

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[216] A contract from 1502 mentions these names. See Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 36.

[217] Scheller, 'Ensigns', pp. 76-79.

[218] David Meredith Bueno De Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan (1351-1402): A study in the political career of an Italian despot* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 67. Robert J. Knecht, *The Valois: Kings of France, 1328-1589* (London, 2007), p. 120.

[219] According to Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 52, the greatest territorial French presence in Italy since 887 and before 1789 was under Louis XII between 1501 and 1502. Scheller, 'Ensigns', p. 77. His father had attempted to take Milan in 1447 and failed.

[220] Robert W. Scheller, 'Gallia Cisalpina: Louis XII and Italy 1499-1508', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 15 (1985), pp. 5-60; Scheller, 'Ensigns,' pp. 75-141, especially pp. 76-78; 87-89.

[221] Scheller, 'Ensigns', pp. 79-80. It was never a very distinguished order and no Visconti ever joined. It was disbanded by Louis XII in 1498 when he became head of the Order of Saint-Michel. Louis retained the porcupine emblem for his own use, which can be seen until today on various châteaux of the Loire, eg. Amboise. See Nicole Hochner, 'Louis XII and the porcupine: transformations of a royal emblem', *Renaissance Studies*, 15 (2001), p. 21. For the order's members, see Charles d'Orlac, 'Les chevaliers du porc-épic ou du camail 1394-1498', *Revue nobiliaire, héraldique et biographique*, 3 (1867), pp. 337-50.

[222] Raunié, *Épitaphier*, p. 379.

The porcupine emblem also appears as the personal beast at the feet of the effigy of Louis' father Charles, symbolically linking Louis, his father and his grandfather. Working in conjunction with the location of the tomb in the chapel founded by his grandfather Louis of Orléans, this visual connection between Louis XII and his ancestors proclaimed the legitimacy of his claims to the duchy of Milan.

The two longer epitaphs to the side of the monument equally suggest that the sepulchre served to justify Louis' claims to Milan. The first inscription formerly to the right of the monument establishes Louis XII's family connection with Valentina and her connection with Milan.[223] The inscription then narrates how the Milanese failed to honour Louis' claims and that he rightfully took possession of the duchy on the basis of his ancestral claims.[224] The second inscription confirms that his right to Milan was exclusively based upon Louis being his grandmother's heir and that he expelled the previous rulers, the Sforza dukes, as unlawful and tyrants.[225] In doing so, Louis proclaimed a double connection with Milan: the first, based upon his presumed birth right through his grandmother was intended to legitimise and to provide the genealogical pretext for his conquest of Milan; the second claim was based on Sforza tyranny, which was more likely to gain foothold among the Milanese, as many resented the absolute nature of Sforza rule.[226] Therefore, it is hardly a coincidence that Louis commissioned this 'antique' monument in Paris not only to honour his ancestors, but more significantly to legitimise his allegedly ancient claims to Milan, thus visually sanctifying his conquest within the sacred church space of the Célestins convent.[227]

Although the recovery of Milan undoubtedly constitutes a significant aspect of the political purpose of the monument, it is worth investigating this tomb against other works of art commissioned under the patronage of Louis XII in the wider European context. In a series of articles, Robert Scheller has argued that Louis XII made extensive use of imperial themes in his propaganda alongside his claims to Milan,

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[223] Quoted above. Despite being widely available through antiquarian sources, Blunk, *Taktieren*, pp. 109-110, correctly points out that the epitaphs have been rather curiously ignored by scholars.

[224] A. Mary F. Robinson, 'The claim of the house of Orléans to Milan, continued', *The English Historical Review*, 3 (1888), pp. 270-291, provides useful background to the intricacies of the Orléans claim to Milan and to the ruling house of Sforza as usurpers in this very old article.

[225] See above.

[226] For opposing voices, see Jane Black, *Absolutism in Renaissance Milan: Plenitude of Power under the Visconti and Sforza 1329-1535* (Oxford, 2009), particularly pp. 157-181. Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 50. See also Blunk, *Taktieren*, p. 110.

[227] Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 49-53.

particularly in the period from 1498 to 1507.[228] He suggested that this was in response to, and in dialogue with, Louis' personal rival Maximilian of Austria, who showed a similar interest in the usage of Romanised, that is to say 'antique', visual propaganda.[229] Their rivalry was immediately connected to their political and territorial interests, particularly in Italy, and served as a display of the ancient legitimacy of their power. As Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire since 1493, Maximilian was theoretically Louis XII's fief lord in the latter's newly acquired position as duke of Milan. In theory, therefore, Louis owed his allegiance to Maximilian, which required him to swear fealty to his overlord, although in reality the oath had no further political significance.[230] Nevertheless, Louis and Maximilian engaged in an artistic battle depicting themselves in ancient imperial poses as an expression of the rivalry of their power in Italy and in Northern Europe.

As this example has demonstrated, the commission of Italians creating an 'antique' monument within the Orléans chapel of the Célestins fulfilled immediate strategic functions. On the one hand, the placement of the monument in the chapel founded by the very ancestor commemorated on the monument, Louis of Orléans, established a direct family connection between Louis XII and his grandfather. On the other hand, the usage of Italian sculptors visually enhanced his family connection with Valentina Visconti, and hence legitimised his conquest of Milan. Thus the choice of the 'antique' mode, Italian material and Italian sculptors in the creation of this monument was not so much the result of a fashion, but the result of Louis XII's strategic considerations to proclaim, to legitimise and to enhance his position as the rightful ruler of Milan. At least in Louis XII's case, the recovery of his family's territorial claims and his personal ambitions lay at the heart of the appeal of 'antique' sculpture.

<u>'Antique' and 'modern': the tomb of nobleman Raoul de Lannoy (d. 1513) and his temporary connection with the city of Genoa</u>

Hardly less elaborate than their royal counterparts, noblemen often integrated similar Renaissance designs, iconography and sculptors to their royal betters into their funerary

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[228] Scheller, 'Ensigns', pp. 75-141, is the most explicit of the four. See also his 'Gallia Cisalpina', pp. 5-60.

[229] Silver, *Marketing Maximilian,* and his 'Shining Armor: Maximilian I as Holy Roman Emperor', A*rt Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 12 (1985), pp. 8-29.

[230] He formally swore fealty to the emperor via his representative and close adviser, the Cardinal of Amboise, in 1505. Scheller, 'Ensigns', p. 78, rather explicitly makes the point that Maximilian's power in Italy was extremely limited due to his lack of financial means and Louis' military conquests.

sculpture when the opportunity arose. The 'antique' mode on sepulchres often emerged as a by-product of their commissioners' foreign travels when they utilised their Italian connections. Situated in close proximity to the nearby family castle, the tomb of Raoul de Lannoy and his wife Jehanne de Poix (d. 1524) in the parish church of Folleville in Picardy is one prime example of the use of multiple modes on a single monument (Fig. 31).[231] Thanks to local initiative to protect the tomb in 1793, it survives in remarkably good condition.[232] Although best-known as an early Renaissance monument, it consists of a mixture of Italian, flamboyant Gothic and local influences, most notably divided into an Italian Renaissance *tumba*, Gothic canopy and local carving on the inside walls.[233] On the basis of three small inscriptions at the feet of the effigies, the tomb chest has been attributed to the Italian sculptor Antonio della Porta (active c. 1489-1519) and his nephew Pace Gaggini (active c. 1493-1521). The Roman capital letters beneath Raoul's feet read 'ANTONIVS DE PORTA/ TAMAGNINVS MEDIOLANENSIS FACIEBAT', and 'ET PAXIUS NEPOS SUUS'.[234] A more faded inscription beneath the feet of the lady again mentions Antonio della Porta as the sculptor.[235] Hence it has been generally accepted that the tomb chest and the two effigies were commissioned while Lannoy was governor in Genoa between 1507 and

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[231] This monument is frequently mentioned, yet not often analysed in depth, in the mainstream literature. Most of the more detailed work has been done by the members of the *Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, although they tend to have an antiquarian rather than an (art) historical focus. See Palustre, *Renaissance* I, pp. 46-48 ; Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 158-161. M. A. Carlier, 'Les trois monuments principaux de l'église de Folleville: le tombeau de Raoul de Lannoy, le tombeau de François de Lannoy, le sépulcre (aujourd'hui à Joigny)', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 156 (1992), pp. 203-220. For one of the oldest, but still the most thorough work on this monument, see Georges Durand, 'Les Lannoy, Folleville, et l'art italien dans le nord de la France', *Bulletin Monumental*, 70 (1906), pp. 329-404. For more modern accounts, see also Christine Debrie, 'Les monuments sculptes du chœur de l'église de Folleville: XVIe siècle', *Revue du Nord*, 63 (1981), pp. 415-438 . Pierre Michelin, *Folleville: la fin du Moyen Age et les premières formes de la modernité (1519-1617)*, (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 56) (Amiens, 2000), also provides a wealth of information. Perhaps less convincing is Alain Carlier, 'Le tombeau de Raoul de Lannoy à Folleville: trois niveau de lecture', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie,* 3ème trimestre (2000), pp. 469-484, though it adds an interesting level of alchemical reading to the tomb. See Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, pp. 244-245, on multiple modes; and Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 20, for an interpretation of hybridity.
[232] Michelin, *Folleville*, pp. 27-28.
[233] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, pp. 39-40. Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 20.
[234] Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 159-160; Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 20; Michelin, *Folleville*, pp. 32-33, for a more detailed assessment of the sculptors. See Hanno-Walter Kruft, 'Antonio della Porta, gen. Tamagnino', *Pantheon: Internationale Zeitschrift für Kunst*, 28 (1970), pp. 401-414.
[235] 'ANTONIO/ TAMAGNINO/ DE MILANO/ FACIEB[AT]'.

1508 and carved in Italy, although the burial church itself was only constructed a decade later.[236]

Although the monument was commissioned parallel to Lannoy's position as governor of Genoa, it was not finished until much later.[237] In Lannoy's will from 27 February 1512, he states that he 'veut et entend être inhumé en une chapelle qui se devoit construire et ajouster en l'église de Monsieur Saint-Jacques de Folleville'.[238] Michelin remarks that the use of the imperfect of the verb suggests that the church was by no means finished at Lannoy's death one year later, although at this point, construction plans already existed.[239] The chapel itself was founded and registered with the bishopric at Amiens on 4 May 1519, while daily masses were first conducted for the soul of Raoul de Lannoy in 1524.[240] These dates imply that the sepulchre could not have been installed in the chapel before May 1519 and presumably no later than 1524, thus at least six years after Lannoy's death.[241] In turn, the length of time required to erect the monument suggests that although the tomb chest was marked as the work of Antonio della Porta and Pace Gaggini early during the construction, the monument itself consists of a multitude of construction phases and sculptors.[242]

The tomb comprises an elaborate and highly detailed Gothic *enfeu* with two Renaissance effigies underneath a flamboyant canopy. Two arches split the canopy into three vertical sections, dividing them into one quarter, two quarters and one quarter sections.[243] These three sections are again divided horizontally with a bar, leaving one third of the space above and two thirds below the divide. Amid elaborate foliage, two pairs of cornucopias, each with an inscription displaying part of the de Lannoy motto,

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[236] Raoul de Lannoy is most famous for his pacification of the rebellious town of Genoa in 1507. After the uprising was successfully put down, he was appointed governor to restore order in the town. See Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 59-60, for historical background on the patron. For the construction, see Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 373. Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 39. It is unclear how they were transported to Folleville in their intact form. Michelin, *Folleville*, pp. 124-125, offers parallels with the import of other marble sculptures.

[237] It was also intended for a different location from its current place within the church, as there used to be a staircase connecting the church and the castle on the west side of the monument. See Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 20.

[238] Michelin, *Folleville*, p. 22. '[I] wish and intend to be buried in a chapel which is to be constructed and adjoined on the church of Saint-Jacques at Folleville'.

[239] Ibid., p. 22.

[240] Ibid.

[241] See Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 20.

[242] Ibid.

[243] See Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: a concept in art theory* (London, 1960), pp. 53-56; 63-68, on the idea of beauty and symmetry in Renaissance thought.

complete the topmost section of the tomb.[244] The middle vertical section, however, is the most striking and creates the centrepiece of the construction of the canopy. Placed underneath the canopy of a tent reaching into the upper horizontal section, a Madonna and Child, set within a rosary of flowers divided by larger flowers, prominently emerge from the stem of a lily (Fig. 32). A Gothic inscription on the rim of the tent reads 'Tota: pulcra: es: amica: mea: can^z s^{o}'.[245] The tent canopy appears to be held by an angel, who is flanked by a centaur holding a heart-shaped mirror on the left, and a mermaid holding a comb and mirror on the right. A further two angels draw open the flap of the tent to display the rosary of flowers, which surrounds the Virgin and Child and ends underneath the bud of the lily. An angel supports the stem of the lily from underneath, holding a banderol which reads 'liliu[m] co[n]ualliu[m], can^z i^{o}'.[246]

The Virgin Mary is depicted crowned and wearing a cloak. She holds her son on her right arm. The Christ child holds a ruler in his right hand, casually pointing it towards the lower section of the *enfeu*. In the background of the scene, there is the depiction of a trellis with some faint trees behind it, symbolizing the *hortus conclusus* of Mary's virginity.[247] The lily is used as a deliberate reference to the quotations from the Song of Solomon echoed on the banner. This scene is completed by the two emblems and scrolls of the evangelists, the eagle of John and the angel for Matthew, flanking the Virgin on both sides. The ox of Luke and the lion of Mark are placed within the bottom tip of the arches, each holding a scroll with their name on it.

To the left and right of the central section of the canopy, there are two busts of the deceased couple within medallions of foliage growing out of griffins' claws. The couple are portrayed as a gentleman wearing a contemporary hat on the left and as a lady wearing a delicately trimmed hood on the right. On the far outside of the canopy of the *enfeu*, there are two male figures underneath small flamboyant canopies. The bishop

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[244] The left section reads 'Craindons lamoy [sic]', to be completed by 'Mieulx en aurons' on the right. See also Durand, 'Lannoy', pp. 363-364. The **o** in 'Craindons' may be a different letter on the tomb, the **m** in 'lamoy' is definitely, if unusually, an **m**.

[245] Ibid., p. 362. This quotation refers to the Song of Solomon, or Canticum Canticorum, 4:7, 'Tota pulchra es, amica mea'. See the online Vatican version of the Bible, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_vt_canticum-canticorum_lt.html#4], viewed 27 February 2013. All subsequent Latin Bible quotes use this version unless indicated otherwise. For a common English translation, 'Thou art all fair, my love', see the King James Version of the Bible, [http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/book.php?book=Song+of+Solomon&chapter=4&verse=7], viewed 27 February 2013.

[246] Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 361. This quotation again refers to the Song of Solomon, 2:1, 'Ego flos campi et lilium convallium.' See the online Vatican version of the Bible.

[247] Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 362.

on the left features a bishop's staff, mitre and stola with crosses on it, perhaps representing Boniface.[248] The man on the right holds a crown of thorns and a sceptre. Unlike the other figure, he is dressed in military garb underneath his surcoat, which is embroidered with fleur-de-lis; he represents St Louis.[249] As in the lily of the Virgin's case, their pillars are surmounted on the backs of hunched *Atlantae*.

The tomb chest and the effigies are constructed in white marble in an 'antique' mode, which sets aside the majority of the *enfeu* visually, chronologically and materially from the majority of the stone monument.[250] The recumbent, naturalistically portrayed effigies of the couple are depicted in their finest clothing.[251] Raoul is shown wearing turn-of-the-century style civilian dress above a chainmail shirt rather than the more prominent Gothic plate armour. He wears a rectangular-shaped hat similar to those seen on the coins depicting Louis XII, the long robes of his office, a heavy chain and a very fine ceremonial sword (Fig. 33).[252] A banderol wrapped around the effigy's torso similar to a sash reads in Roman capital letters 'AB[SO]LVE N[OST]RA DELICTA', asking for forgiveness for his sins.[253] His wife is depicted wearing a delicate hood as well as a necklace of interlinked S-shapes and two longer necklaces of pearls (Fig. 34). Her clothing is fashionable, featuring a low-cut neckline on her dress showing the upper section of her undershirt, along with wide sleeves and an embroidered hem. Similar to her husband's effigy, a banderol reading 'ETERNA[M] VITA[M] NOBIS DA' wraps around her torso.[254] Both spouses are depicted with their hands folded one on top of the other in front of their bodies.

The tomb chest itself features the coat-of-arms of the deceased, each flanked by a pair of putti, and an epitaph between the two pairs (Fig. 36). The left-most putto is the

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[248] Boniface reformed the French church in the eighth century. See 'Boniface', David H. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, online version, [http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-213?rskey=alvBcz&result=1&q=king%20france], viewed 05 June 2013 [all subsequent citations of this work use this version].

[249] Louis IX founded the church of Sainte-Chapelle in Paris for the relic of Christ's Crown of Thorns. He was canonized in 1297. 'Louis (Lewis) IX', in Farmer, *Saints*.

[250] It is generally acknowledged that the material is Carrara marble.

[251] The exquisitely carved facial features suggest that the effigies are modelled upon portraits.

[252] Scheller, 'Ensigns', p. 88. See also Michelin, *Folleville*, pp. 36-7, for the significance of the ceremonial sword. For hats of a similar style and shape, see the contemporary painting, Gentile Mansueti, *Miraculous healing of the daughter of Ser Benvegnudo of San Polo*, c. 1502-1506, Accademia Venice, printed in Margaret L. King, *The Renaissance in Europe* (London, 2003), p. 136. For a similar hat and hairstyle, see also the medal of Louis XII presented by the city of Lyons, 1499, printed in Scheller, 'Ensigns', p. 84.

[253] Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 372.

[254] Ibid. 'Give us eternal life'.

only figure on the tomb chest who does not cover his face, instead reaching towards his heart with his right hand and thus pointing towards the male coat-of-arms. The male coat-of-arms itself is surrounded by a wreath, surmounted by a flower bud and ribbons.[255] It rests upon a Roman-style trophy, perhaps as much a decorative element as an indication of Raoul's participation in France's military victories. On the other side of the shield, a putto covers his face with a shawl while turning towards the left side of the monument. This motif is repeated, yet not identical, in the putto on the far right side of the tomb chest. Like all four putti on the tomb chest, he too turns towards the left side of the monument, presumably to the staircase formerly leading towards the nearby family castle.[256] The left putto of the right side of the tomb chest covers his face in his hands, perhaps in a gesture of mourning. The hands of both putti rest on the female coat-of-arms, which is again surrounded by a wreath and surmounted by ribbons and a flower. Instead of the male insignia of the trophy, however, the bottom of the female coat-of-arms connects to a bushel of fruit, the symbol of female fertility. Although the female coat-of-arms is displayed in the traditional male format as a shield rather than as a diamond-shape, the gender specific attributes help to maintain order. Perhaps these subtle differences also point towards foreign influences on the tomb chest, as French monuments would normally portray the male coat-of-arms as a shield and the female coat-of-arms as a diamond-shape.[257]

The epitaph is constructed in a combination between gothic letters and humanist round hand. The inscription itself appears to have once been polychrome, as it is now more difficult to read in its current white state. It reads:

> *Ci gisent Nobles persönes/ Raoul de Lannoy Chevalier/ Seigneur de movillier Et de/ millart Conseilier et chambellan/ ordinaire des Rois lois XIe et/ XIIe Et de charles VIIIe/ Bailli du palais Real a Paris./ Et. damiens Capitaine deladicte/ vile de cent gentilz hōmes de la maison/ et de cent hōmes darmes des ordon/nãces Grand chambellan du Realme de/ Cecile Lieutenant General et gouuer/neur de la duce degennes. Qui/ traspasiãle [sic] iiii^e Jour du mois de/ AVRIL lan mil v^c et xiii Et/ madame Jehenne de pois sãfame/ dame des dietz lieux de*

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[255] The coat-of-arms of Raoul de Lannoy consists of Lannoy (chequy or and azure) in the first and third quarters, in the second and third quarters Neuville-Matringham (fretty or gules). Jehanne de Poix's coat-of-arms consists of Lannoy and Poix (a band argent six crosses crosslets, divided three above and three below the band) in the first and second quarters, followed by Neuville-Matringham and Folleville (or ten lozenges gules) in the third and fourth quarters. See ibid., p. 352.

[256] The castle of Folleville, little more than a ruin today, is only a few hundred yards from the church. See also Blunt, *Art and Architecture,* p. 20.

[257] See for instance the tombs of Margaret of Bourbon and Margaret of Austria in Brou.

foleville et de/ gannes. Laquele deceda le xvi Jour du mois de juillet lanmil [sic] v^c et xxiiii Pries dieu pour leurs ames.[258]

On the basis that the epitaph mentions both death dates, it has been suggested that the inscription was created shortly after Jean de Poix's death in 1524.[259] In contrast to other epitaphs which feature death dates added at a later date, such as the epitaph on the tomb of Philippe Pot, the inscription on this monument appears to have been written in one piece. In other terms, the epitaph itself is fairly unremarkable and follows the standard format, listing the titles of the deceased and their death days for obits.

However, it is worth pointing out the frequent usage of different types of scripts on the epitaph, the banderols worn by the effigies and in the biblical quotations in the canopy. Different scripts were often used to distinguish biblical scripture from worldly texts, such as information on the deceased or the artist. The *van der Paele Madonna* painting by Jan van Eyck, for instance, shows a similar combination of types of script on the frame. Gothic letters around the frame offer biographical information on the commissioner of the painting and his religious foundations in a form reminiscent of an epitaph, while the painter's signature is distinguished by a different script.[260] The Lannoy tomb similarly uses Gothic for the biblical quotations, and Roman capitals or humanist script for information on the sculptors and the deceased. Thus the sculptors of the Lannoy tomb also used the technique of different scripts to convey different levels of information.

The final part of the tomb consists of the inside of the *enfeu* (Fig. 35). Again, it is highly decorated. The walls of the tomb are covered in foliage. The west wall is only partly carved, as it today features a gap with a metal grid which once provided a see-through from the staircase. Above the grille, on a relief underneath the archway the Virgin mourns Jesus after his corpse was removed from the cross. One single skull

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[258] 'Here lie the nobles Raoul de Lannoy, knight, lord of Morvillier and of Millart, Counsellor and regular chamberlain of the kings Louis XI and XII and of Charles VIII, bailey of the royal palace in Paris and Amiens, captain of aforesaid town of one hundred gentlemen of the house and of one hundred armed men of the ordnance, grand chamberlain of the realm of Sicily, lieutenant general and governor of the duchy of Genoa who passed away the fourth day of the month of April in the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen. And lady Jehenne de Pois, his wife, lady of Dietz, Lieux, of Folleville and of Gannes, who passed away the sixteenth day of the month of July in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-four. Pray to God for their souls.'

[259] Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 369.

[260] Barbara G. Lane, 'The case of canon van der Paele', *Notes in the History of Art*, 9 (1999), pp. 1-6. See also Rudolf Terner, 'Bemerkungen zur "Madonna des Kanonikus van der Paele"', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 42 (1979), p. 90; and 'Flemish primitives', Flemish Art Collection, [http://vlaamseprimitieven.vlaamsekunstcollectie.be/en/research/webpublications/madonna-with-canon-joris-van-der-paele], viewed 3 April 2014.

descends from the tip of the arches to either side of the bas relief. The northern wall also displays one skull per archway with an inscribed banner. The left banner reads in Gothic letters 'Breves dies hominis su[n]t · Job IX'.[261] The inscription on the right reads 'Mors peccatoru[m] pessima· ps^o xv^e.'[262] Three winged angels descend from the tip of the highly arched ceiling. Underneath, the figures of three saints underneath small doorways are flanked by pillars and surmounted by small shell niches. From the left to the right, they represent St Antony of Egypt, depicted in monastic garb with a pig by his side, holding an open book and a rosary; St Sebastian, depicted tied to a tree and nude but for a loincloth; and finally, St Adrian, depicted in military garb, with an anvil, sword and what must be a lion at his feet.[263] On the east wall, there is again a skull descending from the tip of the archway. Underneath, there is an elaborate scene of the martyrdom of St Antony placed within a wreath. From the tips of the vaulted ceiling, a further two winged creatures descend.

Recent literature has argued that the early sixteenth century was not so much a period of prevalent artistic styles replacing one another, most notably Gothic being replaced by Italian Renaissance, but more so a period of coexisting modes according to the patron's intentions, his personal taste, and the availability of material and sculptors.[264] Raoul's tomb is one prominent example of the symbiosis of different artistic influences on the same monument available to the patron at different moments in time; hence much of the ornamentation and design can be linked to his biography. Similar to Philippe Pot, Raoul de Lannoy had begun his political career at the Burgundian court. After the death of Charles the Bold, he followed the call to change his allegiance to Louis XI, and subsequently distinguished himself in serving the French crown.[265] It appears that Raoul de Lannoy performed his duty well. He was often entrusted with delicate diplomatic missions and messenger roles, such as in the Breton war of 1488.[266] As a reward for his service at Avesnes in the Flemish province of Hainault, the king rewarded him with a valuable golden chain, which Raoul made his personal emblem and later the family's hereditary keepsake for his children.[267] The

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[261] Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 360. 'Short are the days of man.'
[262] Ibid. 'The death of sinners is terrible.'
[263] Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 360. In truth, the lion resembles a sheep, but this would be rather strange for St Adrian. See also Bauch, *Grabbild*, pp. 194-5
[264] See Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*; and Chatenet et al., *Gothique*.
[265] Durand, 'Lannoy,', pp. 332-333.
[266] Ibid., p. 336.
[267] Ibid., p. 335. It is also mentioned in his will, ibid., p. 333.

long, heavy chain around his neck thus represents the gold chain he received from Louis XI for his loyal service.[268] Serving as a mark of personal pride for the patron, it also symbolised an important step in his political and personal life in the transferral of his allegiance from the duchess of Burgundy to the king of France.

However, the 'antique' tomb chest also creates a record of his contribution to the military expeditions to Italy under Charles VIII and Louis XII and his access to Italian materials and sculptors. Raoul de Lannoy participated in a number of Italian campaigns, including the expeditions to Naples in 1494 and 1501.[269] He was even appointed as governor of Genoa in 1507, a post which he successfully held until October in the following year.[270] Lannoy's Italian experience is central to his titles as listed in the epitaph. Although it omits the exact length of his Italian posts, it not only mentions that he governed Genoa, but also that he was grand chamberlain of Sicily. Therefore the Renaissance *tumba* bears testimony to the artistic opportunities Lannoy's position in Italy offered him, most notably as a source of inspiration, in establishing contacts with sculptors and as a source for raw materials. All of these factors inspired and enabled him to create an 'antique' tomb chest constructed from Italian materials by Italian sculptors and subsequently imported to his home country.

However, the significance of the Italian *tumba* and the Renaissance features should perhaps not be exaggerated, as the monument also incorporates more traditional elements of Northern religious art, presumably to a great extent the result of Lannoy's return to France. The most prominent feature is the *hortus conclusus* iconography, incorporating the Virgin and Child motif with the lily, the trellis symbolically secluding the garden of Mary's virginity and the quotations from the Song of Solomon, all common themes in Marian art.[271] This combination of imagery is frequently seen in depictions of the Virgin, such as in the early fifteenth-century painting *The Garden of Eden* or Jan van Eyck's *Rolin Madonna*.[272] While the garden and trellis imagery is a common theme in late medieval Marian art, this choice of quotations is unusual, if not unique, on a sixteenth-century tomb monument. It celebrates the lady as an

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[268] Ibid., pp. 333-335.

[269] Ibid., pp. 337-338.

[270] Ibid., pp. 340-341.

[271] Ibid., p. 362. Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, pp. 203-204.

[272] Anonymous, *Paradiesgärtlein*, Upper Rhine, c. 1410-1420, Städel Museum, Frankfurt, [http://www.staedelmuseum.de/sm/index.php?StoryID=1309&ObjectID=255]. Jan van Eyck, *The Virgin of Chancellor Rolin*, c. 1430-1434, Musée du Louvre, [http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/virgin-chancellor-rolin], both viewed 15 April 2014.

extraordinary beauty, but also as a model of Christian virtue and piety. These passages from the most famous love poem in the Bible suggest that Jehanne de Poix distinguished herself during her lifetime through her loyalty to her husband, if not their love. It was she who continued work on the church after her husband's death and she, too, who finished the monument.[273] By completing the funerary chapel and his sepulchre, and thus interceding for her husband's soul after his death, she portrayed herself as a good Christian and as a virtuous widow.[274]

The iconographical contrast between mortal and immortal life adds a strong behavioural component to this monument. The scene of the afterlife of Raoul de Lannoy and his wife in the canopy of the tomb stands in stark contrast to the depictions underneath the *enfeu*. The bottom half depicts a number of skulls, contrasting mortality below with immortality of the pious believers in the afterlife above. The recumbent effigies equally link the tomb chest with the Virgin above, as the banderols wrapping around the effigies on the one hand ask for forgiveness for their sins, yet equally request eternal life in return. The inscribed banderols quoting passages from the Bible suggest that while mortal life may be short, heavenly rewards reaped through pious behaviour are eternal.

In order to further understand this pious message, the tomb of Raoul de Lannoy must also be read in conjunction with the entombment sculpture formerly within the same church.[275] The entombment shows the body of Christ lying on a *tumba* decorated with four angels holding three medallions. The two on the outside show the busts of Raoul de Lannoy and his wife, the middle one displays their coat-of-arms. The Virgin, the three other Marys, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathaea and St John stand behind the *tumba* in mourning. By using medallions displaying the busts and coat-of-arms of Raoul and his wife, the entombment deliberately draws parallels between the deceased nobles and Christ. By placing the entombment sculpture in close proximity to the Lannoys funerary sculpture and echoing its pious message, this suggests that the Lannoys, as Christ before them, will be resurrected on the Day of Judgement.

The Lannoy monument thus served two key, interlinked functions: a spiritual and a representative function. From a Christian perspective, the sepulchre comments on the deceased couple as having led model lives, including the construction of a funerary

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[273] Durand, 'Lannoy', pp. 354-356.
[274] Clark, 'Purgatory', pp. 175, 177, 191-194.
[275] The monument is now at Joigny. See for instance Carlier, 'Trois monuments', pp. 211-212.

chapel to ensure their salvation and commemoration. Representing the patrons as models of chivalry and Christian piety, the monument set within their own church serves as a mirror for right conduct to strive towards and to imitate. However, the couple's spiritual rewards were closely interlinked with their worldly achievements. From a social and political perspective, the representation of Raoul in the dress of a statesman and his golden chain of achievement reflects that he led a good and successful life in the service of his king.[276] His wife's dutiful loyalty to her husband is equally reflected in the passages from the Song of Solomon on the tomb, suggesting that she, too, led her life as any faithful Christian wife and widow should. In the representation of its patrons as successful nobles who had performed their duty to each other, to the king and to God, the monument thus also fulfilled a public function. Set within the newly-built church built by its deceased patrons to commemorate their earthly achievements, the monument was designed to portray and to celebrate the patrons as successful and virtuous individuals who had reaped their rewards for their accomplishments in this life and the next. Rather than ascribing a deliberate and predetermined function to the 'antique' and the 'modern' modes on this tomb, they predominantly reflect the patrons' active lives and their biographical circumstances leading to the availability of certain sculptors and material at specific points of construction.

The 'antique' tomb of Bishop Thomas James (d. 1504) and his connection with the papal curia

Although Bishop Thomas James did not participate in the Italian wars, his 'antique' monument at the cathedral of Saint-Samson at Dol-de-Bretagne pays tribute to his and his nephews' personal connections with Italy.[277] While he possessed first-hand knowledge of Italy, Bishop James had neither political affiliation with the French court

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[276] Durand, 'Lannoy', pp. 333-335. As Durand points out, chroniclers rather unusually describe Lannoy as an honourable and esteemed man, well-liked by French as well as Italians. Ibid., p. 347.

[277] Although this monument constitutes one of the earliest and purest Italian Renaissance monuments in France, it has once again received comparatively little attention by scholars. Most of the mainstream literature, such as Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 20, 37, mentions it only in passing in no more than two sentences, while others such as Zerner omit it entirely. The best accounts of this monument are probably Palustre, *Renaissance*, III, pp. 87-91; Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 204-207; A. Rhein, 'La cathédrale de Dol', *Bulletin monumental*, 74 (1910), pp. 369-433; and Xenia Muratova, 'The tomb of Bishop Thomas James in the cathedral of Dol: a monument of the early Italian Renaissance influence in Gothic Brittany', in John Mitchell (ed.), *England and the continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in memory of Andrew Martindale. Proceedings of the 1996 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 2000), pp. 349-364.

nor with the military campaigns of the Italian wars. James' early career took place at the court of Francis II, duke of Brittany, who sent James' father as his ambassador to the papal court.[278] The bishop also spent considerable time as ambassador in Rome and Florence before a prisoner escaping under his supervision cost him his place at the Curia.[279] He returned to his see of Dol in 1483, where he remained until his death in 1503. His funerary monument at Dol was commissioned by his nephews, who had themselves spent time in Italy. They invited the Florentine sculptors Giovanni (1485-1549) and Antonio Giusti (1479-1519), later naturalised as Jean and Antoine Juste, to follow them to France for the purpose of creating their uncle's monument.[280]

Paying tribute to the comparatively easy accessibility to Italian craftsmen and materials via personal Italian connections, this sepulchre displays some of the purest Italian craftsmanship found in French funerary sculpture (Fig. 37). A number of inscriptions on the front and sides of the monument name 1507 as completion date; presumably it was begun earlier.[281] An impressive circa four metre tall *enfeu,* the monument suffered severe mutilations during the Revolution and nineteenth-century alterations to the construction.[282] The effigy has disappeared, most figures have lost their heads, and the back wall has been seriously damaged. Nevertheless, the architectural construction remains fairly intact, although time and wear have taken their toll on the canopy and the supporting pillars.[283]

The limestone construction consists of four different levels of depths, relishing in the tradition of Florentine wall-mounted tombs, but also displaying architectural influences.[284] The outmost layer consists of a portal flanked by two heavily-decorated columns (Figs. 44-47). This level opens up to an archway behind it, which in turn gives way to the canopied tomb chest. A final level may have once been the decorative scene

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[278] Muratova, 'Dol', p. 354.

[279] Ibid., p. 355.

[280] Ibid., p. 356.

[281] For the inscriptions, see below. Although little is known prior to his appearance in France in 1504, Antoine Juste soon settled in Tours, where he remained until his death in 1519. See *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künste von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (Leipzig, 1926), p. 349.

[282] Muratova, 'Dol', p. 362. Mutilations involve all faces of figures and the disappearance of the effigy. Alterations include the lower arch and parts of the tympanum.

[283] The west end of the monument now appears rather fragile due to several cracks in the roof.

[284] John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance sculpture* (London, 1971), plates 58-64. See fellow Florentine Leon Battista Alberti, interior of the Basilica of Sant'Andrea, Mantua, [http://www.wga.hu/art/a/alberti/mantua4.jpg] for a barrel vault flanked by candelabra columns or the entrance portal of the church for a similar impression of a doorway set-back, [http://www.wga.hu/art/a/alberti/mantua1.jpg], both viewed 8 August 2014.

on the wall, which is now mostly destroyed. Only two headless flying angels remain of this final visual layer on the bas-relief (Fig. 41). They reach out to one another and hold what may have once been a golden vase or a person.[285] This matryoshka doll-layered set-up adds an impression of almost architectural depth to the monument.

Above the main portal, a tympanum depicting a scene of mythical beasts, and a vase above the panel add additional height to the monument (Fig. 38). At the centre of the construction of the tympanum, a shell-mounted fountain surmounted by a phoenix dominates the scene. To the left and right, an array of mythical beasts, two dolphins and two winged griffins, are drawn towards it. Two sirens or a medusa and a siren placed to the left and right above the animals complete the scene. Unlike most of the monument, however, the tympanum is still faintly polychrome, perhaps the result of its extraordinary height which presumably deterred Revolutionary iconoclasts. Muratova has suggested that the colours red, green and blue correspond to colours used in fifteenth-century manuscripts, implying that these colours are the original.[286]

The actual portal of the *enfeu* is equally highly and intricately decorated. From a distance, the outside level appears to be covered in foliage; yet upon approaching, the foliage disintegrates into a multitude of birds, winged zephyrs and cherubs. On the archway, satyrs and griffins mingle freely among grotesques. The two columns to the outside of the portal are decorated on three sides with ancient motifs, among them candelabra, mythical beasts and Romanised medals. Even the capitals of the columns display a variety of ornamentation, such as miniature shell niches and mythical figures with protruding heads.

The inner tympanum connecting the canopy of the tomb chest with the outer archway again reflects some of the iconography of the top tympanum (Fig. 39). A shell niche surmounted by a fountain with two cornucopias growing out of its top provides the centre piece of this scene. Two dolphin-shaped figures grow out of the fountain downwards and flank the shell niche. Two winged figures with mutilated heads place their hands adjacent to the dolphin shapes, while their other hands each hold the end of a flower garland, which again grows out of the fountain. To the left and right, two urns complete the scene. As above, the inside canopy equally relates to and visually draws upon the vertical beam of the outside portal. Executed in the same manner as the birds

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[285] Rhein, 'Dol', p. 427, suggests that this person represented the soul of the deceased. Muratova, 'Dol', caption 10, suggests that they depict the coat-of-arms of the bishop. Today the object resembles a vessel rather than a person.

[286] Muratova, 'Dol', p. 362.

and cherubs above, it displays three pairs of rearing griffins amid grotesques. The four square columns supporting the canopy display candelabra with human faces and foliage-covered capitals (Fig. 40). The golden and white paint on the underside of the canopy roof is the product of the nineteenth-century reconstruction.

The tomb chest itself is also very elaborately carved. A multitude of contemporary polychromy and gilding can still be traced on the tomb chest and on the wall. On the south side of the *tumba*, slightly set to the back, two human figures underneath shell niches face the viewer. Their heads and parts of their torso have been destroyed and lost. The figures appear to be female. Muratova has suggested that they depict the virtues Fortitude and Justice, although this is impossible to confirm due to the lack of supporting attributes accompanying the figures.[287] The shell niches have been sculpted by different hands, as the left one is more condensed and more upright than the one on the right (Figs. 49-50). Flanking the figure on the left, there are two miniature human figures. The muscular youth on the left holds a wide band with both hands. He stands in front of a shell niche surrounding his head. The grown man on the right rests a shield against his foot. His shell niche either never existed or it has been cleanly disposed of. Between them, there was once an epitaph supported by angels, which has now been mutilated beyond legibility.[288] Set slightly more to the front to flank the figures, the base of the columns again shows the fountain motif on the south side. (Figs. 48, 51) Small birds land and fly from the rim of the fountain. Following the mutilation of the French Revolution, the effigy has disappeared from the *tumba*.[289]

This monument, however, is unusual in displaying four Romanised busts of the commissioners of the tomb in profile, rather than the busts of the deceased as on the Lannoy tomb at Folleville. On the east and west face of the tomb chest, the commissioners are displayed as Roman busts within wreaths consisting of flowers and fruit. Both sides still display gilding. The bust on the west side shows a young man with a Roman nose wearing a soft hat (Fig. 53). He represents Jean James, the deceased's nephew, and one of the two commissioners of the tomb according to the inscription. An

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[287] Ibid., p. 358.
[288] No record of its wording survives to my knowledge.
[289] Muratova, 'Dol', p. 358, has suggested that it once consisted of a recumbent effigy flanked by four angels.

inscribed banderol wraps around the wreath in four different parts.[290] Below the wreath, there is a carved plaque, yet the inscription in Roman capital letters once again proves difficult to read without specialist equipment. Rhein reports that the plaque reads as 'DO : JO : JAMES : JUR : LAUREATUS :/ LEHONII : COM̃ENDA : AC HUIUS / EC̃L̃IĒ : THESAU : ET : CANO : ÆTAT / XXXI ANNI : M : V^cc : VII.'[291] His transcription suggests that the plaque refers to the identity of the commissioner and the year of the erection of the monument within the church, identified as 1507. The east-end bust equally consists of an Italian medallion within a floral wreath (Fig. 54). As on the west end, the wreath and the back wall still show traces of gilding, perhaps the result of the extremely narrow gap between the wall and the monument (Fig. 52).[292] A further small plaque beneath the wreath introduces the second commissioner in Roman capital letters: 'M : FRANCIS…/ JAMES : HUIUS : ECCL…/ SCOLASTICUS : AS CA…/ CONDITORIS FRATER 1507'.[293] Rhein has argued that the quality and motif of the Roman busts is unique in France at this moment in time.[294] Busts of similar quality only appear more commonly in the mid-sixteenth century, on châteaux such as Assier, making the monument appear almost precocious. One must wonder, as Muratova has suggested, if the monument was really ever designed for the niche it currently occupies, as it would seem strange to conduct such extraordinary carving as on the side busts and wreaths, yet never to show it to viewers.[295] While this seems plausible as the unusually elaborate sides are mostly hidden from view, it is difficult to comprehend why it should have been erected in its current location instead. Further evidence would be needed to fully support her suggestion.

In addition to the extraordinary richness of ornaments on the tomb, there is also a series of inscriptions of varying positions, scripts and sizes on this monument.[296] Again, rather unusually, most of the inscriptions refer to the commissioners of the monument or to the sculptors, instead of to the deceased. Underneath a defaced bust and

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[290] There is some writing on the banderol, yet it is unfortunately impossible to read without better lighting and the possibility to photograph around the corner. Rhein, 'Dol', p. 426, suggests 'SPES MEA IN D̄N̄O'.

[291] Ibid. 'Lord John James, laudable treasurer of Brittany, canon and patron of the treasury of this church, aged thirty-one in the year 1507.'

[292] Only a slim person can squeeze through the gap almost without touching the walls, which may have contributed to the preservation of the busts and the gilding. Nevertheless, the gilding appears almost too intact to be entirely original.

[293] Rhein, 'Dol', p. 426. 'Master Francis James, scholar and brother of this church, created this in 1507.'

[294] Ibid., p. 425.

[295] Muratova, 'Dol', p. 363.

[296] The most complete account is Rhein, 'Dol', pp. 426-427.

wreath on the main section of the west outside pilaster, one reads a variation of the inscription on the west side of the monument already quoted above (Fig. 42). Roman capitals on a special plate read again almost the same information as on the opposite side: 'IOANIS: IAME[Z][297]: IVRIṼ: LAṼ[298]/ LEHONII: CÕMENDAT DOL̃:/ THESAV: ET: CANO: IMP̃ESA/ ETCVRA: STRVCTVM: AC:/ ORNATŨ: SEPVLVRṼ:/ M: V[cc:] VII'. On the base of the left outside pilaster, the sculptor's inscription appears, this time in Gothic letters: 'Scelte struxit opus magister istud/ Joheš cuius cognomen est Justus/ et florentini[us].'[299] As the inscription mentions Jean rather than his elder brother Antoine, Palustre has rather adventurously suggested that the inscription was placed later by Jean rather than contemporaneously.[300] Rhein has countered this, suggesting that the Gothic characters rather than the Roman capitals of the east and west end suggest the presence of a different hand.[301] Neither argument is entirely convincing, although one would have expected to find the signature of the master rather than that of his younger brother.

Nevertheless, this tomb is remarkable in that it emphasises the identity of the sculptor, here identified as Jean Juste on the front column, and his Florentine heritage above the identity of the tomb's commissioners, whose inscriptions are found hidden away at the sides of the monument. To my knowledge, there is no single other monument in France which places the identity of the sculptor and his origin in a similarly prominent position. Even the monument of Raoul de Lannoy, which features the sculptor's signature at the feet of the effigies equally conducted in Roman capitals, uses the signature in a much smaller script and places it in a less obvious place than the front inscription of the sculptor's name on the tomb at Dol. This elevated position displays an extraordinary confidence, if not to say arrogance, on behalf of the sculptor.[302] The grandeur of this monument otherwise so out of place in the heart of Brittany pays tribute to the sculptors' proud and self-conscious artistic heritage.

However, there was also an additional benefit to the fourfold mention of the sculptors in visible locations as deliberate and sanctioned by the patrons. Thomas

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[297] Ibid. offers **Z**.
[298] Ibid. reads 'LAŨ[Tl]'.
[299] Ibid. reads 'florentin[9]'. 'This work was assembled by master John whose surname is Justus and [who is] Florentine'.
[300] Palustre, *Renaissance*, III, p. 89.
[301] Rhein, 'Dol', p. 423.
[302] It has been argued convincingly that Florentine sculptors liked to display their superb skill and artistic identity. See for instance Joanna Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance self-portraiture: the visual construction of an identity and the social status of the artist* (Yale, 1998), pp. 90, 254-255.

James's nephews had specifically commissioned the Florentines to construct this monument. Hence the prominent mention of the sculptors' names would have also served as an indicator of the patrons' foreign connections and their ability to create a special sepulchre for their uncle. In consequence, the deliberate emphasis on the foreign sculptors equally allowed the nephews to present themselves as men of considerable worldliness, power and influence.

The interpretation of the Dol monument as a status symbol with deliberate foreign connections is further supported by its impact on funerary art of the region. Rivalling the artistic significance of more famous sepulchres such as the tomb of the dukes of Orléans, Xenia Muratova has argued that Bishop James' tomb held a key position in creating a new fashion in the north-west of France.[303] Although there was a clear connection between Thomas James, his nephews and the commission of the Florentine sculptors, the appeal of 'antique' elements, in particular the mythical beasts, to patrons in the area is worth investigating. Muratova has argued that the Giusti brothers brought with them their model books and subsequently introduced the Italian elements depicted there into Breton art.[304] She further suggested that the appeal of dragons and other mythical beasts as incorporated not only on the tomb at Dol, but also within Breton folkloric and church tradition, may have contributed to their appeal.[305] Although it is difficult at this point to prove her idea, it is striking that a number of Breton sculptures indeed show an affinity for mythical creatures. The tomb of Philippe de Montauban at Ploërmel depicts a selection of lions with griffins' feet; while the tomb of Saint-Ronan at Locronan equally displays a clawed monster at one end. Despite this monument being entirely novel to native Breton funerary art with its frequently crude granite sculptures, the affinity for mythical beasts, as well as the patronage of Duchess Anne, may help to explain the impact of 'antique' monuments in artistically conservative Brittany.[306]

Although the choice of mode for the tomb of Bishop James initially appeared to be an anomaly among 'antique' funerary sculptures in France, his monument nevertheless supports the contention that personal opportunity and patronage

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[303] Muratova, 'Dol', p. 364. Mâle, *Moyen Âge*, pp. 324-325, presented a very detailed analysis of the spread of the virtues on tomb sculpture after the erection of the tomb of Francis II and Marguerite de Foix at Nantes. To my knowledge, no-one has properly analysed the spread of Italian elements prior to Francis's tombs.
[304] Muratova, 'Dol', p. 360.
[305] Ibid., p. 364.
[306] Ibid.

connections were crucial to the commission of Italian sculptors during the first twenty years of the sixteenth century in France. Rather than following a trend set by the king and his court, the commissioners of this tomb had little connection to the Italian wars. Instead, the international relations of the duke of Brittany and the papal court within the deceased's personal history, as well as the personal experiences of the commissioners of the tomb were more significant to the creation, and perhaps also to the stylistic appeal, of this 'antique' monument. Nevertheless, James' sepulchre has highlighted that trade in materials and sculptors could be initiated by individual French patrons as much as by French royalty, equally allowing Italian sculptors to supply France from Italy but also to come to France themselves to work.

These case studies have suggested that the Italian expeditions under Charles VIII and Louis XII offered opportunities for patrons to widen their artistic horizons and to trade with Italy directly in terms of material and manpower. Initially, the 'antique' mode or Italian funerary sculpture was deliberately chosen by a small but significant selection of patrons with an immediate connection to the peninsula, to express their specific strategic, political or occupational interests: Louis XII used his family tombs to proclaim his territorial rights to Milan; Raoul de Lannoy used his stay in Italy to commission Italian sculptors to create a record of his political achievements while he was there, but equally returned to more accessible 'modern' and local sculptors upon his return to France; while Bishop Thomas James' nephews imported Florentine sculptors to create an impressive 'antique' status symbol in the heart of Brittany, thus creating a permanent record of their own and their uncle's foreign travels. As a means of developing, expressing and enhancing their personal biographies and ambitions in their commissions of art, the shift in French foreign politics towards the peninsula offered exciting new artistic opportunities for patrons. Simultaneously, however, Italian sculptors increasingly recognised that there was a lucrative market for their products and services in Northern Europe and began to expand their businesses this way, sometimes following in person. The increasing appeal of 'antique' funerary sculpture to the wider nobility in France under Francis I is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 3:

'Antique' funerary art and noble self-consciousness, c. 1512-1539

The final years of the reign of Louis XII and the beginning of the reign of Francis I brought about a turning point in the dissemination of Renaissance funerary sculpture in France. While the 'antique' mode under Charles VIII and Louis XII was almost exclusively limited to the inner circle of male courtiers and to veterans of the Italian campaigns, Francis I's personal patronage made Italianate art truly popular and fashionable at court.[307] In the light of more recent literature, however, this statement needs to be reconsidered and revised against the patrons' interest in using the 'antique' mode for their sculptures. Out of twenty-five surviving monuments commissioned, begun or completed in this time, fourteen monuments were created in an 'antique' mode – for the first time that more than half of the surviving monuments.[308] The 'antique' tombs were all commissioned by prominent families at court, such as the Gouffiers or the Orléans family.[309] Out of the remaining eleven monuments, four are distinctly local or provincial monuments of the lesser nobility. The remaining seven monuments are Gothic, while two also display a tendency towards macabre.

Some patrons continued to use 'modern' elements in combination with 'ancient' ones throughout the second and third decades of the sixteenth century, such as on the sepulchres of Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), Philibert of Savoy (d. 1504) and Margaret of Bourbon (1438-1483) at Brou (Figs. 55-57).[310] Other examples include the flamboyant monument of Jean de Salazar and his wife at Sens in former Burgundy.[311] The correlation of Renaissance Gothic elements on tombs into the 1520s once again suggests that the transition from Gothic to Renaissance sculpture was far from instantaneous or complete, again hinting at the patron's personal influence in his choice of mode.

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[307] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 14, has suggested that Francis' personal ambition to rival the Italian courts was the key factor in the proliferation of Italian art. While this seems convincing from a royal or even from an absolutist perspective, it reduces his courtiers to mere puppets without initiative or tastes of their own. On the problem of Francis' involvement in the spread of Italian art in France, see also Zerner's introduction to *Renaissance art*, pp. 5-10.

[308] See Appendix A.

[309] The tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany erected at Saint-Denis in 1531 was the only royal tomb begun during this period.

[310] Panofsky, *Tomb*, pp. 78-79. See Gardner, *Medieval sculpture*, pp. 448-456, for the Italian angels.

[311] Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 472-473. Panofsky, *Tomb*, p. 81; plate 363.

Nevertheless, there appears to be a marked decline in Gothic sculpture related to the French court during this period. The key 'antique' monuments of this time, such as the sepulchres of the Cardinals of Amboise in Rouen, or Imbert de Basternay at Montrésor, were all commissioned by prominent courtiers of their time and erected in their home domains, rather than in Paris.[312] Fragments of 'antique' tombs are often found in the parish churches of today insignificant or provincial towns, usually close to the family castles, such as in the case of a female monument at Châteaudun, the *enfeu* of the seigneurs de Montmort or the *enfeu* in the castle-town of Villandry.[313] Their existence may hint at a much greater proliferation of Italian Renaissance monuments in France than either the Gaignières drawings or the surviving monuments may suggest.[314]

This shift towards the ancient mode in French funerary art on a more widespread level is perhaps astonishing as France had lost most of her Italian territories by 1515.[315] However, there were two closely interlinked factors which impacted on the flourishing of Renaissance art in this period: one of the most significant French victories of the Italian wars, the battle of Marignano in 1515, and the onset of the reign of young and enthusiastic Francis I. It was Francis' personal ambition to create a vibrant Renaissance court capable of rivalling Italy and he personally patronised the arts.[316] More significant, however, was perhaps his first major victory almost immediately following his accession, the battle of Marignano.[317] This famous battle assured his contemporaries that his reign was indeed blessed by God, which, in addition to his youth and virility, communicated the image to the nobility that he was a powerful king.[318] For the first time since Louis XI, France possessed a young, charismatic king in

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[312] Paris as a capital did not yet have the significance it would receive after Francis I's return from captivity in Spain, when he focused on strengthening the centre.

[313] This statement is based upon the results of my research trip in 2011. See the list in Appendix A. To my knowledge, there is no literature on these monuments even in local journals, such as the *Société Dunoise d'Archéologie, Histoire, Sciences et Arts*. The French Ministry of culture offers a short description on the Montmort monument.
[http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/palissy_fr?ACTION=CHERCHER&FIELD_98=REF&VALUE_98=I M51000560], viewed 14 June 2013.

[314] Although I have used the Gaignières drawings as a reservoir previously, they were obviously only produced in the eighteenth century and thus may not include all sixteenth-century monuments constructed before the iconoclasms of the Wars of Religion. However, this is the first period to display a significant number of unrecorded monuments.

[315] Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 77.

[316] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 14. Desmond Seward, *Prince of the Renaissance: the life of François Ier* (London, 1973), pp. 87-113.

[317] Garrisson, *Sixteenth-century France*, pp. 139-140.

[318] See *Histoire des guerres d'Italie de François Guichardin, traduite de l'Italien, tome second 1508-1522* [par Favre et revue par Georgeon], (London, 1738), p. 391, for a contemporary description of Francis'

the prime of his life and capable of ruling for years to come.[319] The promise of a new golden age was further enhanced as Francis had married his cousin Claude of France (1499-1524) in 1514. Both spouses were young and healthy, and most importantly, both had strong and legitimate claims to the throne.[320] Their alliance, therefore, promised to provide France with a stable monarchy for years to come.[321]

Despite the fairy-tale atmosphere at court during the first years of Francis' reign, the socio-political situation soon took a turn for the worse.[322] After a period of peace with Italy following the treaty of Cambrai in 1517, in the 1520s war between the Empire and France resumed, resulting in extreme financial strain.[323] The European-wide climatic phenomenon now known as the 'little ice age' resulted in series of failed harvests in the 1520s, which famished the peasantry and caused food riots.[324] A further crisis was the onset of the Reformation. For most of the 1510s and 1520s, however, the court and the aristocracy remained seemingly unaffected by, if not oblivious to, these events and gave the impression of an untroubled life for the nobility.[325] This carefree attitude is recorded in the artefacts of the time, particularly in architecture, but to a certain extent also in its lavishly expensive funerary sculpture.[326] This chapter comprises four case studies from three different locations, selected for their correlation between 'antique' sculpture and their patrons' high status: the tomb of Imbert de Basternay (1438-1523) at Montrésor, and Artus Gouffier (1474-1519) at Oiron

characteristics and ability to rule. Ibid., p. 418, on the young king's conduct in battle. See Robert Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 33, 47, for commentary.

[319] Upon his succession, Charles VIII was still a minor and needed guardians to rule in his stead, resulting in additional powers governing the realm. Louis XII was already in his thirties when he succeeded to the throne after Charles lost his sons. Francis, Louis XII's second cousin, was the first heir apparent in several generations to inherit the throne old enough to rule on his own yet still in the prime of his life. Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 53.

[320] Claude of France was the eldest surviving daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany. Under Salic law which prevented a woman from inheriting the throne, the French crown was passed on to the next male relative of the line, which was Francis.

[321] Despite the king's frequent extramarital activities, their marriage proved remarkably fertile, resulting in three sons and four daughters. Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 78.

[322] This has been the focus of neo-Marxist scholars, such as Guy Bois, *The Crisis of Feudalism: Economy and Society in Eastern Normandy, c. 1300-1500* (Cambridge, 1984), or Henry Heller, *Iron and Blood: Civil Wars in Sixteenth-Century France* (Montreal, 1991). Perhaps one should also consider monuments of this time against Jean Baudrillard's first order of simulacra, which actively disguised reality from the viewer. See Emerling, *Theory*, p. 89.

[323] Knecht, *Francis*, pp. 68-69, 105, 126-128.

[324] Heller, *Iron and Blood*, pp. 27-34. Bois, *Crisis*, pp. 374-375.

[325] One could argue that this attitude was a counter-reaction to the European crises, including the Peasants' War in Germany, which threatened to overturn the established order. See Heller, *Iron and Blood*, p. 7. For changing mentalities, see Lucien Febvre, *Life in Renaissance France* (London, 1977).

[326] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 13-44. Francis also acquired some very significant Italian paintings. Seward, *Prince*, pp. 88-93.

represent the king's counsellors; while the tombs of Philippe de Montmorency (d. 1516), equally at Oiron and Renée d'Orléans-Longueville (1508-1515) at the Louvre represent the ladies.[327] This chapter argues that 'antique' funerary art was particularly suited to expressing its noble patrons' (allegedly) ancient dynastic or patronage connections, thus serving as expensive status symbols to visualise the identity and self-definition of their patrons.

'Antique' art as a status symbol of ancient service: Imbert de Basternay (1438-1523)[328]

The sepulchral monument of Imbert de Basternay at Montrésor shows how an ancient mode tomb could depict the influence and power of one of the longest-standing servants of the French crown, as Imbert had served four consecutive kings from Louis XI to Francis I (Fig. 58).[329] The monument by an unknown sculptor and the funeral church in which it is placed are also artistically significant, displaying some very pure Italian craftsmanship from the first half of the sixteenth century.[330] As is the case with many other sixteenth-century monuments, the Basternay tomb was severely mutilated during the French Revolution.[331] It was reconstructed in 1875 by the Branicki family, a prominent family of Polish emigrants who had also purchased the nearby castle in 1849.[332] Although the monument formerly occupied a central location within the choir,

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[327] Artus Gouffier and Imbert de Basternay were also related after the marriage of his granddaughter Madame d'Anthon with René de Brosse, comte of Penthièvre. See Bernard de Mandrot, *Ymbert de Batarnay, seigneur de Bouchage, conseiller des rois Louis XI, Charles VIII, Louis XII et François Ier (1438-1523)* (Paris, 1886), p. 373.

[328] The spelling of his name varies from Ymbert de Batarnay to Imbert de Basternay.

[329] He was also the grandfather of Henri II's famous mistress Diane of Poitier. Basternay eventually died of an illness at the old age of 85. His funeral ceremony was conducted by Martin du Beaune, archbishop of Tours, at the cost of 200 écus. See the letter from 14 May 1523, in Mandrot, *Batarnay*, p. 383.

[330] It is surprising for such an accomplished courtier that extremely little has been written about him. The only full monograph I am aware of is aforementioned Mandrot, *Batarnay*. Although he prints a plate of the Basternay tomb, he writes hardly more than two half pages on the monument itself. Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 144-145, 459, mentions the tomb at Montrésor a few times, mostly in passing. There is a further mention in André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art, tome IV: La renaissance* (Paris, 1909), pp. 609-610, but he mostly follows Vitry. *The memoirs of Philip de Commines, lord of Argenton... volume I*, by Jean de Troyes, ed. Andre R. Scoble, (London, 1911) are the most useful chronicle as Commines appears to have known Basternay well.

[331] See adjoining nineteenth-century plaque. 'CE TOMBEAU DES HAUTS ET PUISSANTS SEIGNEURS./ IMBERT DE BASTARNAY DU BOUCHAGE./ FONDATEURS DE L'EGLISE COLLÉGIALE DE MONTRÉSOR./ GEORGETTE DE MONCHENU SON ÉPOUSE. FRANCOIS [SIC] LEUR FILS/ ET DE HUIT AUTRES MEMBRES DE LA MEME FAMILLE./ RENVERSÉ PAR LA REVOLUTION DE 1793./ A ÉTÉ RELEVÉ ET RESTAURÉ EN CETTE ANNÉE 1875./ PAR LES SOINS DE PÉLAGIE ZAMOYSKA COMTESSE XAVIER BRANICKA.// BREUIL. SCULPTEUR.   P. ROGUET. ARCHITECT.'

[332] Ibid. It names Breuil as sculptor.

today it occupies the northern aisle in the west end of the church.[333] It consists of three effigies above a square-shaped black and white marble *tumba*.[334] The tomb chest itself once featured twelve figures of apostles in the ancient mode, of which eight remain until today.[335]

With the exception of the north side, four delicately carved human figures underneath shell niches make up the sides of the *tumba*. They represent the four evangelists, depicted with scrolls, as well as eight apostles depicted with books, which suggests that the north side of the monument once also depicted the remaining four apostles. The niches themselves are painted black.[336] Moving counter-clockwise from the west to the east end, the apostles on the west side are: one apostle with an elevated, now severed right hand (possibly Andrew or Bartholomew), Simon the Zealot holding the remains of a saw blade (Fig. 68), James the Great with a pilgrim's staff (Fig. 69), and the evangelist John accompanied by his eagle and holding a scroll. On the south side, there is the evangelist Matthew (Fig. 70), depicted with a scroll and an angel at his feet, Philip holding a cross, one slightly sheepish-looking figure holding the remains of something bejewelled in his right hand, perhaps Jude, and the evangelist Luke with a scroll and an ox beside him. On the east side, the figures are one wise-looking apostle without a right underarm and hand, which presumably once held a set of keys, thus representing Peter; Paul holding a sword, the evangelist Mark holding a scroll and accompanied by what must be a lion, and finally, James the Less holding a rod. The final niche on the east end has only partially been restored, resulting in a marked break between the unrestored left of the niche and the restored right (Fig. 71).[337]

Three recumbent effigies facing eastwards occupy the tomb slab. All three are represented in a highly naturalistic state.[338] The effigy of Imbert de Basternay is situated on the south end (Fig. 59). He is depicted as an elderly man, with closed eyes and wrinkles of age on his face.[339] He wears full plate armour above a chainmail shirt, yet his helmet is placed to his right. An undecorated long sword with a simple cross hilt, a soldier's practical weapon rather than a ceremonial sword, rests in its scabbard at his

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[333] Mandrot, *Batarnay*, p. 396.

[334] Ibid., pp. 279, 396-397, suggests that it is made of alabaster and black marble.

[335] I am not aware of any visual records of this reconstruction.

[336] The colour is most certainly not the original, but the result of the 1875 reconstruction.

[337] Some of the other niches have undergone different levels of restoration work, yet this is the most obvious of the occupied niches. The niches at the back look in similar bad condition.

[338] See Bauch, *Grabmal*, pp. 2-6, for general comments on portraiture in funerary sculpture.

[339] Mandrot, *Batarnay*, p. 397, suggests that the effigy appears to have been based on a portrait, which seems likely.

hip. Above his surprisingly unembroidered surcoat, the elaborately carved shell-collar of the Order of Saint-Michel stands in stark contrast to the simple practicality of his dress. As most recumbent effigies of the time, his hands are folded in prayer. His coat-of-arms at his feet also depicts the shell collar of the Order of Saint-Michel.

Imbert's effigy rests to the right of his wife Georgette de Monchenu (d. 1511), which is the correct heraldic side for the depiction of couples (Fig. 60).[340] The lady is equally shown with closed eyes and relaxed features, yet she appears to be no older than a middle-aged woman. Similar to her husband's practical, undecorated armour, her dress appears to be plain, pious and conservative rather than the more modern, fashionable court dress seen on other monuments.[341] Her plain cloth hood covers her forehead. Her hands are folded in prayer above wide fur over-sleeves.[342] The only decorative feature is her rosary, which hangs prominently from her belt. At her feet, two beasts – perhaps a pair of lions – display her lozenge-shaped coat-of-arms, the traditional means of depicting the coat-of-arms of a lady (Fig. 63).[343]

The third effigy of their son François is placed to the far north side of the monument (Fig. 61). His features are more youthful than those of his father, as he predeceased him.[344] Yet similarly to Imbert, he is depicted in full plate armour above a chainmail shirt. His helmet rests beside him. At his hip, François carries a plain sword in its scabbard. It looks remarkably similar, if not identical, to his father's sword in terms of the cross hilt and the hanging of the scabbard.[345] Unusually for a male effigy, a greyhound with a coat-of-arms on his coat rests at his feet (Fig. 62).[346] Four angels displaying coats-of-arms of the deceased couple guard the four corners of the monument. The south-west and the north-east angels display the coat-of-arms of Imbert surrounded by the collar of the Order of Saint-Michel; the south-east and north-west angels display the diamond-shaped coat-of-arms of his wife (Figs. 64-67).[347] No contemporary inscription survives for this tomb, although a nineteenth-century plaque

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[340] The couple married on 25 April 1463. See ibid., p. 14.

[341] The best example is perhaps the Lannoy tomb at Folleville. See chapter 2. For a further example in this chapter, see below.

[342] The fur appears to be non-descript rather than a specific type.

[343] The beast on the left once had a severed neck, as its head has been loosely re-attached.

[344] Mandrot, *Batarnay*, p. 242. He died on 9 November 1513 at Corbie, less than thirty years old.

[345] The sword may have indeed been passed on from father to son when the latter came of age.

[346] A lion would be more common as a heraldic supporter. See Francis II of Brittany's tomb.

[347] The north-west angel has a long crack across its face.

gives some information as to the identity of the effigies and the restoration ordered by Countess Branicka in 1875.[348]

The strong family connections displayed between Imbert and his family on his funerary monument are worth investigating. It is striking that the sepulchre at Montrésor commemorates not only Imbert de Basternay, a highly esteemed courtier, as an individual, but also his wife and his deceased son. All three figures are given the same space and attention, rather than emphasising one's achievements over the other, which gives the monument an impression of piety, loyalty to his respective royal masters and family values.[349] Against this emphasis on family values, however, it is perhaps also worth mentioning that Imbert de Basternay had many children, most of whom died early or well before him.[350] Yet unlike Imbert, his wife and his son François, most of his family were buried at the parochial church of Bridoré.[351] It seems that originally Imbert de Basternay had planned to be buried there also.[352] He changed his mind to build a new church at Montrésor after some discussion with the king.[353] Despite the altered location of the monument, the sepulchre presumably deliberately includes his wife and his eldest offspring to create a dynastic link between the family members which would have been more apparent in the original family mausoleum.

Unfortunately, little else is known about the construction of the tomb itself. It is unclear when exactly the funerary monument was commissioned or who paid for it.[354] Vitry has suggested that it was finished between the 1520s and 1530s.[355] Its artistic elements, most notably the square form and apostles underneath shell niches, which remind the viewer most strongly of the tomb of the dukes of Orléans, place it no earlier than 1504. Since the monument also includes the effigy of François who died in 1513, however, it was most likely constructed within the second or third decade of the sixteenth century, although perhaps it was commissioned earlier.

However, the function of this 'antique' monument needs to be viewed in context with its patron's life of service and his construction of a separate burial church. The church itself was founded by Imbert de Basternay in the last years of his life. Since he

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[348] See above.

[349] Perhaps it also replicates the dynastic continuity aspect of the tomb of the dukes of Orléans, as it copies the square composition of the tomb chest and usage of the apostles.

[350] Mandrot, *Batarnay*, p. 372, for the death of his daughter Madame de Saint-Vallier in 1516.

[351] Ibid., p. 278. Masses were sung for his and his wife's soul and for his deceased children.

[352] Ibid., p. 279.

[353] Ibid. It is not entirely clear why he changed his mind.

[354] Presumably this was Imbert himself.

[355] Vitry, *Colombe*, pp. 144-145, 459.

abandoned his plans to erect the monument in the family mausoleum at Bridoré in favour of a new church, it seems suggestive that the construction of the tomb coincides with the building of the burial church at Montrésor. The construction of the building began between 1520 and 1521.[356] It was finished by 1541.[357] Not much of the once undoubtedly impressive west façade of the church still remains (Fig. 72). The remaining sculptures are, however, constructed in a strongly Italian-influenced manner. A series of prophets set within medallions and now headless figures of saints stand underneath arches. Although the damage to the figures on the church wall makes it difficult to conclude with any certainty that the saints on the tomb stem from the same hand, they are remarkably similar to the figures on the tomb chest in iconography and manner of execution. The right hand prophet in the bust and some of the apostles, such as Peter and Paul, bear the same distinctive parting in their pointed beards (Fig. 73). The folds of the dress display the same bulging arrow shape in the drapes as the figures of Simon, Jude and Peter, which would invite the speculation that the same sculptors may have been involved in both projects to some extent.[358]

It is thus worth considering that the two constructions were designed to work in tandem as an architectural expression of Imbert's lifetime of service to his respective kings, enhanced by the use of the 'antique' mode. Although he lived to an almost biblical age for fighting men of the sixteenth century, Imbert de Basternay was politically active well into his old age. Even at the advanced age of 77, he was still appointed as counsellor of Francis I.[359] On his tomb, however, there is no reference to Imbert's military or political career other than his armour and his practical sword, which seems extraordinary in a man who spent all his life serving the French crown in various capacities. Embellishments and decoration are almost completely absent on Imbert's effigy, his dress or his sword, which are all made to portray the practical simplicity of his military rank rather than noble courtly or ceremonial extravagance. Imbert is represented as a practical man of the sword rather than as a courtier in his finery and his tomb reflects this. In contrast, however, the remaining façade of the church is far more extravagant and embellished, creating a magnificent place of worship. This suggests that the tomb itself, while impressive, was not considered to be

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[356] Mandrot, *Batarnay*, p. 279. He also built another church at Bridoré. Ibid., pp. 277-278.
[357] Ibid., p. 396.
[358] Unfortunately, not enough survives of the art of Montrésor to conclude that the sculptors came from the region – it is more likely that the sculptors came from abroad or at least from further away.
[359] Ibid., p. 270.

the key construction of the two. Instead, Imbert's ability to build a splendid new church in the 'antique' style to honour God, and to incorporate his slightly more modest but nevertheless expensive funerary monument, suggests that Imbert had garnered, and hence commanded, considerable influence and power.[360] Thus his choice of 'antique' mode for his expensive church to house his equally 'antique' sepulchre communicated, in a much more suitable way than 'modern' Gothic could have done, that he had spent a lifetime serving his kings. When he finally died in very old age, his architectural commissions reflected his extraordinary status, wealth, and power.

Italian sculpture to visualise 'ancient' dynastic connections: Renée d'Orléans-Longueville (1508-1515)

The sepulchre of Renée d'Orléans-Longueville, today at the Louvre, is typical of the emergence of 'antique' monuments dedicated exclusively to female patrons during this period (Fig. 74).[361] Again, its original socio-political and spatial context is crucial to its interpretation and its use of the ancient mode. The tomb was commissioned by Renée's mother Françoise d'Alençon after her daughter's early death and originally erected close to her ancestor Louis of Orléans, underneath a window in the Orléans chapel at the Célestins in Paris after 1515.[362] After the Célestins was destroyed during the French Revolution, the fragments of the monument were salvaged from the debris and taken to the *Musée des Monuments français* by Alexandre Lenoir.[363] The tomb was moved to Saint-Denis in 1818, where it was presumably reassembled as well as undergoing

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[360] It presumably also indicates an increasing concern for the salvation of his soul in old age.

[361] Once again, the literature on this monument is distinctly limited in terms of in-depth analysis. Beaulieu, *Louvre*, pp. 36-38, is a good starting point, but cites no literature later than 1916. See Max Prinet, 'Un écusson de marbre conservé au musée du Louvre', Extrait de *Revue du Seizième Siècle, tome IV* (Paris, 1916) for one example of the most recent, yet nevertheless highly antiquarian literature on this monument. Also useful is Ferdinand baron de Guilhermy, *Monographie de l'église royale de Saint-Denis, tombeaux et figures historiques* (Paris, 1848), pp. 300-304. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, 'La sculpture funéraire de la Renaissance française au musée du Louvre: les limites de la restitution', in *Revue du Louvre*, 44 (1994), pp. 50-51, prints a series of images, yet offers no further analysis of the tomb.

[362] Louis of Orléans had an illegitimate son Jean, count of Dunoys and Longueville. He was Renée's great-grandfather. See Louis Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane, tome V* (Basel, 1733)*,* pp. 616-17. See Beaulieu, *Louvre,* p. 36, for a brief history of the monument. It also gives a good overview over the damage and the reconstructions of this monument, as follows. See also Sharon Kettering, 'The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen', *The Historical Journal*, 32 (1989), pp. 817-841, for female initiative in patronage.

[363] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 36. Prinet, 'Écusson', p. 2.

alterations.[364] Upon its time of entry, the monument's upper section was practically dismantled.[365] Part of the tomb was restored, such as the coat-of-arms above the *enfeu*, yet serious mistakes in re-establishing the correct order of the figures above and on the tomb chest required further restoration work, conducted under Viollet-le-Duc between 1848 and 1867.[366] The monument was once again abandoned among the rubbish, before Courajod found the fragments and moved them to the Louvre in 1881.[367] It was reassembled displaying its current appearance in 1958.[368]

Constructed in white and black marble by an unknown sculptor, the funerary monument of this young girl is remarkable for the politicised usage of the 'antique' mode in combination with female saints and mythical iconography. In its current state, the *enfeu* shows the recumbent effigy of a young girl. It is unclear why Renée died at the young age of only seven years, and neither does the tomb give any indication of this. Although Renée was little more than a child, she is depicted on her funerary monument as a young lady (Fig. 77).[369] She is represented as a marble effigy wearing a pearl-studded bodice, long dress and mantle. Her hood is equally studded with pearls. Her coronet studded with precious stones befitted her comital rank (Fig. 78).[370] Her once praying hands have been cleanly removed from the wrists onwards, suggesting that they were carved separately. A rosary or a pearl girdle begins underneath her hands and drapes around her waist. A unicorn lies at her feet, displaying a diamond-shaped female coat-of-arms slung around its neck (Fig. 79).[371]

The mythical iconography introduced on the tomb slab is repeated on the tomb chest. A further two unicorns showing the same lozenge-shaped coat-of-arms sit at the short sides of the *tumba* underneath shell niches (Figs. 82-83). They display the same

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[364] Beaulieu, *Louvre,* p. 36. There is no indication as to why it was moved to Saint-Denis, that is to say the royal burial site. Beaulieu is particularly imprecise at this stage and follows Prinet, 'Écusson', p. 2, almost verbatim. See Guilhermy, *Monographie,* between pp. 300-301*,* for a drawing of Renée facing forwards, with a cloak pinned to her shoulders. The cloak has now disappeared. Presumably, the catalogue refers to the alteration of the tilt of the head, as this would be the most obvious change to the Gaignières drawings. For discussion of the position of her head, see below.

[365] Guilhermy, *Monographie*, p. 301.

[366] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 36.

[367] Ibid.

[368] Ibid.

[369] This is a common problem in the depiction of child heirs, whose rank needed to be represented accurately.

[370] After the death of her father François II Duc de Longueville in 1512, Renée inherited the county of Dunoys as well as the title of countess. See Moréri, *Dictionnaire*, V p. 617.

[371] The coat-of-arms shows the heraldry of her father in the first and fourth quarters and the heraldry of Alençon, her mother's side, in the second and third quarters. See Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 36.

goatee as the unicorn at Renée's feet and goat-shaped hooves. Beneath the effigy, the tomb chest shows three, formerly four, female saints underneath shell niches placed between pilasters. From the left to the right, they represent St Apollonia (now disappeared), followed by St Martha, an unidentified female saint with a book, sword and palm branch, and finally, St Agatha (Figs. 75-76).[372] Above the tomb chest, a further six lady saints stand underneath shell niches, one on each side panel and four facing forwards. From the left to the right, they are: the Virgin Mary with the Christ child, St Catherine with a sword, St Barbara standing in front of the walls of a tower, St Genevieve who presumably once held a candle, St Agnes with a little lamb at her side and St Margaret with the dragon.

In its previous form at the Célestins, however, according to the Gaignières drawings, the tomb appeared in a slightly different format (Fig. 81). Above the saints on the wall-panel, there was a large shell niche at the back of the half-moon shaped canopy above the tomb chest, which was supported by the pilasters surrounding the tomb chest. The canopy was surrounded by four angels and surmounted by the coat-of-arms of Claude of France (Fig. 80). Above the coat-of-arms, there was another female figure. The tomb chest itself formed the basis of this construction and extended underneath the pilasters. The four lower saints were embedded into the chest resembling a window panel. The unicorns at the sides are not visible in the drawings. It must therefore be assumed that they formed separate white panels within the black marble chest.

The most significant change, however, relates to the effigy. The pair of angels flanking her pillow has disappeared. Yet more significant is the drawing of the *gisant* itself. Prinet has suggested that the effigy displayed at the Louvre today is not the same,

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[372] It is unclear who this saint is. Guilhermy, *Monographie*, p. 303, suggested that she is unidentifiable on the basis of her sole attribute, a book, alone. His statement has been repeated since. The current plaque at the Louvre suggests that she is a martyr (as indicated by the palm branch), yet fails to identify her. The literature generally fails to mention her second attribute, a sword held in the same hand as the palm branch, also visible in the Gaignières drawing (many thanks to Jim Harris for confirming that there is indeed a sword, albeit not a flaming one as I originally thought). On the basis of the sword and crown she may be Clotaire's wife Radegund, whose cult was prominent in France. A fifteenth-century statue of her also stands in Renée's family castle at Châteaudun. See French Ministry of Culture, keyword Châteaudun and Radegonde, [http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/palissy_fr?ACTION=RETROUVER&FIELD_1=Cpal5&VALUE_1 =chateaudun&FIELD_2=EDIF&VALUE_2=&FIELD_3=Cpal1&VALUE_3=&FIELD_4=Cpal2&VALUE_4=&FIEL D_5=Cpal3&VALUE_5=&FIELD_6=REPR&VALUE_6=&FIELD_7=TOUT&VALUE_7=radegonde&FIELD_8=ad resse&VALUE_8=&FIELD_9=DOSURLP&VALUE_9=%20&NUMBER=2&GRP=0&REQ=%28%28chateaudun %29%20%3aLOCA%2cPLOC%2cINSEE%20%20ET%20%20%28%28radegonde%29%20%3aTOUT%20%29 %29&USRNAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=9&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=200&MA X3=200&DOM=Tous], viewed 14 June 2013. See 'Radegund', in Farmer, *Saints*.

unaltered effigy as in the Gaignières drawings.[373] The effigy at the Louvre shows a straight face, as if she were standing upright and looking forwards. The effigy in the drawing tilts her head to the left towards the viewer. The Louvre catalogue equally suggests that the effigy must have been altered, referring to a drawing in Guilhermy's *Monographie de l'église royal de Saint-Denis*, published in 1848, which shows a bird's eye view of the effigy facing forwards.[374] On this basis, both authors suggest that the effigy must have been altered after it was moved to Saint-Denis in 1818.[375] As neither author gives documentary evidence other than referring to the difference of the tilt of the head in the two drawings, one should perhaps be more cautious in accepting their suggestion. Furthermore, the effigy and its positioning on the cushion do not support this. The effigy's head sits flush upon the cushion, there is no deep cut along the neckline, and the side details of the hood are too precise to have allowed her head to tilt to the left. Against the effort required to alter the angle of the effigy's head, it is more plausible that the Gaignières drawings are at fault. Given the liveliness and artistic complexity of the background of the top panel of Renée's tomb as depicted in his illustration, Gaignières's draftsman may have simply decided to show the facial features of the effigy and thus tilted her head towards the viewer. Against other minor or larger lapses in the representation of effigies, it seems more probable that the draftsman's artistic initiative was responsible for the tilt of the head rather than its being the result of later alterations of the effigy.[376]

A further curious change of the monument today and its description in the literature is the epitaph. The *Monographie* as well as the Louvre catalogue indicate that the inscription is conducted in capital letters only, while the epitaph today consists of capitals as well as lower case.[377] The epitaph introduces Renée as her father's heiress to the county of Dunoys, her parents François de Longueville and Françoise d'Alençon, and the date and location of her death. The Gothic inscription in gold letters along the top of the tomb chest reads:

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[373] Prinet, 'Écusson', p. 2.

[374] Guilhermy, *Monographie*, illustration between pp. 300-301.

[375] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 36. Guilhermy, *Monographie,* pp. 301-303.

[376] See Haskell, *History*, p. 134, for general comments on alterations and mistakes. For comparison, Gaignières' draftsman Louis Boudan altered the tilt of the head on some of the figures underneath the tomb of Francis II of Brittany. He also omitted shell niches among the mourners on the side views, situating them among the apostles instead.

[377] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 36; Guilhermy, *Monographie,* p. 302.

Cy gist tresexcelle[nte] et noble damoiselle Renee dorleans a son vivant [com]tesse[378] de dunoys de tancaruille de montgomery Dame de monstreubellay de chasteau regnault et ce[379] Fille unicque delaissee de tres/ excellē[nte]s et puisse prīce et prīcesse frācoys en *[380] duc de lōguevil c[om]te et s[eigneu]ʳ des[d]i[t]s co[m]tez et seignories Cōnestable he[re]dital de Normadie[381] lieutēn g[e]n[er]al et gouvernēr po[u]ʳ le Roy en ses pays de guyēne et madē/ Fācoise[382] dalencon son espouse pere et mere de lad[383] laquelle t[re]spassa en leage de sept ans au lieu de paris[384] le xxiiiᵉ Jour de may lan mil vᶜ et xv d[i]eu ait son ame et de to[u]ˢ autres pāt nostʳ ave maria.[385]

Renée's tomb fulfilled two immediate functions: a spiritual, and a dynastic function. Both were enhanced by the choice of location, its ancient mode and material. From a dynastic perspective, it is significant that Renée was her parents' only child and thus her father's heiress. For this reason, the *gisant* is represented as a young lady, capable of fulfilling her social role as her father's heiress to his domains. This representation as a high-ranking and thus potentially influential noblewoman works in combination with the girl's burial at the prestigious Célestins.

The choice of this highly prestigious burial site of the Célestins, although it may seem remarkable for a girl of such young age, was more than appropriate for a well-born and well-connected countess. Renée's grieving mother Françoise erected the extravagant monument to her daughter in the Célestins church to commemorate the death of the heiress and the end of the family line. However, there was also a more strategic function to the choice of burial site. Although the original Longueville branch of the Orléans family had died out with Renée's death, the positioning of the monument within the Orléans chapel helped to create the impression of her and her widowed mother's ancient affiliation with this most prestigious branch of the family. Buried in

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[378] Damaged and changed later.

[379] Should be 'cette' but there is no room for the final two letters. Beaulieu, *Louvre,* p. 36, suggests 'ET FILLE'.

[380] Ibid. gives 'EN SON VIVANT'

[381] There was once an abbreviation mark which has now been lost. See Guilhermy, *Monographie*, p. 302.

[382] This word has been tampered with.

[383] Damaged. Presumably 'ladite fille'.

[384] Although the **a** is difficult to decipher, this must be Paris, since Renée died at Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. See Guilhermy, *Monographie*, p. 300.

[385] 'Here lies the most excellent and noble young lady Renée d'Orléans, during her lifetime countess of Dunoys of Tancarville, of Montgomery, lady of Monstreubellay, and of Chateau Regnault, and she passed away as the only daughter of the most excellent and powerful prince and princess François [during his lifetime] duke of Longueville count and lord of aforesaid counties and seigneuries, hereditary constable of Normandie, lieutenant general and governor for the king in his lands of Guyenne, and of Madame Françoise d'Alençon his wife, father and mother of aforesaid girl, who passed away at the age of seven years in the town of Paris on the twenty-third day of May in the year 1515. God has her soul and that of many others. Pater Noster. Ave Maria.'

close physical proximity to the monument of the dukes of Orléans to whom she was related, Renée's tomb creates the impression of dynastic continuity and kinship affiliations with the royal family.[386] The sepulchre of the dukes of Orléans commemorated Louis of Orléans not only as the founder of the royal branch of the Orléans family, but also as the founder of Renée's Longueville side of the family.[387] The iconography on the tomb of Renée deliberately mirrors the iconography of her ancestors' tomb to visually create a link between the two sepulchres. Both monuments were constructed from white marble in the 'antique' mode. They both feature prominent figures of saints underneath shell-headed niches, which would have visually enhanced the dynastic links between the two monuments. This family connection was presumably even further enhanced by the coat-of-arms of Claude of France, daughter of Louis XII, above Renée's tomb.[388] Therefore the representation of Renée as a high-ranking and thus influential noblewoman on an 'antique' monument elevated her and her mother visually to the most influential nobility of the realm.

The iconography further helps link Renée's tomb with her spiritual and dynastic surroundings in addition to its commemorative functions. Although the female saints and martyrs lining the tomb chest and the back of the *enfeu* act as an immediate symbol of piety, it is striking that the saints depicted are traditionally associated either with virginity or with chastity.[389] This emphasis on virginity and virtuous behaviour is further enhanced by the unicorns at the sides of the monument and at the effigy's feet, which were also associated traditionally and equally with virginity and female chastity.[390] While it seems extraordinary to emphasise such a young girl's virtue on her monument, this may be explained with the social norms of the early sixteenth century.

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[386] See chapter 2 for the Orléans monument.

[387] A monument in the church of Sainte-Madeleine adjacent to the Orléans family castle at Châteaudun equally portrays female saints and virtues underneath seven shell niches (Fig. 84). Identifiable figures include St Catherine, Justice, Temperance, and either Fortitude or St Margaret. The castle belonged to the same branch of the Orléans family as Renée via Jean de Dunoys, the illegitimate child of Louis of Orléans, Louis XII's grandfather, from whom she inherited her title. There is very little known regarding the tomb in Châteaudun. At best, it can be dated to the 1520s approximately, on the basis of its iconography, which links it with the tomb of Renée d'Orléans. The style, however, is less Italian-influenced than Renée's tomb. A potential family connection between the two monuments should not be ruled out either, particularly since the Châteaudun monument is located in the Orléans family church. This family connection may also explain the iconographical similarities between the two monuments, as well as pointing towards the spread of Italian elements on tombs in the provinces.

[388] Unfortunately, the exact nature of this connection is unclear. See Prinet, 'Écusson', pp. 3-7.

[389] The virgin saints were considered a suitable associate for the young deceased.

[390] According to legend, a unicorn could only be captured by a maiden. Elmer G. Suhr, 'An interpretation of the unicorn', *Folklore,* 75 (1964), p. 92. Guilhermy, *Monographie,* p. 303.

The tomb deliberately represents Renée as a young lady capable of fulfilling her social role as her father's heiress to his domains. Since Renée was depicted as an independent heiress on her tomb monument, however, this immediately raised the question of her marital status. It was politically and dynastically significant to emphasise that Renée was the sole heiress and an unmarried virgin at her time of death, as it precluded other family claims to her rank and fortune. From a spiritual perspective also, it was important to display her state of virginity, as it symbolised the purest state of being for ladies. Rather than suggesting that Renée was a virgin due to her age – the only reference to her age is found in the epitaph – the saintly iconography on the tomb and the depiction of her effigy as a young lady create the impression that she was a virgin by her own choice.[391] By visually and symbolically surrounding Renée with the virgin martyrs while simultaneously depicting her as an equally virtuous and pious young lady herself, the tomb implied that she had herself led a model life akin to the female saints surrounding her effigy.

Furthermore, the epitaph unusually displays two specific prayers, 'Pater Noster' and 'Ave Maria', instead of the traditional closing formula 'Pray to God for her soul'. It is perhaps no coincidence that, although these two are the most common prayers, they are specifically addressed to the spiritual mother and father. The two saints at the ends of the top section of the wall, the Virgin Mary and St Margaret, would support this impression. Both are traditionally associated with motherhood and childbirth, as well as with maternal loss in the case of the Virgin.[392] This unusual phrasing and the motherly saints reflects Renée's mother's appeal to God and to the observer to care for the young girl's soul in the afterlife. It is striking, however, that saints more traditionally associated with family and motherhood, such as St Anne, are absent from this monument. Instead, the emphasis on virgins and virgin martyrs on the tomb in addition to the deviation from the standard epitaph suggest that virginity is more central to this sepulchre than motherhood or family. The unusual inclusion of prayers in the epitaph supports this impression. Unlike the standard formula on the epitaph, which implies that the patron crucially needed the observer's prayers to shorten his ordeal in purgatory, Renée's state of virginity ensured her only a short time in purgatory.[393] Read in combination with the female saints surrounding the *tumba*, the mention of the heavenly

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[391] '[L]aquelle t[re]spassa en leage de sept ans'.

[392] See 'Margaret', in Farmer, *Saints*.

[393] Katherine Clark, 'Purgatory, punishment, and discourse of holy widowhood in the high and late Middle Ages', *Journal of the History of Sexuality,* 16 (2007), pp. 177-78.

family in the incitement to prayers on the tomb implies that it was primarily through her virtue and piety that Renée successfully transferred from her earthly family and existence to her spiritual family in heaven.

By stylistically, iconographically, and spatially creating visual links between Renée's funerary monument and the dukes of Orléans in the same chapel, her sepulchre constituted more than merely the funerary monument of a beloved daughter. Exploiting the dual function of dynastic and spiritual family connections within the Orléans chapel through the use of the 'antique' mode, it enhanced notions of the sacrality and continuity of the ancient dynasty, which were, perhaps, not entirely accurate depictions of reality. Nevertheless, the splendid Renaissance monument copying the saints underneath niches of the tomb of the dukes of Orléans set within the same chapel created the impression of the legitimacy of Renée's mother's claims, that this was, indeed, the sepulchre of one of the best connected, purest and most virtuous young ladies in sixteenth-century France.

'Antique' art as a symbol of family advancement: Artus Gouffier (1474-1519) and Philippe de Montmorency (d. 1516)

The two Gouffier family tombs at Oiron indicate in what ways 'antique' funerary art could be used to express family advancement. The tomb of Artus Gouffier is an impressive Italian Renaissance monument (Fig. 85).[394] Work on the sepulchre was begun during Artus Gouffier's lifetime in 1510, yet it was only finished almost thirty years later. The monument was completed by the Florentine-born, but later naturalised, sculptor Jean Juste, who began work on the tomb in 1532 and brought it to completion seven years later. He had previously constructed the royal tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany at Saint-Denis, his masterpiece, which was finished in November 1531.[395] Hence the commission of the royal sculptor Jean Juste immediately demonstrated the patron's wealth and his royal connections.

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[394] 'Gaignières', p. 65. For literature on this sepulchre, see Guillaume, 'Gouffiers', pp.131-139; Anatole de Montaiglon, 'La famille des Juste en France [III]', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 13 (1876), pp. 552-568; and Palustre, *Renaissance*, III, pp. 229-233. For some biography, see Pierre Carouge, 'Artus (1474-1519) et Guillaume (1482-1525) Gouffier à l'émergence de nouvelles modalités de gouvernement', in Cédric Michon (ed.), *Les conseillers de François Ier* (Rennes, 2011), pp. 229-253 ; Étienne Fournial, *Monsieur de Boisy: grand maître de France sous François Ier* (Lyon, 1996); and Y.-M. Bercé, 'Artus Gouffier: grand maître de la maison du roi (vers 1472-1519)', in Roland Mousnier (ed.), *Le conseil du roi de Louis XII à la Révolution* (Paris, 1970), pp. 207-230.
[395] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 37-40.

The monument of Artus Gouffier itself is equally impressive. Approximately 1.20 metre tall from bottom to slab, it consists of an unusually long, free standing marble tomb chest with twelve figures underneath prominent shell niches. The recumbent effigy is strikingly larger than life, being over two and a half metres in length. It was damaged by Huguenots in 1568 and again during the French Revolution, to the extent that the effigy's facial features are almost grotesque due to the loss of the effigy's nose (Fig. 86).[396] Again, one must remark on the life-like features of the effigy, particularly the exquisitely carved face, which again appears to be modelled on portraits. The effigy of Artus Gouffier is depicted wearing shoulder-length hair. His eyes are closed peacefully and his bare head rests on two lightly embroidered and tasselled cushions. A marble helmet once rested above his head; today only the chain mail base remains. The effigy itself is depicted in full plate armour covering him from neck to toe above a chain mail shirt. His hands were once folded in prayer, although today nothing remains but the back of his hands. His surcoat bears the stripes of the Gouffier coat-of-arms. His almost globe-pommelled sword rests adjacent to his left side in a highly decorated scabbard, yet it is unbuckled and placed next to him rather than worn (Fig. 87). His plate-mailed feet once rested upon a now decapitated beast, presumably a griffin based upon the feathery neckline and bird-of-prey claws on its front legs combined with a lion's hind legs.[397] To either side of his feet, a small coat-of-arms surrounded by a collar of Saint-Michel was etched into the marble.[398]

Beginning on the right side of the effigy's head, an epitaph in Roman capital letters reads:

CI. GIST. FEV. DE. BONE. MEMOIRE. MESSIRE. ARTVS. GOVFFIER. EN. SON. VIVANT. ...*/[399] [SE]IGNEUR. DE. BOYSY. BOURG. SVR. CHARĒTE. DE. SAINCT. LOUP. ET. DOYR/Ō. GOVVERNE^R.[400] ET. LIEVTENANT. GNÆL. DV. R[O*]Y. EN. SES.

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[396] Bercé, 'Gouffier, p. 229.

[397] Griffins are the Gouffier heraldic beasts accompanying their coat-of-arms, for instance above the entrance portal to the church at Oiron.

[398] It appears to be the correct coat-of-arms for Artus Gouffier, and since they are only lightly carved, it seems conclusive to suggest that they were once polychrome.

[399] The rim on this side of the tomb slab has been severely damaged and this part of the epitaph is therefore missing. However, its wording has been recorded as 'CH̄R. DE. L'ORDRE. CŌTE. DE. CARVAX. ET. DESTĀPES. BARŌ. DE. MAVLEVRIER. ET. PASSAVĀT'. See M. De Longuemar, 'Épigraphie du Haut Poitou', *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 28 (1863), p. 267.

[400] Underneath the **G** of 'GOVVERNE[U]^R, there is a small date inscribed in Italic letters. It reads either 1522 or 1533, depending on the now illegible shape of the bottom strokes of the final two digits. Perhaps this is what Montaiglon, 'Juste [III], p. 564, describes as the sculptor's date of 1539, as this is the only date on the monument other than in the inscription itself.

PAIS. DE. DAVLPHĨE. ET. GRĀD. MᴱE. DE. FRĀCE. FVDATEVR.
DE. CESTE. EGLE. LEQVEL. TRESPASSA. A. MŌPELLIER. LE.
XIII. IOVR. DE. / MAY. 1519. PRIEZ. DIEV. POVR. LVI.[401]

While the effigy and the epitaph follow the standard formula in all but the effigy's size, the tomb chest is quite remarkable. Rather than depicting apostles underneath the shell niches on the long sides, however, it has been suggested that the figures represent the family members of Artus.[402] Their individual professions and attributes are depicted on the columns between the figures, which may help to identify the headless figures. On the west side of the monument, the *tumba* depicts one bearer of the collar of Saint-Michel, followed by two clerics, another bearer of the Order of Saint-Michel, and either another cleric or a civilian. On the east side of the monument, the tomb chest displays a cleric with a staff, a member of the Order of Saint-Michel accompanied by illustrations of ships and cannon on his right-side column, a further two clerics, a member of a monastic order and another bearer of the collar of Saint-Michel (Figs. 88-90). Guillaume has suggested that this side displays the brothers of Artus, Abbot Louis, Admiral Bonnivet and Abbot Pierre.[403] It is, however, also worth pointing out that the figures wear mourning robes, and thus represent family members depicted as mourners.

The short sides of the *tumba* are more conventional in topic, yet not in the execution of the craftsmanship. On the north and the south side, a pair of angels standing underneath shell niches once held the Gouffier coat-of-arms on the columns between them (Figs. 91-92). Today only the torsos, one arm and two legs remain on the south side. Although the north side generally appears to be more weathered than the south side, the angels at the north side are less mutilated than at the opposite end.[404] They, too, display the remnants of the Gouffier coat-of-arms.

The 'antique' monument served two key functions: on the one hand, the ancient mode communicated the success of the Gouffier family at court while disguising their novelty, but it also served as an indicator of Artus' noble status. As indicated in the

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[401] 'Here lies in good memory the late Lord Artus Gouffier in his lifetime [knight of the order, count of Carvax et Destampes, baron of Mauleurier and Passavant,] lord of Boisy, Bourg-sur-Charente, of Saint-Loup and of Oiron, governor and lietenant general of [the king] in his lands, of Dauphiné and grand master of France, founder of this church. He passed away at Montpellier on the thirteenth day of May 1519. Pray to God for him.'

[402] Guillaume, 'Gouffiers', p. 132.

[403] Ibid., p. 138. It is likely that Claude Gouffier also included himself in the line-up of family members, presumably also wearing the collar of Saint-Michel. This tomb thus constitutes a kinship tomb in the strictest sense. See Morganstern, *Kinship tombs*, pp. 6-8.

[404] It is unclear why this is the case.

epitaph, Artus Gouffier was an important figure at the French court. He was appointed as mentor to young François d'Angoulême in 1506.[405] After his protégé's accession to the throne, Artus was almost immediately honoured with the title of 'grand maître de France'.[406] Despite the associated prestige of the title of grand maître, however, Carouge has pointed out that this was primarily a domestic role at court rather than a highly political one.[407] Artus's key responsibilities included ensuring the smooth running of the court as well as the king's daily affairs, such as organising his guards or his audiences.[408] Perhaps this more domestic role is indicated in the unbuckled sword and scabbard placed adjacent to the effigy, rather than being worn as one would expect of a knight, as this appears to be the only example of an unbuckled sword.[409]

Nevertheless, Artus' advancement to a key position in the king's household facilitated the family's steep rise under Francis I. Thanks to him a number of his siblings and family entered into royal service, where they, too, were rewarded.[410] The most prominent of his siblings is presumably his younger brother Guillaume Gouffier, also known as Bonnivet, who was one of the closest companions of the young prince and later the king. However, it is striking that the family's relatively new rise to prominence at the royal court is artistically absent on this monument. The use of traditional mourners rather than apostles in the lining of the tomb chest, some with family attributes as identifiers but all without a name or biographical information, creates the impression that the deceased belonged to the traditional, ancient nobility.[411] Simultaneously, the choice of 'antique' mode adds an impression of longevity to the Gouffiers' success at court which was far from the truth. This was particularly important against the family rivalry between the Gouffiers and their neighbours, the La Trémoîlle, at nearby Thouars, which was also expressed in their tombs.[412] While the La Trémoîlle belonged to the old nobility of France, the Gouffier family had only recently

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[405] Carouge, 'Gouffier', p. 230.

[406] Ibid.

[407] Ibid., p. 234.

[408] Ibid., p. 230.

[409] Based on the data collected during my research trip in 2011. See Appendix A.

[410] Knecht, *Francis*, p. 49, mentions that Adrien became cardinal in December 1515 as part of the French entourage at the papal court.

[411] Perhaps this shift from the previously popular apostles to family connections also indicates the increasing onset of the Reformation. See Morganstern, *Kinship tombs*, pp. 152, 156. Kinship tombs were common in the Middle Ages, but not in early sixteenth-century France.

[412] Palustre, *Renaissance*, III, pp. 227-229. Although the tombs are strikingly similar, the earlier Thouars monument displays apostles, while the later one also displays angels on the short sides. This has caused Palustre to suggest that the Gouffiers tried to supersede their rivals in their sepulchral monuments, which is a compelling suggestion. See also 'Gaignières', pp. 62, 90.

risen to prominence.[413] The first three family members to succeed at court or in the church were in fact Artus and his two brothers Bonnivet and Adrien.[414] The combination of antique mode and the depiction of Artus Gouffier's immediate family as an alternative to his illustrious ancestors, focusing on his generation instead, solves this dilemma magnificently. Furthermore, the commission of the royal sculptor Jean Juste supports Artus Gouffier's patronage connection with Francis I.

The monument of Artus Gouffier is visually, dynastically and chronologically paired with the sepulchre of his mother Philippe de Montmorency, situated within the same church (Fig. 93). The monuments face each other, with the tomb of Artus in the south, and the monument of Philippe in the north transept. Guillaume has suggested that the monument of Artus was originally placed to the left of the tomb of Philippe, which would perhaps result in a closer visual connection between the two monuments.[415] While the sepulchre of Artus Gouffier depicted the male version of a similar construction, the emphasis on the tomb of Philippe de Montmorency is undoubtedly on her femininity. Twelve female figures once knelt and prayed underneath shell niches on both long sides of the monument; today they are severely mutilated, although some remain. On the west end, four out of six figures have lost their heads if not a large part of their torso (Fig. 96). Of the remaining two, one figure remains almost intact, while the other has lost half of her face (Fig. 95). On the east side, all figures have lost their heads (Fig. 94). On both sides, the figures are dressed in long religious habits, with a plain hood and fur sleeves. A rosary hanging from their belt is the only decoration. The east side is more uniform than the left, as all figures hold the same pose, kneeling and hovering in prayer. Against the model of Artus Gouffier's tomb, Guillaume has suggested that the female figures may also represent relatives.[416] However, there is little evidence to support his statement. Unlike the figures on Artus's tomb, the columns dividing the female figures display the same motifs rather than individual scenes, as they were perhaps deemed less important than the male counterparts.[417] The first, third, fifth and seventh pillars display practically the same fruit motifs in the same order, with

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[413] Carouge, 'Gouffier', p. 229.

[414] Ibid. While the family had existed as petty nobility since 1370, they did not rise to importance at court until the sixteenth century.

[415] Guillaume, 'Gouffiers', p. 137.

[416] Ibid., p. 132. Philippe had four girls, of whom at least one entered a convent. See Fournial, *Boisy*, pp. 85, 87.

[417] See Morganstern, *Kinship tombs*, p. 60, on separating the sexes during worship and its potential reflection in tomb sculpture.

the exception of three different types of faces at the top, which either resembles a putto, an old lady wearing a hood or a lion's head. The second, fourth and sixth pillars repeat their elements, such as an array of musical instruments, a pomegranate, or a book, albeit in a different order and composition. The opposite side shows the same characteristics, although the even-numbered columns are slightly more fantastic in their decoration than on the opposite side. It seems that the female figures were types of mourners rather than specific individuals or even portraits of individuals.

The short sides of the monument again mirror the tomb of Artus (Figs. 97-98). Although the sides must have been almost identical, today the north end is the better preserved of the two. At the north end, two winged angels standing underneath shell niches once held the lady's coat-of-arms between them. Today, only the right angel still has a head. Both figures have lost their shins and their feet. Once again, the flanking columns display objects such as open books, a goblin's head and musical instruments. As on the long sides, each shell niche is flanked by a small rose petal to either side of the niche. While the long sides emphasise the difference in gender between the occupants of the two monuments, the short sides once again emphasise that they are designed to be viewed as a pair.

The *gisant* of Philippe de Montmorency is also easily comparable to her son's effigy in terms of size and craftsmanship (Fig. 99). Although the previous mutilations have resulted in the almost *transi*-like distortion of the lady effigy's facial features due to the loss of the effigy's nose, as well as the brim of her hood, Philippe's effigy was once superbly executed, peaceful and depicted with almost lifelike accuracy.[418] She is represented wearing a long dress, veil and hood, all draped in elegant folds around her body. Her long and wide sleeves are lined with fur. Her hands, which have now disappeared with the exception of the tips of four fingers, were once folded in a gesture of prayer. Similar to her son, her eyes are closed and her head rests upon two cushions. To either side of her head, a diamond-shaped coat-of-arms was etched into the

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[418] See 'Gaignières', p. 62. The chin is quite remarkable and must have been modelled on a portrait.

cushion.[419] Her feet, which are equally covered under delicate folds of fabric, rest on the remains of a curly-haired companion dog (Fig. 100).[420]

An inscription surrounds the top rim of the slab. Roman capital letters read:

CI. GIST. FEV. DAME. PHILIPE. DE. MONTMORENCIE. EN. SON. VIVANT. FEME. EN. PREMIERES. NOPCES. DE. FEV. MESSIRE. CHARLES. DE. MELEVN. GRAND. MAISTRE./ *[DE.] FRANCE. *[ET. EN.] SECONDES. NOPCES. DE. FEV. MESSE. GVILLE. GOVF/FIER. CHER. SEIGR. DE. BOIS. ET. BONIVET. ET. DOIRO. PREMIER. CHABELLA. DU. ROY. CHARLES. VII[I]. [sic] ET. DEPUIS. GOVVERNE[R]. DV. FILZ. DU. ROY. CHARLES. VIII. LAQLLE. TRESPASSA. ACHI*[NO. LE. XX.]/[421] [I]O. *[DE. NOV.] 1516. PRIES. DIEV. POVR. ELLE.[422]

Although Philippe's monument is placed within the church founded by her son, it is worth pointing out that there is no connection to her offspring other than the stylistic similarity between their tombs. If her funerary monument was designed to function as a kinship tomb in the classical sense with the traditional elements of mourners lining the sides, however, it is surprising that the tomb chest only depicts female family members, rather than her equally numerous male offspring from her second marriage. While this monument does not entirely stand alone as it forms part of a matching pair, it is nevertheless significant in that it constitutes an 'antique' monument dedicated to a female patron as an individual, yet still working in conjunction with her son's monument. Instead of introducing the deceased as her sons' mother, she received a tomb of her own, which only mentions her two husbands in the epitaph, yet does not display them visually.[423]

The existence of this 'antique'-mode monument for a female suggests that by the construction of the Oiron sepulchres, Renaissance tomb sculpture was no longer

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[419] It appears that the escutcheon above her right shoulder once displayed the coat-of-arms of her first husband. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to make out the tinctures or the ordinaries of the heraldry. The coat-of-arms above her left shoulder, on the other hand, displays part of the Gouffier coat-of-arms (although it seems to be in the third, rather than the first and fourth quarters as one would expect).

[420] It resembles a poodle-type. Unfortunately, its head has been chopped off.

[421] The rim is broken off. For the wording of the missing sections, see De Longuemar, 'Épigraphie', p. 267.

[422] 'Here lies the late Lady Philippe de Montmorency during her lifetime in her first marriage she was the wife of the late Lord Charles de Meleun grand master [of] France, [and in] her second marriage she was the wife of the late Lord Guillaume Gouffier, knight, lord of Bois and Bonnivet and of Oiron, first chamberlain of the king Charles VII[I] and since governor of the son of Charles VIII. She passed away at Chin[on on the twentieth of November] 1516. Pray to God for her.'

[423] Her first husband was executed for treason in 1468. Her second husband was buried in Amboise, where he had died in 1495. Bercé, 'Gouffier', p. 212.

limited to the select few courtiers and veterans of the Italian wars, but that its clientele had also expanded to their associates and family. Combining the ancient mode with traditional mourners, the commission of the court sculptor Jean Juste served an immediate purpose. By employing the king's own sculptor to construct the Oiron monuments, these examples of 'antique' funerary art were particularly suited to creating the impression of their patrons' ancient nobility while equally expressing their patronage connections with the court of Francis I. Rather than their patrons remaining politically insignificant like their ancestors, the two monuments pay tribute to the family's ambitious rise at court, manifested by the commission of the same sculptor who had created the tomb of a king.

This chapter has demonstrated that 'antique' funerary monuments appealed to the nobility of the period for a variety of reasons. Perhaps describable as a fashion closely connected with the French monarch and his court, they fulfilled a series of strategic and representative functions. Above all, the ability to commission these expensive and opulent status symbols served the representation of the noble individual and the nobility as an institution in an ideal manner. Imbert de Basternay, for instance, used the 'antique' mode on his church and funerary monument to present himself as a man of ancient wealth, piety and long-standing political significance. Renée d'Orléans-Longueville's close physical and stylistic proximity to the tomb of the dukes of Orléans at the Célestins visually proclaimed the young heiress' ancient family connections with the royal house. Finally, the ambitious 'antique' mode sepulchres of Artus Gouffier and his mother created the impression that their family belonged to the ancient nobility of France, when they had only just risen to prominence at the court of Francis I. Hence 'antique' funerary art was particularly suited to noble self-fashioning, the self-conscious expression of noble patronage connections at court and dynastic affiliations with its monarch. Rather than legitimising or commenting on the French presence in Italy, however, Renaissance funerary art between the 1510s and 1530s was used successfully as a statement of the nobility's significance, their political connections, and the representation of noble self-consciousness, regardless of the patron's personal connections with Italy.

While the French court and its aristocracy continued to celebrate their personal achievements, patronage connections and the virtues of their elevated social status, matters in France and abroad were not as straightforward, self-congratulatory and tranquil for the nobility as this chapter has suggested. The next chapter returns to the

darker side of the 1520s to 1540s at home and abroad: to economic crisis, the defeat of the French army at Pavia in 1525, and their impact on the commission of funerary art by the French nobility.

Chapter 4:

The transition from 'antique' to classical sculpture after the battle of Pavia, c. 1525-1549

Although the previous chapter has suggested that the socio-economic crisis of the 1520s only had a limited influence on funerary sculpture at the French court, a series of further critical events impacted on the 1520s and the following two decades.[424] A series of failed harvests in a society primarily based on agriculture resulted in food shortage and severe economic hardship.[425] Wide-scale episodes of recurrent plague, such as in Normandy in 1521 and 1542, devastated the populace.[426] On this basis, Heller has argued that the period between the 1520s and 1540s was not as peaceful as the exclusive focus on the royal court may suggest and that the nobility struggled to maintain its *status quo* particularly during the second half of the century.[427]

The second critical event for the French nobility was the battle of Pavia on 24 February 1525, unanimously seen by contemporaries as well as by subsequent historians as one of the greatest defeats of a French army before the nineteenth century.[428] After a long siege, French and imperial forces joined battle within the confined space of Mirabello park. Francis I's cavalry charge left the infantry behind and forced his artillery to cease fire, leaving the knights unsupported.[429] The result was disastrous for the French. Among the dead, wounded and captured were not only vast numbers of the king's council and many of his closest advisers, such as Jacques de Chabannes (1465-1525), better known as seigneur de La Palice, or Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567). To make matters worse, King Francis I himself was captured by the imperial army and imprisoned, first in Italy, then taken to Spain. Devastated, he wrote home to his mother and regent Louise of Savoy (1476-1531) shortly after the battle 'all is lost save my honour and my life'.[430] After the king had spent thirteen months as a political prisoner, he was eventually released in March 1526,

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[424] See Emerling, *Theory*, pp. 65-68, for Alain Badiou's idea that an event can trigger a new state of being reflected in art.

[425] Garrisson, *Sixteenth-century France*, pp. 18-29. Frederic J. Baumgartner, *France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1995), p. 117.

[426] Bois, *Crisis*, p. 374.

[427] Heller, *Iron and Blood,* esp. pp. 5, 45, 52.

[428] Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 119.

[429] Ibid., p. 118.

[430] '[D]e toutes choses ne m'est demeuré que l'honneur et la vie sauve', quoted in Jean Jacquard, *François Ier* (Paris, 1988), p. 165.

in exchange for his two underage sons, the dauphin François (1517-1536) and the future king Henri II (1519-1559), as hostages. In 1529, they were finally released, after three years of captivity, for a considerable sum of money as part of the treaty of Cambrai.[431]

From a political point of view, the defeat at Pavia and the captivity of the French king were little short of a national disaster, endangering the safety of the realm against internal as well as against external threats. The absence of the king for unspecified time caused an immediate threat to the succession of the Crown. In order to solve the problem of an absentee king and thus to safeguard his realm as well as to ensure the survival of his dynasty, Francis tried to abdicate and to leave the Crown to the dauphin, yet parliament would not accept his decision, on the basis that it had been made under duress.[432] His mother Louise of Savoy continued to reign in her son's absence, albeit with a diminished body of advisors.[433] One unsuccessful attempt was made to remove Louise from power in favour of the duke of Vendôme, the next male kin to the king.[434] Marauding, unpaid troops also worried the capital, particularly since the governor responsible for Paris, the count of Saint-Pol, had himself been taken captive at Pavia.[435] More crucial, however, were external threats to the nation's safety and integrity. While Francis remained in captivity and thus out of action, Henry VIII of England in particular threatened to invade and to retake some of the possessions the English had lost during the Hundred Years' War.[436] With the French sovereign in his captivity, Charles V concentrated his efforts on the conquest of Burgundy, an endeavour which culminated in the key clauses of the treaty of Madrid.[437] This treaty granted Francis his freedom, amongst other things, against the surrender of his claims to Burgundy, which Francis subsequently broke on the condition that it, too, had been extracted under duress.[438]

It has been argued that the economic crisis as well as the king's captivity after Pavia had an immediate effect on his commissions of art as royal, and increasingly national, propaganda. Not long after his return to France, Francis engaged in a building

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[431] Ibid., p. 219. Two million écus d'or, of which 1,200,000 were payable at the time of their release.
[432] Seward, *Prince,* p. 139.
[433] Knecht, *Francis*, pp. 176-191, writes a very good chapter on the problems Louise faced as a regent of France.
[434] Ibid., p. 179.
[435] Ibid., p. 178. His lieutenant, the archbishop of Aix, lacked support and was thus powerless to deal with the situation.
[436] Ibid., pp. 176-177.
[437] Ibid., p. 177.
[438] Ibid., pp. 184, 189.

boom unparalleled in the entirety of his reign. Some of the best and most iconic works of classical Renaissance art, such as the *Gallérie François Ier* at Fontainebleau or the château of Chambord, stem from this time.[439] Desmond Seward has argued that Francis ignored politics immediately after his release, instead engaging in hunting, dancing and other pleasurable activities to come to terms with the psychological impact of his captivity following the defeat.[440] Following the same line of thought, it has recently been suggested that the construction of his famous palaces served as a means of recovering, proclaiming, and thus visually reinforcing the impression that Francis was an affluent and strong king. Henri Zerner and Rebecca Zorach have convincingly argued that the *Gallérie François Ier* was designed to create an enhanced impression of French power and economic affluence, while also deliberately constructing a feeling of national pride among the nobility at court.[441] They suggested that this self-fashioning was a counter-reaction to the *status quo* of empty treasuries, partly due to the reparations and ransom to free the king's sons, and partly due to severe socio-economic hardships following the agricultural crisis.[442] Zorach has further pointed out Francis' necessity to compensate for his previous military and personal failure at Pavia.[443] She suggested that his quest to portray himself and his culture as superior to the Italians whom he had previously admired were the natural reaction to the slight on his person in Italy.[444] Elisabeth Narkin has recently picked up on this argument, suggesting that Francis used hunting as a safer alternative to war to re-establish his masculinity and martial prowess, which were necessary to reclaim and to enhance his position as a strong king.[445]

While Francis' personal coping mechanisms and his resultant commissions of art are fascinating in their own right, it is worth investigating the role of, and the patron's choice of, 'antique' noble funerary sculpture in mid-sixteenth century France more closely. Out of a sample of fourteen monuments commissioned or completed in

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[439] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 29, 34, has named this the emergence of a 'strictly French idiom', without exploring the causality behind it.

[440] Seward, *Prince*, p. 140.

[441] See Zorach, *Blood*, pp. 6, 12-14; Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, pp. 9-10; 395-420, for some later examples. See Fenner, *Context,* pp. 245-246, for theoretical background.

[442] Zorach, *Blood*, p. 3. Part of the money needed to create the *Gallérie* was borrowed, although the middle classes were also increasingly prosperous, thus generating some income. See Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 49; Knecht, *Francis*, pp. 117-131, on his finances.

[443] Zorach, *Blood*, p. 3.

[444] Ibid.

[445] Elisabeth Narkin, 'The king as hunter: visualizing identity in François Ier's Pavillions de Chasse', presented at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, 25-28 October 2012.

this time, eleven monuments were constructed in an 'antique' mode, including works by Frenchmen Jean Goujon and Ligier Richier.[446] The three remaining monuments display distinctly local characteristics and one is Gothic. This chapter investigates if there was a shift in the use and the appearance of 'antique' modes of funerary art after the battle of Pavia. It thus analyses three monuments of (prominent) military men, allegedly all involved in the battle: the tomb of Admiral Guillaume Gouffier (1482-1525) at Oiron, who died at Pavia; followed by the tomb of the alleged veteran of Pavia, René d'Anglure (d. 1529) and his wife Catherine Dabouzey (d. 1527) at Étoges; and finally, the sepulchre of a prominent survivor of the battle, Master of Artillery Galiot de Genouillac (1465-1546) at Assier. It argues that French noblemen's need to prove their worth after Pavia resulted in an iconographical and conceptual shift in the perception of 'antique' art in France.

The 'antique' tomb of a victim of Pavia: Guillaume Gouffier, sieur de Bonnivet (1482-1525)

As a prominent casualty of the battle of Pavia, the tomb of Francis' associate Guillaume Gouffier, also known as sieur de Bonnivet or Grand Admiral of France, serves as a useful starting point to examine patrons' choices in the design and ornamentation of funerary sculpture after the battle of Pavia (Fig. 101). It is worth briefly mentioning Bonnivet's biography and legacy before returning to his funerary monument. During his lifetime, he was one of Francis' longest standing and closest companions.[447] The two men not only grew up together, feasted and fought together, but at times they also shared the same mistress.[448] Bonnivet even tried to seduce the king's sister, Margaret of Navarre, and a multitude of stories of his amorous adventures survive until today.[449]

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[446] See Appendix A. For the tomb of Louis de Brézé at Rouen, attributed to Goujon, see Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 123-124. For a tomb by Ligier Richier, see ibid., pp. 130-131, and the tomb of René de Beauvau and Claude Baudoche in Nancy.

[447] He was the brother of Francis' mentor Artus Gouffier, discussed in the previous chapter.

[448] The lady in question was Madame de Châteaubriant.

[449] See *Marguerite de Navarre: L'Heptaméron*, ed. Michel François (Paris, 1943), pp. 109-116; 129-134, for the famous half-fictional, half-autobiographical tale of Margaret's life, in which she reports many feats of her would-be lover. See also Patricia Francis Cholakian, *Rape and writing in the Heptaméron of Marguerite de Navarre* (Carbondale, 1991), pp. 117-125.

Nevertheless, Bonnivet's quasi-suicidal death at the battle also stands in close connection with his proximity to Francis.[450] He, rather than the king, is often blamed for the military disaster.[451] Chronicler Brantôme narrates that Bonnivet urged Francis to besiege Pavia into the winter, although the king had previously split his troops.[452] During the battle itself, when the king was captured and defeat seemed imminent, the chronicler reports that Bonnivet threw open his visor and flung himself at the enemy with the words 'je ne saurais survivre à cette grande destruction pour tout le bien du monde. Il faut aller périr dans la mêlée!'[453] Unsurprisingly, the opposing army took him by the word and he did not survive the day. When the admiral's arch-rival Charles, Duke of Bourbon, found the corpse with an open visor after the battle, Brantôme reports that the duke was displeased at Bonnivet's lack of resistance and stigmatised his plunge to the death as the rash action of a coward.[454]

Another author provides a slightly different account of the battle. Florange, too, blames Bonnivet for the disaster at Pavia, yet as it is several chapters before the battle itself, the connection is not as immediate as in Brantôme.[455] Although these chroniclers' tales cannot be considered entirely reliable, they form the basis of the bibliography on Bonnivet. In consequence, there is very little reliable literature either on Bonnivet or on his tomb. Most of the extant, hopelessly outdated, literature therefore focuses on his life as a hero and on his tragic end in battle as recorded by Brantôme.[456] The best modern summary is a doctoral thesis from 1999 by Pierre Carouge, followed by his recent article in *Les conseillers de François Ier*.[457]

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[450] Unlike most of the literature which portrays Bonnivet as reckless and bravado, Carouge 'Gouffier', p. 248, has suggested that Bonnivet's last action corresponded to the ideal of knightly honour and virtue, which ultimately dictated giving your life for your king and his cause.

[451] *Œuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, III*, ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris, 1867), p. 66 [hereafter *Brantôme*]. *Mémoires du Maréchal de Florange, dit le Jeune Adventureux, tome deuxième (1521-1525)*, ed. Robert Goubaux and P.-André Lemoisne (Paris, 1924), p. 190 [hereafter *Florange*].

[452] Ibid. Jacquart, *François*, pp. 162-163. *Florange*, p. 190. Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 118, calls this 'a grave tactical error'.

[453] *Brantôme*, p. 66. 'I cannot survive such disaster, such destruction, for anything in the world. I must seek death in battle!' Translation after Seward, *Prince*, p. 135.

[454] *Brantôme*, p. 67. It is important to remember, however, that despite his compelling account and his generally well-informed tone, Brantôme was only born in c. 1540, well after Bonnivet's death.

[455] *Florange*, pp. 190, 240. As a fellow courtier and soldier, Florange appears to have known the admiral in person.

[456] Francis Ambrière, *Le Favori de François Ier. Gouffier de Bonnivet Amiral de France* (Paris, 1936), is a typical early twentieth-century narrative of a national hero.

[457] Carouge, 'Gouffier', pp. 229-253.

Bonnivet's 'antique' tomb constitutes a remarkable monument constructed from contrasting black and white marble. The sepulchre was severely mutilated by Huguenots and again during the French Revolution.[458] The high amount of detail on the recumbent effigy of Bonnivet contrasts strongly with the straight black marble *tumba*, the product of the 1839 reconstruction. The effigy itself represents Bonnivet in elaborate, full-plate battle armour (Fig. 102). His embroidered surcoat prominently displays his quartered coat-of-arms. Hanging from a sash, a nautical emblem indicates his rank. His visor is open, yet his eyes are closed. The praying hands of the effigy have disappeared from the wrist onwards. The tassels, which once decorated the corners of the bottom one of the two cushions upon which his head rests, have also disappeared and the corners have been patched up. Positioned half underneath and half adjacent to Bonnivet's legs, a highly detailed dolphin and anchor motif refer to his political rank (Fig. 103). An equally magnificent but sadly decapitated lion rests at Bonnivet's feet (Fig. 104). The caps of his boots have also been taken off. The inscription surrounding the top rim of the tomb chest reads:

CI · GIST · MESSE · GVILL̃E · GOUFFIER · EN · SON · VIVÂT/
CHÊR·DE· LORDRE · S^R · DE · BONIVET · ET · CREVECŒR ·
GRAND · ADMIRAL · DE · FRÂCE · QUI · TRESPASSA · EN · LA ·
BATAILLE · DEVÂT · PAVIE ·/ LE · XXIV · FEVRIER · 1524 · PRIEZ
· DIEU · POUR · LUI.[459]

The tomb chest is decorated with three Augustan dolphin and anchor motifs made of white marble, displaying the Augustan oxymoron 'FESTINA LENTE', hurry on slowly. This motif is found three times on the tomb chest in total, on the east and the west end of the monument, as well as in the middle of the south side. The latter is flanked by two snakes, circling back to bite the end of their own tail, as a symbol of eternity.

Comparison with the Gaignières drawings (Fig. 105), however, indicates that the tomb chest is not the original, but the result of the nineteenth-century reconstruction of the monument. The drawings confirm that alterations have taken place. Bonnivet's tomb was originally erected in the middle of the 'Chapelle de Rosaire' to the left of the

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[458] Guillaume, 'Gouffiers', pp. 133-134. The hands of the effigy and the lion's head have disappeared.

[459] 'Here lies Guillaume Gouffier, in his lifetime knight of the Order, lord of Bonnivet and Crevecoeur, Grand Admiral of France, who passed away in the battle before Pavia on 24 February 1524. Pray to God for him'. The last few inches are damaged showing stone underneath a thin layer of black marble. The Gaignières drawing does not close with the traditional 'AMEN' either. 1524 instead of 1525 is due to the calendar change.

choir, but now stands leaning against the north wall of the church.[460] The drawing shows a freestanding, not a wall-mounted monument, consisting of a slim black marble chest and a white marble effigy of the deceased. The foot end of the tomb displays a dolphin and anchor motif upon a white marble square, which is as almost as wide as the tomb chest itself. The current monument still displays the dolphin and anchor motif, yet they are surmounted upon a round medallion only, rather than consisting of a round medallion mounted upon a white marble square (Fig. 106). Suspiciously white and clean, the decoration of the long side appears to be a modern reconstruction of the original. The west- and east-end dolphin and anchor motifs, on the other hand, appear to be the originals (Figs. 107-108). In the drawing, the inscription wove around the long sides and the head end, rather than along the short and one long side.[461] Nevertheless, these alterations are comparatively negligible to the overall appearance and interpretation of the monument. In the absence of the original *tumba*, the reconstructed tomb chest appears similar enough to the original to make its interpretation viable with only minor caveats.

Before returning to the question of the patron's choice of mode and ornamentation on this sepulchre, it is worth addressing the question of the sculptor and the dating of the monument. The tomb was commissioned by Bonnivet's nephew Claude Gouffier, sieur de Boisy, at some point after his uncle's death rather than by Bonnivet himself.[462] Two sculptors are possible: either Jean I Juste, who also worked on the royal tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, or his son, Jean II Juste (c. 1510-c. 1577-79).[463] Both sculptors had strong artistic connections with the Gouffier family. The former was engaged in the creation of the two monuments of Artus Gouffier and Philippe de Montmorency, both buried in the same church, between 1532 and 1539, as discussed in the previous chapter. Jean Juste's son took over his father's trade in 1539 and he was commissioned to create the tomb of Claude Gouffier in the same church in the late 1550s.

According to Montaiglon, the tomb was constructed after 1539; hence after Jean I Juste and his son Jean II finished the monuments of Artus Gouffier and Philippe de

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[460] All four monuments have been moved from their original locations within the church. Guillaume, 'Gouffiers', pp. 131-132

[461] The wording is nevertheless identical to the current inscription.

[462] Ambrière, *Favori*, p. 225. No date is mentioned.

[463] Guillaume, 'Gouffier', p. 133; and Montaiglon, 'Juste [III]', pp. 564-566.

Montmorency.[464] Out of the four monuments within the church, however, it appears to be much closer stylistically and thematically to the sepulchre of Claude Gouffier on the opposite side of the church, which was constructed by Jean II in the late 1550s.[465] Neither Bonnivet's nor Claude's tomb chest displays niches or figures as found on the monuments of Artus and Philippe, only displaying personal mottoes on a smooth, otherwise undecorated *tumba*.[466] In size, manner and design also, the monuments of Claude and Bonnivet are much shorter and stylistically closer to each other than the much larger, more embellished monuments of Artus and his mother. On this basis, Guillaume has compellingly argued that the tomb of Bonnivet was constructed by Jean II Juste rather than by his already elderly father.[467]

Unfortunately, the identity of the sculptor cannot resolve the question of the dating of the monument. It has been suggested that Jean II worked in his father's workshop before he finally took over as master in 1539, as there is no further record of his father actively working as a sculptor after this date.[468] On the basis of the stylistic and artistic similarities with the sepulchre of Claude Gouffier, Bonnivet's monument was presumably also the work of Jean II Juste. However, the stylistically comparable monument of Bonnivet's nephew was only begun in 1558 – almost twenty years after Jean II took over his father's workshop. Since it is conceivable, if perhaps unusual, that Jean II worked in the church over two separate periods of time or supplied the monuments from his workshop in Tours, it is only possible to loosely date the monument between 1539 and the late 1550s, that is to say the beginning of the construction period of Claude Gouffier's monument.

Although Bonnivet's tomb was presumably constructed significantly later than the sepulchres of Artus Gouffier and Philippe de Montmorency in the same church, it does highlight iconographic and conceptual changes from the first to the later Justes. While the tombs of Bonnivet's brother and mother were constructed in white marble displaying a multitude of *sujets* and iconography, the admiral's sepulchre combines white and black marble with hardly any motifs other than the deceased's personal motto. The arabesques, shell niches and figures are entirely absent from Bonnivet's tomb, which consists of a smooth *tumba* with only few ornaments to indicate his rank

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[464] Montaiglon, 'Juste [III]', pp. 564-565.
[465] See chapter 6.
[466] See also Montaiglon, 'Juste [III]', p. 565.
[467] Ibid., pp. 564, 566.
[468] Thieme and Becker, *Lexikon*, p. 351.

and his personal motto. One could perhaps argue that the classical elegance of Bonnivet's tomb demonstrates the evolution of the pure playful Italian art imported to France during Jean I Juste's youth, as seen, for instance, on the monument of Bishop James at Dol, to a more evolved, less playful style during the later years. Instead of creating an image of exploding vivacity all demanding the viewer's attention at once as on the tomb of Thomas James, or intricately carved detail on a multitude of individual ornaments as on Bonnivet's brother Artus's tomb, this new design favours clear, strong lines.[469] In this particular case, the emphasis is on the effigy alone with the *tumba* as an explanatory backdrop, rather than on an extravagant *enfeu*, vault or *tumba* with the effigy only for illustration.[470] However, it is equally possible that the smaller size and reduction in opulence was the result of a more strained economy at the time of construction, yet this is difficult to prove without the contracts. Nevertheless, one should not underestimate that the change from Jean I Juste's style and Italian ornamentation to the later style also first and foremost suggests a transfer of the family workshop from the master sculptor to his son.

However, comparison between the earlier Gouffier monuments and that of Bonnivet also suggests that an iconographical change occurred in the perception of 'antique' funerary art during this period. While the monuments of Artus and his mother employed traditional family mourners, the key ornaments on Bonnivet's tomb deliberately hearken back to classical antiquity, most prominently through the usage of the Augustan dolphin and anchor motif. This motif and the Augustan motto 'FESTINA LENTE' are found three times on the tomb chest in total: on the east and the west end of the monument, as well as in the middle of the south side.[471] The latter is flanked by two snakes, circling back to bite the end of their own tails to symbolise eternity. In addition to proclaiming Bonnivet's title as admiral of France, the motto and motif of the Roman Emperor Augustus thus deliberately create a connection between Bonnivet, his achievements during his lifetime and the famous emperor, depicting the admiral as a superb leader and soldier worthy of immortal fame.[472] Read in combination with the

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[469] This transition also occurred in fifteenth-century Italy.

[470] See the tomb of Bishop James in Dol, Louis XII and Anne of Brittany in Saint-Denis, or the Gouffier tombs at Oiron for examples of this extravagance in Jean I Juste's style for comparison to his son's work.

[471] The dolphin and anchor motif as Bonnivet's personal emblem is also found throughout his castle. Musées de Poitiers, Conseil des musées de Poitou-Charentes, 'Le château de Bonnivet en Poitou', [http://www.alienor.org/ARTICLES/bonnivet/chap2.htm], viewed 19 December 2012.

[472] See Cohen, *Metamorphosis,* pp. 133-170, on the concept of fame.

snakes of eternity, the interpretation of Bonnivet's achievements in life comparable to the famous Roman emperor suggests that he had found his place in history.

By adding classical symbolism to his uncle's monument, Claude Gouffier's choice of the 'antique' mode here served a dual purpose: the classical imagery connected Bonnivet with the famous Roman emperor, thus depicting him in all his glory in a favourable artistic visualisation of his legacy so different from the chronicles. By simultaneously omitting any detail on Bonnivet's role in the battle of Pavia on the tomb, the Augustan motto used in conjunction with high quality armour, and superb craftsmanship and material, create the impression that he was one of the greatest commanders of his time. Rather than displaying the defeat at Pavia as a disaster for Bonnivet, the conjunction of classical imagery and his comparison with Augustus helped to present him as one of the battle's heroes.

The 'antique' tomb of a veteran of Pavia? René d'Anglure (d. 6 October 1529) and Catherine Dabouzey (d. 10 May 1527)

Allegedly the tomb of a veteran of Pavia, René d'Anglure and his wife Catherine Dabouzey at Étoges helps support the notion of a change in the modes and themes in French funerary sculpture after the battle (Fig. 109).[473] Created in the late 1520s or early 1530s, the sepulchre for the veteran of many French and Italian battles rests in the small church of Saint-Antoine at Étoges.[474] Once a remarkable alabaster monument, it has been severely damaged, to the extent that the male effigy only consists of the incomplete left side of his body (Fig. 111).[475] The only remains are parts of the neck, an arm with two praying hands with a criss-cross pattern, a thigh with a small part of his scabbard, half a shin and half a torso mounted on plasterwork. René was once

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[473] There is only a small selection of literature on this monument. The most recent is Maxence Hermant, 'La commande artistique en Champagne du Nord au XVIe siècle: les vicomtes d'Étoges et leurs tombeaux', *Société d'Agriculture, Commerce, Sciences et Arts de la Marne*, [121] (2006), pp. 95-120. There is a further booklet on the tombs by Robert Neuville, *Les gisants d'Étoges* (1969), yet despite all efforts to obtain a copy, it has been impossible to consult it.

[474] Hermant, 'Étoges', p. 105, suggests it was constructed c. 1530. The church itself was a remarkable sight paying tribute to the fashion of the Renaissance style in the Dijon area. Although practically all of the church has been destroyed and then rebuilt, the Renaissance entrance portal underneath a shell niche with a statue of St Antoine, the patron of the church, still remains. Since the relic of St Antoine arrived in 1537, it can be assumed that the statue was created at a similar date.

[475] Hermant, 'Étoges', p. 105. The church was damaged repeatedly: a fire broke out in the church in 1698; it was raided in the course of the French Revolution in 1791, then it was ransacked by Russian and Austrian troops in 1814, attacked by Prussian troops in 1870 and repeatedly raided during both World Wars.

represented in his armour, as the remains of the neck-guard indicate. The tasselled sleeve of the surcoat still displays the *grelots* and crescents of the d'Anglure coat-of-arms (Fig. 112).[476] A rather strange circular hole, perhaps a bullet hole from one of the military raids of the church, punctures his elbow. At René's feet, an almost intact lion growls at the viewer.[477] A plaster-mounted helmet displaying a plume and shell decoration is set behind his missing head, next to a circular hole in the slab.[478] A further two holes are situated above the lady's cushion which may have been part of the construction.[479]

The effigy of the lady was restored by Robert Neuville in 1935, but she too was severely and repeatedly damaged, as indicated by the amount of plasterwork keeping her together today (Fig. 110). Catherine Dabouzey is represented wearing an embroidered hood, and a long dress with a circular neckline, along with a two-layered necklace. Her dress and cloak end in draped folds at her feet. A mantle is pinned to her shoulders. Her hands are folded in prayer, as is customary, and her eyes are closed. Her sleeves are decorated with unusual raised oval-shaped bubbles and finished off with lace. It appears as if there is some carving deliberately wedged between her right elbow and her torso, yet it is unclear what it is.[480] At her feet, the head of a beast remains. It appears to be a lion as it has a distinctive mane, although this would seem very unusual for a female effigy. However, since the manes and carving styles look very different to the almost intact lion at René's feet, it must be presumed that his lion did not belong to this tomb (Fig. 113).[481]

The positioning of the effigies on the slab also appears to have been changed from the original. Normally, French *gisants* are positioned according to heraldic conventions, displaying the male part of the couple on the heraldic right and the female counterpart on the heraldic left. In the current arrangement, the lady lies on the heraldic

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[476] The crescent refers to d'Anglure's participation in the crusades and to his father's membership in the Ordre du Croissant.

[477] Only a small part of his back is damaged.

[478] Unlike the hole in the effigy's elbow, this does not constitute accidental damage but appears to be part of the construction. It is not entirely clear what its purpose was.

[479] They are too circular and regular in their distance from the edge of the slab to be accidental. Their purpose, however, is unclear.

[480] It almost looks like a dagger, which cannot be correct.

[481] The manner of carving and the material fit the limestone tomb of their son François d'Anglure and his second wife Marie de Veres (both d. 1544,) in the north transept of the same church, much better (Fig. 114). The effigies of the lady and two children remain only mildly damaged. The male effigy has disappeared. Unfortunately, not enough survives in the church to ascertain whether this tomb was the work of a local sculptor, although it seems more provincial than the tomb of François's parents.

right and her husband on the heraldic left. The wording of the inscription suggests that this is due to a mistake in the restoration work or a reflection of the state of preservation of the tomb rather than a reflection of the original positioning of the effigies, as the inscription begins on the left side of the monument with René d'Anglure's life as it would be correct if he lay on the husband's accustomed side. The lady is mentioned opposite, which would have been the heraldic left and therefore the wife's traditional position on a married tomb.

There are two sets of inscription on this sepulchre, one at the head end and one surrounding the slab.[482] The inscription surrounding the rim of the tomb slab reads:

> *Cy gyst mess[si]^r[e] Regne dāglure ē sō viuāt ch[eva]l[ie]r vicōt[e] s^r destoges et de feres...*... noise aiāt la charge et cōduite d...*... [ser]uice des Rois de Frāce en le[u]^{rs} guerres tāt en Frāce q[ue] ē ytallie aux batailles de/ pādin ravēnes s[ain]cte brigide et autres batailles et rēcōtres *[tres]passa^{483} le vi io[u]^r doctobre lā mil v^c vingt neuf/ Et dame Katherine dabouzey sa fēme et espouse * giury en argonne *[i] ssue et sortie de haultz et puissants princes de rodemac laquelle/ trespassa le dix[i]^e[me] iour de may lan mil cinq *^{484} vingt sept priez dieu pour leurs ames.^{485}*

It is unfortunate that parts of the epitaph are now damaged. However, in the *Grand Dictionnaire* written in 1759, Moréri reports the following, slightly different transcription:

> *Cy gist messire RENÉ D'ANGLURE, en son vivant chevalier, vicomte, seigneur d'Estoges, & de Ferchampenoise, ayant la charge & conduite de cent hommes d'armes au service des rois de France en leurs guerres, tant en France qu'en Italie, aux batailles de Pandin, Ravenes, Ecte & autres batailles et rencontres; qui trèpassa la sixième jour d'octobre 1529; & dame CATHERINE DE BOUZEY sa femme et épouse, dame de Givry en Argongne, issue et sortie de hauts et puissant princes messieurs les comtes de Rodemack, laquelle trèpassa le dixième jour de mai l'an 1527.^{486}*

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[482] At the head end, only a few words are still legible.

[483] Again damaged but follows the standard formula.

[484] Must be 'cinq cent'.

[485] 'Here lies mylord René d'Anglure, in his lifetime knight, viscount, lord of Étoges and Ferchampenoise, who commanded and led one hundred men-at-arms in the service of the kings of France in their wars in France and in Italy, at the battles of Pandin, Ravenna and Saincte-Brigide and in other battles and encounters. He passed away on the sixth day of October 1529. And also Lady Katherine Dabouzey, his wife and spouse, lady of Givry-en-Argonne, offspring and progeny of the great and mighty princes of Rodemack. She passed away on the tenth day of May 1527. Pray to God for their souls.'

[486] *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou Le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane, II,* ed. Louis Moréri, Claude-Pierre Goujet and Etienne-François Drouet (Paris, 1759), p. 207. Rodemack is west of the triangle between France, Germany and Luxembourg north of Thionville.

The altered spelling between the inscription, as it appears today, and as reported by Moréri, is immediately apparent, above all, but not limited to the battle of 'Ecte' and the current name of Saincte Brigide. There are two possible reasons for this. Either the transcription is simply incorrect and not based upon the original monument, as indicated by the alteration of the numerals and altered spellings of the names; or it is designed to fit with the dictionary format, thus the divergence is due to the modernisation of the inscription's spelling, capitalisation of the names and the addition of punctuation by Moréri.

More significant than the alteration of spelling, however, are the battles mentioned in René's epitaph. They are key to understanding the conceptual changes in French funerary in this period. The current inscription lists the three most significant battles of René's life and some unmentioned others, that is to say 'pādin ravēnes s[ain]cte brigide et autres'. The choice of these three battles on René's epitaph needs further investigation, particularly as the identities of two of them are not immediately apparent. The battle of Ravenna in 1512 is straight forward; the other two are less obvious. The discrepancy between 'Saincte Brigide' and 'Ecte' as recorded by Moréri has already been mentioned above. It seems likely that the word 'Ecte' is based upon a false transcription of the first part of the phrase Saincte Brigide, as the abbreviation 'scte' for *saincte* resembles the four letters above if viewed incorrectly. According to the memoirs of Martin du Bellay, Saincte Brigide was the sixteenth-century name for the famous battle of Marignano on 13-14 September 1515, which resulted in the surrender of Milan to the French.[487] Given the other transcription errors and the omission of the valediction at the end in Moréri's dictionary, this is a probable explanation.

The first of the three battles is the most controversial. All extent literature on the tomb of René d'Anglure proposes that Pandin refers to the battle of Pavia, although none quotes any source for this attribution. Moréri suggests in his dictionary that René participated and distinguished himself in the battles of 'Pavie, de Ravennes, de Sainte-Brigide, & dans d'autres occasions'.[488] Unfortunately he does not name his source. As he uses the same queer, that is to say, un-chronological order of the battles naming

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[487] *Du Bellay: Collections complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, XIV*, ed. M. Petitot (Paris, 1820), p. 493. Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 82-83.

[488] For the family's genealogy, see *Le grand dictionaire historique, ou Le mêlange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane, I*, ed. Louis Moréri (Paris, 1740), p. 452.

Pavia before the battles of Ravenna and Marignano ten years earlier, and identical wording to the inscription on the tomb, it seems likely that this information is based upon the epitaph rather than upon an external source. In a more recent article, Maxence Hermant gives Pandiu instead of Pandin, yet he too echoes Moréri in suggesting that this signified the battle of Pavia.[489] However, the memoirs of Martin du Bellay indicate that the name Pandin was commonly used in the sixteenth century and that it did not signify Pavia. He used the name Pandin for the battle of Agnadello on 14 May 1509, fifteen years before Pavia, when the French army successfully defeated their Venetian opponents making this encounter the earliest of the three conflicts mentioned.[490] The battles of Agnadello in 1509, Ravenna in 1512 and Marignano in 1515 constituted some of the greatest military victories of the time and their chronological order is reflected in the list of battles on the tomb. Hence the battles on René d'Anglure's funerary monument announce his participation in the major French victories in Italy in the correct chronological order.[491] Therefore the connection between this monument and the patron's participation at Pavia has proven to be a misattribution, hence making an immediate correlation between the impact of the battle and this nobleman's tomb obsolete.

Although this study has determined that there was no immediate connection between the patron's alleged military service at Pavia and the appearance of the monument, it nevertheless highlights some major developments in French funerary sculpture after the defeat. While not enough survives to allow for full assessment of the monument and its original design, the partial survival nevertheless allows for some conclusions to be drawn.[492] Once again, this monument favours strong, clear-cut lines over a playful multitude of ornaments and subjects. The two beasts are constructed using strong, clear lines rather than consisting of a multitude of embellished folds in the carving. The *gisant* of Catherine Dabouzey is equally represented in comparatively straight-cut clothing. Her dress and hood set back to reveal her hair is carved in the prominent 1530s-style rather than the more embellished versions popular ten to twenty

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[489] Hermant, 'Étoges', p. 96. The last letter is most certainly not a **u.**

[490] *Du Bellay: Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, XVII*, ed. M. Petitot (Paris, 1829), p. 254, mentions the battle of Pandin, with a footnote stating that this represents the battle of Agnadello. See Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 60-61, for background information on this battle.

[491] Pavia was also chronologically unlikely. As the eldest son of his parents who married in 1458, René would have been at least 52 years old at Pavia, whereas he was in the prime of his life at Agnadello. See Moréri, *Dictionaire* I, p. 452, for dates.

[492] As no drawings survive, one must add to note of caution to this statement.

years earlier.[493] Hermant hinted at a possible connection between the effigies at Étoges and the tomb of Louis de Poncher and his wife at the Louvre by Michel Colombe's nephew Guillaume Regnault (Fig. 115).[494] Indeed the posture of the hands of the effigies appears to be related, as both ladies place their praying hands parallel to the body rather than at an angle. The same handhold is also seen on the tomb of Francis II of Brittany, a monument primarily attributed to Michel Colombe.[495] While Hermant's suggestion is not entirely convincing as the carving style is very different otherwise, it does reiterate a preference for strong, clear lines on *gisants* emerging in the late 1520s and early 1530s.[496]

Most significantly, however, the epitaph naming René's participation in the most illustrious battles of his time suggests a rising need among the nobility to display themelves as famous soldiers on their sepulchres to an extent almost unprecedented prior to the battle of Pavia.[497] While the remaining ornamentation and design are perhaps not quite enough to qualify this monument as 'antique', yet not as 'modern' either, the quest for gaining immortal fame through military success during his lifetime makes this monument truly classical in mentality.

The 'antique' monument of a French hero: Jacques (Galiot) de Genouillac (1465-1546)

Constructed later than the previous monuments discussed above, the tomb of Jacques, named Galiot, de Genouillac at Assier in the département of Lot is perhaps the most prominent example demonstrating the conceptual and thematic shift in French funerary sculpture after the battle of Pavia (Fig. 116). The sepulchre of Galiot, one of Francis' longest-standing and richest advisors, is one of the most remarkable of the mid-sixteenth century and thematically rounds off this chapter. It contains bibliographical references to Galiot's role as military commander to an extent only found on the bas-

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[493] See the more detailed hood and mesh on the effigy of Jeanne de Poix.

[494] Ibid., p. 107.

[495] The same parallel handhold is also seen on the tomb of the dukes of Orléans and the two Oiron tombs discussed above. Perhaps there is a link between Colombe and the Justes via the tomb of Francis of Brittany.

[496] Ibid., p. 107. Perhaps the patron's preference for clarity in the design and decoration is also the result of a lack of funds to pay for extravagant ornaments during the extraordinary economic crises of the 1520s and 1530s. This might also explain the comparatively unembellished nature of the front portal of the church built in the 1530s to 1540s, a building most importantly fit for purpose. See Hermant, 'Étoges', p. 100.

[497] The first French monument to focus to a great extent on his military victories was the tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany in Saint-Denis, completed by 1531.

reliefs of the royal tombs of Louis XII and Francis I at Saint-Denis. Although more has been written on this monument than on the other tombs discussed in this chapter, it still does not amount to much. The majority of literature focuses on Galiot's person, yet even here, little new material has been written since the 1950s.[498] The best, and latest, account of his life is in a recent volume on the counsellors of Francis I.[499] Some valuable material on the castle, the church and the tomb is to be found in a series of articles published by the *Société des antiquaires du Lot*. Another two articles on the church and the château were published in 1984 and 1989.[500]

Galiot's life differed greatly from the lives of Bonnivet or René d'Anglure and this is also reflected in his tomb. As master of artillery, he commanded the artillery assault on the imperial army at Pavia until he was forced to cease fire when Francis and his men charged in front of their own guns. He was captured and barely escaped execution. There is a certain degree of obscurity as to why and how he escaped his fate. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century romantic interpretations suggest that he was recognised by a Spanish knight, whom he had previously captured during the Neapolitan war and set free without ransom. It is presumed that said knight set Galiot free in return.[501] Modern interpretations rightly doubt the truth of this story, yet unfortunately cannot provide alternatives either.[502] Against this background, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that his personal motto 'JAIME FORTUNE' repeatedly found throughout Galiot's castle at Assier refers to his lucky escape, rather than to some undetected love story between Galiot and Louise of Savoy indicated by altering the phrase to 'JAIME FORT UNE', as some have suggested.[503] Nevertheless, after his release Galiot played a role in freeing the king's two hostage sons from their captivity in Spain. He continued to faithfully serve the king until he died on 15 October 1546, only a few months before his sovereign.

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[498] The most influential biography is François de Vaux de Foletier, *Galiot de Genouillac, maître d'artillerie de France, 1465-1546* (Paris, 1925). See also F. Galabert, *Galiot de Genouillac: seigneur d'Assier, grand maître de l'artillerie* (Paris, 1901), pp. 67-68, 73-75.

[499] Robert J. Knecht, 'Jacques de Genouillac, dit Galiot (v. 1465-1546)', in Cédric Michon (ed.), *Les conseillers de François Ier* (Rennes, 2011), pp. 155-61.

[500] Bruno Tollon, 'L'église d'Assier', *Congrès archéologique de France*, 147 (1989), pp. 125-136. Liliane Châtelet-Lange, 'Galiot de Genouillac, entre Fortune et Prudence', *Revue de l'art*, 64 (1984), pp. 7-22.

[501] Foletier, *Galiot*, p. 69.

[502] Knecht, 'Galiot', p. 159

[503] The exact spelling of the phrase varies. See Châtelet-Lange, 'Galiot', p. 9. Discussed by Foletier, *Galiot,* pp. 127-9. Knecht, *Francis*, pp. 173, 179, repeatedly points out the impact of 'fortune' and 'misfortune' of the nation in his study of the sources written in the aftermath of Pavia, suggesting a correlation between 'fortune' and the nation's fate after Pavia.

His tomb is situated in a small funerary chapel in the north of the church of Saint-Pierre at Assier. The church was begun by Galiot himself in 1540 and completed in 1549.[504] His 'antique' funerary monument was created by an unknown sculptor.[505] It is separated from the nave by a wooden grille, dated 1549, suggesting that the tomb was finished and installed by this date.[506] This extremely large grey marble monument consists of three parts.[507] The base is formed by a solid tomb chest with pillars, surmounted by one of two representations of the deceased, portraying him in his dual role as courtier and soldier.[508] The lower recumbent effigy depicts Galiot in full stately regalia; the top depiction shows him as a military commander in an action scene on the panel above (Figs. 118, 121). Resting his head on a tasselled cushion, the statesman Galiot is depicted asleep, in court dress with a coroneted hat, long fur-trimmed robes, and soft laceless boots. The collar of the Order of Saint-Michel which once hung around his neck has been severely damaged.[509] His eyes are closed. Both of his forearms have been mutilated and his hands are missing. A now badly damaged lion holding the coat-of-arms of the deceased rests at Galiot's feet (Fig. 122). Flanked by two columns with Corinthian capitals, the top panel depicts a scene from Galiot's life and his skill as master of artillery (Fig. 119). Dressed in full plate armour, Galiot balances on a cannon ball.[510] He gazes into the distance and places his now disappeared left hand almost tenderly onto the muzzle of the cannon. There has been considerable damage to what appear to have been the stars of Galiot's coat-of-arms on the gun.[511] At his feet, round shot and powder as well as other artillery equipment lie piled up ready for action, along with a closed-visor helmet resting on top of a pair of metal gauntlets

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[504] The church is one of two similar commissions. He built the church at Lonzac for his deceased first wife Catherine d'Archiac. It was finished in 1530.

[505] Galabert, *Galiot*, pp. 67-68, has suggested that the design was by Galiot's daughter.

[506] Gaignières does not include a record of this monument among his drawings.

[507] Châtelet-Lange, 'Galiot', p. 11, suggests that it is grey marble. It is c. 4m high.

[508] The pillars are not shown on an engraving from 1834, printed in Tollon, 'Assier', p. 133.

[509] Foletier, *Galiot,* p. 144.

[510] A suit of armour with the same distinctive high shoulder pieces at the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris has been related to Galiot, presumably based on the similarity to his standing effigy. However, this French suit of armour has been dated to c. 1560, thus making it unlikely that it ever belonged to Galiot, who died in 1546. Nevertheless, the Italian armour adjacent to it, dated c. 1524, looks equally similar to the armour worn by Galiot on his tomb, showing the same distinctive high arches on both shoulders. Perhaps the origin and dating of Galiot's armour should not be overestimated in the interpretation of his monument. Since the origin and dating of the armour depicted on the tomb and Pavia nearly coincide, this may suggest a deliberate connection with the Italian wars on Galiot's tomb.

[511] Galiot's coat-of-arms displays azure, three estoiles or in pale in the first and fourth quarters, and gules, three bends or in the second and third. A similar cannon with estoiles on the muzzle, originally taken from the frieze outside the church, can today be seen on display inside the castle.

(Fig. 120). On the panel to the left of Galiot, his two attendants aim the gun at an invisible target. The sense of a siege situation is further enhanced by the background behind Galiot's shoulder, a castle and several hills.

The top of the *enfeu* shows Galiot's coat-of-arms with the collar of the Order of Saint-Michel, supported and flanked by two hounds (Fig. 117). An unusually round rather than ellipsoid form, the heraldry of the shield is no longer discernible. A crested helmet sits atop the almost star-shaped coat-of-arms, perhaps in double-reference to the *estoiles* of Galiot's coat-of-arms, which would have been visible on the shield. A further two female figures on pedestals, presumably muses or virtues, dressed in ancient garb, flank the dogs on the top of the tomb. The lady on the left holds an open book in her left hand, with the inscription 'VIV/ IT/ IACO/ BUS'.[512] In her raised right hand, she holds the remains of a staff. The lady on the right also presents a book in her right hand. Now blank, Vaux de Foletier suggests that it once held the inscription 'GALEOTVS'.[513]

The tomb bears three inscriptions on separate levels as well as an epitaph which all contrast mortal life and immortality in death. From top to bottom, they read 'MANET POST FVNERA VIRTVS' above the action scene on the panel; followed by 'STATVTVM ETS [sic] HOMINIBVS SEMEL MORI' half-hidden behind the recumbent effigy; and finally, with a curious shift from Latin to French, 'APRES LA MORT BONE RENOMEE DEMVREE' on the tomb chest.[514] Contrasting the *memento mori* theme with achieving immortality through one's deeds in life, this emphasis on Galiot as a man of honour and renown suggests that the tomb is to be understood as the monument of a military hero, whose good name and achievements would live on well after his death. This impression is supported by the epitaph placed within the battle scene just between the death-bringing cannon below and underneath the skulls above.

> *CY· DORT· C*
> *EL· VI· QVI· NE*
> *VT· IAMAIS· P*
> *ROPOS· DE· R[E]PO*
> *SER· EN· LA· VIE*
> *MORTELLE· LES*
> *LONGS· TRAVAV*

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[512] Foletier, *Galiot*, p. 126, gives 'VIVAT', which does not make sense.
[513] Ibid.
[514] That is, in order of appearance, 'after the funeral, virtue remains', 'all humans must die' and 'after death, the good name lives on'. Foletier, *Galiot*, p. 145, has commented on the spelling mistake, suggesting that the sculptor was either illiterate or simply not paying attention to his work.

LX· LUY· ONT· DONN
E· REPSOS [sic]*· CAR· PAR*
SES· FAICTZ· S[A]· VIE· EST
IMMORT[ELLE].[515]

Working in conjunction with the recumbent effigy as a reminder of the inevitability of death and the depiction of Galiot in all his glory in life, the epitaph again contrasts the mortality of the man and immortality of the name due to his actions in his lifetime.

Kathleen Cohen has prominently argued that the concept of fame was increasingly considered as the third component to the traditional contrast of mortal worldly and eternal heavenly life in funerary art in Renaissance France.[516] Galiot's tomb clearly supports the dominance of fame and immortal legacy of the deceased as a third factor in his commemoration. However, this concept is not limited to his sepulchre. The comparison between the mortality of the human body and the immortality of the man's fame which long outlived the natural life span of his mortal body occurs repeatedly throughout Galiot's commissions of art. It is also found in the depiction of the mythical figure of Hercules and his labours, on the walls and throughout his castle at Assier.[517] On the remaining outside wall of the castle, there are depictions of Hercules raising his club against Cerberus, as well as the hydra and the Nemean lion. Along the inside staircase of the castle, the demi-god is depicted in battle against the Nemean lion. This notion has led to the suggestion that Galiot depicted himself and wanted to be commemorated as a quasi-Herculean figure, seeking fame and immortal glory as a demi-god.[518]

The relationship between Galiot, his personal fortune and the Hercules motif is an interesting and unusual one and thus worth discussing. In a tapestry which was formerly in the castle of Assier, Galiot is portrayed as young Hercules, strangling two snakes with his bare hands while sitting in his bed. His motto 'IEM FORTVNE' is displayed above the bed, along with four of his coats-of-arms surrounded by the collar of Saint-Michel, leaving no doubt as to the identity of the child. The outside border of

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[515] 'Here lies he for whom mortal life was not sufficient, he now rests from his long labours, as by his deeds he rendered his life immortal.' The text of the epitaph is also found on the wooden grille separating the nave from the funeral chapel, in exactly the same wording yet slightly altered spelling, along with the date 1549. This ensures that the viewer is fully introduced to the legacy of Galiot even if the barrier is closed.

[516] Cohen, *Metamorphosis,* pp. 133-170. For comparable developments in poetry, see Edelgard Dubruck, *The theme of death in French poetry of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1964), pp. 100-119.

[517] Foletier, *Galiot*, pp. 122-123; and Châtelet-Lange, 'Galiot', pp. 8-11, after him.

[518] Foletier, *Galiot,* p. 123, refers to Galiot's desire to portray himself as a 'demi-dieu'.

the tapestry consists of a combination of firing cannons, flying cannon balls and the emblem of the master of the horse, Galiot's official title from 1526.[519] This tapestry which combines in close proximity the myth of Hercules with Galiot's rank and profession, as well as his personal fortune, is not unique in Galiot's commissions of art. His motto is found repeatedly throughout the castle, on the outside and inside walls. It is usually found in combination with firing cannons, Galiot's coat-of-arms surrounded by the collar of Saint-Michel and the insignia of his rank as master of horse. Vaux de Foletier has convincingly argued that this emphasis on fortune relates to Galiot's extraordinary martial record of achievement, as well as to his monetary fortunes.[520]

This emphasis on Galiot's immortal fame and glory based upon the Hercules motif, however, neither remained on a mythological level nor was it limited to depictions on Galiot's castle. While the tomb itself stands as a tribute to Galiot's deeds and as a reminder of his fame as commander of the artillery, the true memorial to his person is a frieze running along the full length of the outside of the church (Fig. 123). The tomb of Galiot, therefore, must be read in conjunction with the frieze, designed to be read easily as it is situated just above head height. It was mostly completed between 1541 and 1549.[521] Its various scenes depict ancient battles scenes as well as key stages in Galiot's military career, such as the crossing of the Alps, the battles of Marignano and Pavia in which he played prominent roles.[522] Châtelet-Lange has argued that the ancient battle scenes pick up upon the Hercules motif, keeping within the overall heroic theme of the castle and the church. She has further put forward that this comparison is extraordinary for a man of less than royal rank.[523] Tollon has suggested parallels between the frieze and the famous Trajan's column in Rome as the frieze equally winds around the exterior of the church. He proposed that Galiot thus explicitly related his fame to the Roman emperors.[524] There are some problems with these interpretations. The reliefs on Trajan's column spiral downwards, while on the outside of Galiot's church they remain on a single horizontal level. From an analytical level also, the comparison to the Roman emperors does not hold. The scenes portrayed on the frieze

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[519] Tollon, 'Assier', p. 130, points out that the emblem consists of two crossed swords with half-moon banderoles at the tip. The swords are joined together at the cross-over point by a fleur-de-lys.
[520] Foletier, *Galiot*, p. 129.
[521] Tollon, 'Assier', p. 126.
[522] After the battle of Marignano, Francis famously attributed his victory to Galiot's artillery. Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 83.
[523] Châtelet-Lange, 'Galiot', p. 12.
[524] Tollon, 'Assier', p. 130.

are either ancient or modern battle scenes, portraying Galiot as a skilled commander, or in connection with the Hercules myth. It is perhaps indicative, however, that although portrayed as a demi-God and thus outside the common jurisdiction of mankind, at no point does the frieze depict Galiot as emperor or even only as a king. While the comparison with Hercules attributes to Galiot extraordinary powers and achievements, it does not rival the power of his sovereign.

The most striking element of this frieze, and equally the most potent to counter the comparison with the Trajan column, is the repeated depiction of cannons in reference to Galiot's role as commander of artillery, as well as the rather unusual inclusion of the salamander motif, the royal emblem of Francis I. In successful battles, the salamander takes a bold, aggressive stance. It attacks the fallen enemy and makes them cower before it (Fig. 124). During what can only be interpreted as the battle of Pavia, however, the previously proud salamander himself turns into a cowering beast, hiding in barrels and other equipment in shame at its defeat (Fig. 125). If the frieze was designed to parallel the Trajan column and to compare Galiot's fame to the Roman emperors, it seems strange to include the royal emblem.

Liliane Châtelet-Lange has argued that Assier easily rivals the *Gallérie François I*er at Fontainebleau in terms of grandeur and artistic complexity.[525] While the notions of architectural grandeur in Assier appear deliberately similar to Francis' own building endeavours, it does not seem likely that this similarity was intended as a criticism, but instead expressed Galiot's affiliation with the king.[526] The same salamander motif is also found in a gable above the equestrian statue of Galiot on his castle at Assier (Figs. 126-127).[527] Although the equestrian statue itself has been destroyed, Galiot's coat-of-arms remains in place flanked by two hounds. Raised high above his own statue and above his loyal hounds, the high-quality version of the king's emblem placed above Galiot's coat-of-arms visually indicates that he was the faithful servant of his lord and master, whose fame and authority superseded his own. He therefore included the salamander motif in all major depictions of his own achievements, as tribute to the king to whom he owed his fame, his titles and fortunes as well as whom he had served for practically all of his political life. Since he paid tribute to the king in all his military

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[525] Châtelet-Lange, 'Galiot', p. 20.
[526] See Dreiling, 'Montmorency', pp. 145-183, for a similar case of 'vera amicitia' in sculpture.
[527] The head and part of the tail have been destroyed, yet the stance of the beast is unmistakeably the same crouched lizard spitting fire as on the more famous staircase at Blois. Overall, the composition combining an equestrian statue and royal emblems seems to be inspired by the example of Blois.

victories, however, Galiot could not omit Francis in his greatest defeat as a person and as a king: the battle of Pavia.

Galiot's tomb reiterates the key thematic and ornamental changes highlighted in the previous two case studies. Instead of the playful embellishments and high levels of ornaments prominent on the previous Renaissance sculptures, of the arabesques, shell niches and sophisticated carving of the effigies, the monument again favours longer, clearer cut lines with less ornamentation. In the references to ancient Rome and the triumph of Francis during his Italian military expeditions, the monument and the church hearken back to classical antiquity rather than to contemporary Italian culture. It is hence Galiot's role not only as survivor, but more importantly as a famous and faithful French servant to the king despite the quasi-Herculean hardships, which resulted in his choice of ancient motifs for his funerary monument and the frieze lining his church. Once again, 'antique' here signifies the patron's attempts to immortalise himself by standing equal with ancient civilization in terms of military achievements, legacy and architecture.

This chapter has highlighted that patron's needs and choices of commission shifted significantly after the battle of Pavia. Francis I's obsession with building after his release, the cowering salamander at Assier and the nobility increasingly depicting themselves as military heroes worthy of immortal fame on their tombs equally hint at a more subtle understanding of the defeat's impact on French noble pride. As Gombrich has pointed out, some stylistic movements catch on while others fail to do so within certain contexts, and perhaps the 'trauma' of Pavia with its devastating impact on the French nobility created a strong psychological need for the celebration of their personal achievements, ultimately resulting in an orientation towards the classical world which went hand-in-hand with the rise of humanism.[528]

While Renaissance monuments during this period could still be described as 'antique', however, there appears to be a change in the meaning of the term and its artistic implementation after Pavia. While early sixteenth-century 'antique' tombs broadly signified sepulchres being constructed 'in the manner of the ancients' to emphasise their patrons' long-standing family connections with more prominent noble or royal families, or to highlight their traditional roles at court; mid-sixteenth century 'antique' funerary sculpture could be best described as attempting to place its patrons

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[528] Gombrich, *Ideals*, pp. 48-49.

on par with the ancients. Rather than lining or embellishing tombs with figures of saints to call upon in prayer, mid-sixteenth century funerary sculpture became infatuated with the idea of its patrons gaining fame and becoming *like* the ancients and their heroes. The concept of depicting mortals gaining immortal glory as in ancient legends, demonstrated by the case of Bonnivet or the Herculean demi-god Galiot, but to a certain extent also on René's tomb, stood at the forefront of this shifting ideal. The use of imagery based on ancient literature and ancient Roman art, which could be best described as classical rather than 'antique', supported this shifting conception of Renaissance art. The following chapters will seek to further embellish the meaning and impact of the 'classical' mode, in particular against the rise of the Reformation.

Chapter 5:

Classical funerary art in Reformation society, 1540-1562

From a historical perspective, the key feature of the period between 1540 and 1562 was the increasing impact of the Reformation on French society, a crisis which further erupted in 1562, resulting in decades of almost continuous civil war. In contrast to the more concrete concepts of shifting political interests and allegiances, however, it is much more difficult to interpret and to reconstruct patrons' religious affiliations from their sepulchres. Instead of following the established methodology of investigating the particular appeal of a certain mode of sculpture against contextualising its architectural setting, its patron's biography and political interests as in the previous chapters; where religious change is concerned, matters are more complex and frequently more subtle. In most cases, it is simply not recorded whether patrons were privately Huguenot sympathisers or indeed devout Catholics. In consequence, the following two chapters focus on the artistic and iconographical changes in this period, before attempting to draw more general conclusions regarding the appeal of altered designs of sculpture with the onset of the Reformation. Only then is it possible, perhaps, to assess tombs as symptoms of change and diversity in religious attitudes in France.

The period between 1540 and 1562 has typically been described as the 'classical' phase of French Renaissance art.[529] Classicism in this sense is most commonly described as two things: an increasing orientation towards the classical past, that is to say mostly Roman and Greek culture under the impact of humanist learning; and a time when the Renaissance in France shifted from Italian-orientated to more innovative, yet distinctly French approaches.[530] The trend towards 'classicism' manifests itself most notably in the increasing preference for classical motifs, such as virtues, pagan motifs and other figures referring to the ancient world. The most typical examples are the Fontaine des Innocents in Paris or Jean Cousin's painting *Eva Prima Pandora*.[531] In terms of tomb sculpture, the most prominent is the bas-relief running along the full-length outside of the base of tomb of Francis I and his first wife Claude of

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[529] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 71-131.

[530] Ibid., pp. 78-79, 130-131, for French inventiveness, 'refinement', 'delicacy' and the evolution away from Italian models.

[531] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, pp. 179-182, 230, has remarked that this sculpture captures the essence of the French Renaissance. The fountain was created by Jean Goujon between 1547 and 1550. The painting was created before 1550 and is displayed at the Louvre today.

France, completed in 1558 at Saint-Denis (Fig. 128). It narrates one of Francis I's greatest military achievements, that is the crossing of the Alps at the head of his vast army and his victory at the battle of Marignano in Italy.[532] The military scenes are depicted in bas-relief running along the base of the monument in the fashion of the ancients, such as the relief on Trajan's column in Rome which winds around the full length of the column.[533] More mainstream elements on funerary sculpture include classical elements, such as the portrayal of the deceased as a Roman general, and commonplace iconographic elements such as cuirasses or roman trophies.

However, Blunt's key phrase that art of the period was 'not only classical but genuinely French' needs to be addressed more closely.[534] For much of the twentieth century, it was commonly accepted that French sculptors and other artists increasingly developed their own models during the classical phase of the Renaissance in France, as opposed to turning towards Italy for artistic guidance as previously.[535] It is striking that French-born sculptors increasingly rose to prominence in this period. Among the innovators were famous names such as Jean Goujon (c.1510-c.1565), Philibert Delorme (c.1500/15-1570), Pierre Bontemps (c.1506-c.1568) or Pierre Lescot (c.1510-1578), who all crucially shaped French art and architecture in the mid-sixteenth century.[536] Even the most significant sepulchres of this period, such as the tomb of Francis I at Saint-Denis were constructed by French sculptors: Philibert Delorme, Pierre Bontemps and François Marchand.[537] This commissioning of French sculptors as opposed to the Italian-born artists who had completed the tomb of Francis' predecessor Louis XII is a major change from previous royal funerary practice and is worth investigating statistically. Out of a sample of twenty-one tombs commissioned, begun or finished during this period, fifteen monuments can be described as 'antique' or even classical, while the remaining six are distinctly local monuments.[538] Purely Italian monuments, that is to say constructed by Italians or in Italy, are strikingly absent in this phase.[539]

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[532] Chastel, *French Art*, p. 206.

[533] See the previous chapter and Tollon, 'Assier', p. 130, for parallels. However, there is no immediate evidence as to how popular Trajan's column was in sixteenth-century France.

[534] As Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 71, phrased it 'artists began to free themselves from the tutelage of Italy, and individual figures appear whose art is not only classical but genuinely French.'

[535] See ibid. The emphasis on national art is also the focus of Zerner, *Renaissance Art*.

[536] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, pp. 155-193.

[537] Ibid., pp. 374-376.

[538] See Appendix A.

[539] One notable exception is the tomb of Claude de Lorraine at Joinville. Chastel, *French Art*, p. 181, argues that anti-Italianism is most prominent in painting and architecture. As closely related to

Although the shift in the nationality of the sculptors is an interesting question, the prominence of French-born sculptors is perhaps not as decisive as previously suggested and needs to be revised against more recent literature, suggesting that the patron's preference for one mode over another was ultimately more significant than the artist's heritage in determining the design and form of a monument.[540] Rather than investigating the artist's nationality as key factor, it is perhaps more conclusive to continue to investigate the role of the patron.

In addition to the emphasis on classical motifs, further innovations in funerary sculpture also took place in this period. The 1540s and 1550s show a remarkable new trend in the positioning of effigies. This trend has most prominently been discussed by Panofsky who termed it the 'activation of the effigy'.[541] In particular, this period introduces two dominant types of effigy, an active recumbent type and an increase in the usage of kneeling effigies.[542] Instead of depicting effigies in the traditional recumbent format, that is to say, they are represented as if they were standing upright with hands folded in prayer, effigies in the 1540s and 1550s are often shown in more diverse and active poses.[543] The most striking change is a series of effigies depicted resting on their side, either with eyes closed or open, most famously seen in the collection of Renaissance sculptures at the Louvre. To investigate the significance of patrons choosing innovative effigial poses and classical motifs during this period, this chapter investigates four monuments in the classical mode with active effigies. Examples of an effigy lying on its side are the tomb of Admiral Chabot (c. 1492-1543), today at the Louvre, and the sepulchre of Guillaume du Bellay (1491-1543) in the cathedral of Le Mans. The kneeling effigies are represented by the tomb of François de Lannoy (d. 1548) at Folleville or Cardinal Charles Hémard de Denonville (1493-1540) at Amiens, both with a strong religious component. This approach promises to establish if there was any correlation between the Reformation and the emergence of classical tomb sculpture in France.

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architecture, funerary sculpture must be added to this. However, there can be no single or simple explanation for this marked absence of Italian sculptors. An evolution of Renaissance art within France, lack of funds, or the increasing training of indigenous sculptors provide possible explanations.

[540] See Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, and Chatenet et al., *Gothique.*

[541] Panofsky, *Tomb*, pp. 76-87.

[542] Earlier examples include the tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany at Saint-Denis, finished in 1531. Some kneeling effigies existed in the later fifteenth century, most notably the effigy of Charles VIII, which has now been lost.

[543] This is what Panofsky, *Tomb*, p. 73, has named the 'activation of the effigy'.

The 'classical' tomb of a Roman-style general: Admiral Chabot (c. 1492-1543)

As one of the most striking and most renowned funerary monuments of the mid-sixteenth century, the tomb of Admiral Chabot (c. 1592-1543), also known as Lord of Brion, shows how patrons chose classical poses, classical iconography and classical panegyrics to create the impression of the immortal glory of the deceased and their deeds.[544] Originally constructed as a wall monument under the second window of the Orléans chapel at the Célestins in Paris, the alabaster and marble sepulchre was moved to the *Musée des Monuments français* after the convent itself was destroyed during the Revolution.[545] Despite Alexandre de Lenoir's efforts to change the monument according to his personal preferences in the nineteenth century, several of its fragments are today preserved at the Louvre.[546] The tomb today consists of the effigy of the deceased, a lion, a figure of Fortune and two *genii* (Figs. 129, 132-133).[547] The effigy of the deceased is the most striking. It features the admiral lying on his left side in the fashion of a Roman general at dinner (Fig. 135).[548] His left arm rests casually on his plumed helmet, his hand holding an object between his spread fingers, while his right arm rests lightly on his right thigh.[549] His gauntlets lie adjacent to his helmet. One bent leg is placed slightly higher than the other in a pose of great calm. Chabot appears alert, yet relaxed, averting his eyes sideways and just slightly downward – just enough to make the pose appear natural and comfortable. His curly hair is cut short, while his

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[544] For such an illustrious monument, there is a vast literature. The tomb is at least mentioned in the mainstream literature, such as Beaulieu, *Louvre*, pp. 78-82; Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, pp. 268-273, or Palustre, *Renaissance*, II, pp. 142-145. In terms of in-depth analysis, however, once again there is hardly anything available from the last quarter of a century. See Raunié, *Épitaphier,* pp. 400- 404, for a dated, but useful description, a transcript of the inscription which has now otherwise disappeared from the monument, and another drawing of the tomb which differs from the Gaignières version. See Bresc-Bautier, 'Sculpture', pp. 54-56, for the nineteenth-century fate of the monuments, additional drawings, and photographs in previous locations. On Chabot himself, the most recent and the most helpful is Robert Knecht, 'Philippe Chabot de Brion (v. 1492-1543)', in Cédric Michon (ed.), *Les conseillers de François Ier* (Rennes, 2011), pp. 463-480.

[545] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 79, remarks that Francis I gave Chabot permission to be interred in the Orléans chapel due to his political achievements and his connections with the Orléans and Angoulême families.

[546] Ibid.

[547] Ibid. The effigy arrived at the Louvre in August 1818, the *genii* arrived in November 1851, the figure of Fortune in December 1821, and the lion finally arrived in 1898 after spending considerable time at the École des Beaux-Arts.

[548] Romans generally ate in a reclining position. The use of this motif on sepulchres was introduced in the late Roman period, copying Etruscan models. See Panofsky, *Tombs*, plates 57b, 59, and 84 for a Florentine example. See also 'Roman sarcophagi', [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/rsar/hd_rsar.htm] at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in particular 'Sacrophagus lid (*kline*)' [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1993.11.1], both viewed 14 August 2013.

[549] It is no longer discernible what this object is. It appears to be stick-like.

equally curly beard is cropped square in the court fashion of the 1540s.[550] The admiral is represented in full plate armour underneath his surcoat bearing his quartered heraldry.[551] Around his neck, he wears the shell collar of the Order of Saint-Michel (Fig. 130). At his feet, a lion lies on guard.[552] Underneath the effigy, a figure of Fortune lies asleep (Fig. 131). A long horizontal break to this figure has been expertly restored.[553]

The monument in its current form, however, provides merely a shadow of its former existence. In the Gaignières drawings, there is an etching of its previous appearance (Fig. 134). The tomb originally took the form of a huge architectural medallion. The centre of this medallion was formed by the effigy on its outward curving tomb chest underneath two architectural rings. The outer ring features the characteristic *chabots* of the deceased's coat-of-arms. The inner circle displays crescents. Both rings are connected at the base with a pedestal-mounted lion's head. The effigy rests in front of a Latin inscription in golden capital letters on a black marble slab which has now been lost.[554] The wording of this lengthy epitaph, however, is recorded in a number of nineteenth and early twentieth-century works as follows:

> *D. O. M. S/ AT VIVENTI CERTE HEROI, ASSIDUA VIRTUTE INVIDIAM, MORTUO VERO CONTINUA/ SOSPITIS VIRTUTIS MEMORIA, MORTEM PROPEMODUM IPSAM SUPERARE ALTIUS, HOSPES, ET/ PERENNIUS DECUS SIET [sic!]. SED QUID HOC ISTIC INQUIS! // UTRUMQUE TIBI FORTISSIMI HEROIS, PHILIPPI/CHABOTII, GALLIARUM THALASSIARCHÆ, TESTATUM ESSE, BREVIUS FORSAN/ QUAM FAS FUERIT, VOLUERUNT MANES. CUM ENIM ILLE PATREM HABENS CHABOTIANA, / MATREM LUXEMBURGÆA STYRPE EDITAM, FELICITER NATUS, EDUCATUS EXCULTUSQUE/ FELICIUS FACUNDIA PRÆDITUS INCREDIBILI, FRANCISCO I, GALLIARUM REGI AUGUSTISSIMO, / DOMINO SUO, SUPRA MODUM DILECTUS, TRIPLICI TORQUATORUM EQUITUM*

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[550] See the tombs of Galiot or Francis I for comparison. A 1538 painting by Titian also shows Francis with a similar beard. See Seward, *Prince*, p. 216.

[551] Or, three chabots gules ordered two and one in the first and fourth quarters; argent, a rampant lion, gules, armed, langued and crowned or, a charge of a cross above his shoulder in the second; and gules, a six-rayed estoile argent in the third quarter. The heraldic fish are known as 'chabots' in French, hence their significance in identifying the patron in heraldry and their repeated usage on his tomb. See Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 78. Raunié, *Épitaphier*, p. 404, gives the heraldic description in full. The first and fourth quarters stand for the house of Chabot, the second stands for Luxembourg-Saint-Paul, and the third is for Baulx. For another descriptive example of Chabot's heraldry, see Francis Henry Taylor, 'French Art of the Valois', *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum*, 25 (1930), p. 41

[552] Its head has been reattached after a previous decapitation.

[553] Beaulieu, *Louvre,* p. 82, gives no indication as to when the damage or its reconstruction occurred.

[554] Ibid., p. 79.

TORQUE A / TRIBUS INSIGNITUS REGIBUS, DUX QUOQUE GALLICORUM CENTUM GRAVIORUM ARMATORUM EQUITUM, /UTRIQUE IN FRANCIA MARI OCCIDUO AC EOO PRÆFECTUS, IN BURGUNDIA, CUJUS ETIAM, / PATER DICTUS EST, AC IN TRANSALPINA ALIQUANDIU GALLIA, QUAM REGALIBUS COPIIS/ SOLUS IMPERANS, REGIO PENE TOTAM IMPERIO ADDIXIT, PROREX, PRÆLIIS FORTITER/ DEPUGNATIS, COMPOSITISQUE MAGNANIMITER [sic!] FŒDERIBUS, TOT REBUS DENIQUE TERRA MARIQUE, / DOMI AC FORIS BENE GESTIS CLARUERIT, HUIC POTISSIMA FUIT, TUM GLORIA, TUM/ REDIVIVÆ GLORIÆ CELEBRITAS, TANTUS IPSIUS VIRTUTISQUE COMITIS DE INVIDIA/ TRIUMPHUS, UT SUÆ INSTAR ANCHORÆ, VEL MORE POTIUS HERCULEO, CONTRA/ FLUCTUS FORTUNAM SISTERET ET EX LIVORE LAUDEM AMPLIARET. HOC VIVUS ILLE/ QUOD RELIQUUM ESSE POTEST PATRIS RELIQIIS UT PRÆSTARET FILIUS PIENTISSIMUS, / LEONORIUS CHABOTIUS, MAGNUS FRANCIÆ ARCHIPPOCOMUS, HOC INDELEBILE/ FORSITAN MONUMENTUM POSUIT. SATISNE! SATIS SUPERQUE AIS; BENE ERGO PRECATUS ABI,/ AC VIRTUTEM AMPLEXANS, INVIDIAM DISCE ATQUE ETIAM MORTEM POSSE DESPICIER. VALE. – JODELIUS.[555]

The effigy itself was originally mounted upon a black marble slab mounted upon a white marble base decorated with nine vertical depictions of the admiral's characteristic

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[555] See Raunié, *Épitaphier*, pp. 403-404 ; and Piganiol de la Force, *Description de Paris, de Versailles, de Marly, de Meudon, de S. Cloud, de Fontainebleu, Et des toutes les autres belles Maisons et Chateaux des Environs de Paris, IV* (Paris, 1742), pp. 62-67, for a transcription that is identical except for the punctuation and occasional spelling such as *stirpe* for Raunié's *styrpe*, and a useful, but quite free translation into French. Line breaks as per monumental source are indicated as normal, page breaks based upon the quoted text are indicated as //. Siet is an archaic form of sit. See [http://www.navigium.de/latein-woerterbuch.php?form=siet], viewed 03 May 2014. '[My] friend, while he had lived sure as Hercules, with zealous virtue, but after he had died the memory of intangible virtue was his, almost to tower higher above death itself; and indeed, his fame shall be more than enduring. But you ask what of him! The Manes[souls of the dead] have asked you to testify to this most powerful hero, Philippe Chabot, Admiral of the French, whose more than brief [lifespan/time] was perhaps fate. For he was born lucky having a father from the Chabot family and his mother begotten from Luxembourgian lineage, he was superbly educated and extremely lucky blessed with rhetoric skill, he was highly valued beyond measure by extraordinary Francis I, the most illustrious king of the French, his lord, three times [he was adorned] with the collar of the collar-bearing knights by three excellent kings, and [he was] also commander of one hundred heavily-armoured French knights, he was called father in each: on the western and eastern sea in France where he was commander, in Burgundy also, and for some time in the French domains beyond the Alps, when he governed alone with the royal troops, the region granted him as viceroy all the provision(s) after he had fought them bravely in battle(s) and it may have been that he stood out, being generous in the composition of alliances, in so many things and finally through good deeds on land and sea at home and beyond. Soon glory was for him the most important; soon the celebration of renewed glory; so great was the triumph of his virtue and the jealousy of his fellows that he, as his anchor or with Herculean might, would have rather stopped Fortune against the flow than raised the praise out of jealousy. Being alive, this most pious son, Leonard Chabot, grand marshal of France, could enable this, what was left, for his father's remains: he erected this immortal monument. Is this not enough! You say more than enough; hence go away blessed and embracing virtue, learn envy and even you may disdain death. Farewell – Jodelius.'

winged fish. This shaped chest rested upon two lion's feet, creating a hollow space underneath the chest. The sleeping figure of Fortune rested on a slab underneath this cavity. Inside the frame, yet outside of the medallion, four anchors within either clouds or more likely flecks of sea spray mark the four corners. Bands and ribbons wrap themselves around the anchors, perhaps creating an allusion, yet deliberately different reference, to the emblem of Chabot's direct predecessor as admiral of France, Bonnivet.[556]

In the drawing, the square outside frame of the tomb is similarly highly decorated. Its four sides once fitted neatly into the existing architecture within the church space. Two columns with protruding lions' heads and lions' feet form the bottom third of the left and right sides of the frame. Underneath a half arch connecting the sides with the top, two semi-dressed male *genii* holding torches stand on the bottom section of the columns. In keeping with the vertical sections, the top horizontal bar can also be divided into three sections of equal proportions. The outside sections are decorated with three six-pointed stars, which are part of Chabot's heraldry. The H-shaped middle section is set within and slightly in front of the crescents connecting it to the left and right sections of the top bar. Two *putti* sit on the top bar and lean upon the half-crescents. The centre of the H-bar at the top consists of the deceased's coat-of-arms mounted upon an oval shape. This coat-of-arms in itself forms the basis of the bottom arms of an anchor merging with a plumed helmet. The head of a heraldic beast, perhaps a boar, descends from a horizontal bar with a ring and rope, which appears to be the bottom section of an anchor upside down. On the top of the vertical bar yet keeping level with the helmet and beast, a further two winged *genii* half sit and half hover on two stylised waves. They face outwards holding a staff, resting their forward foot on a further protruding wave shape. Two lions' heads emerge from underneath their feet facing outwards to the sides.

It is perhaps not surprising that this monument emphasises Chabot's rank and position as admiral. Not much is known precisely about his early years, although he participated in a number of military campaigns between 1522 and 1524, including against the duke of Suffolk's invading army in September 1522, the defence of Marseille against the duke of Bourbon in 1524 and the campaigns of Francis I in

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[556] As mentioned in chapter 4, Bonnivet's emblem displayed a dolphin wrapped around an anchor instead of ribbons.

Italy.[557] He participated at the battle of Pavia in 1525, and like many of his peers he was captured during the battle.[558] He was presumably ransomed and soon after his release to France, he served as an envoy to negotiate the release of Francis with the king's mother and regent, Louise of Savoy.[559] In recognition of his efforts to obtain release for his sovereign, Chabot was appointed to the rank of admiral of France on 23 March 1526, after it had become vacant with his predecessor Bonnivet's death at the battle of Pavia.[560] In addition to his new rank, Chabot continued to conduct a range of diplomatic and political missions, among them the ratification of the treaty of Cambrai in 1529.[561] Perhaps his non-martial activities as a diplomat and adviser to his king are reflected in a distinct lack of sword or other weaponry on his tomb monument, despite the emphasis on his rank.

Although Chabot was granted great tribute in gaining royal permission to be buried in the Orléans chapel of the Célestins, which was reserved for the most illustrious and dignified nobles connected to the royal house, the career of Admiral Chabot was not as smooth as his sepulchre's location of honour may suggest. Although Chabot continued to hold the king's favour for most of his career, his relationship with his fellow courtiers was far from smooth. From 1530, he embarked on a collision course with his rival Connétable Anne de Montmorency, who had equally risen to prominence after he had also been integral to achieving Francis' release.[562] Their rivalry culminated in Montmorency accusing Chabot of treason and he even stood trial at one point to redeem himself from the accusation.[563] Consequently Chabot fell from the king's grace in 1541, although he was back in power by March of the same year soon after Montmorency himself fell from power after the failure of his advocacy of a pro-imperial foreign policy.[564]

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[557] Knecht, 'Chabot', pp. 463-464. Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 99, 126.

[558] Knecht, 'Chabot', p. 465.

[559] Ibid. He also played a prominent role in the negotiation of the treaty of Madrid, completed 14 January 1526.

[560] Ibid.

[561] Ibid, p. 467.

[562] The two men were promoted to their new titles as admiral and as 'grand maître de France' on the same day, 23 March 1526, after Francis returned home. See Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 126. See David Potter, 'Politics and faction at the court of Francis I: the Duchesse d'Etampes, Montmorency and the Dauphin Henri', *French History*, 21 (2007), pp. 127-146, on rivalry and factionalism at court.

[563] See Knecht, 'Chabot', pp. 476-477; and David Potter, 'A Treason Trial in Sixteenth-century France: the fall of Marshal du Biez, 1549-1551', *English Historical Review*, 105 (1990), pp. 595-623, on the use of further treason trials to bring down political enemies.

[564] Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 173-178.

While the inscription specifies the commissioner of the monument as Chabot's son Leonard, it is highly debatable who created the monument. On the basis of a manuscript from 1590-1595, the most common attribution has been to Jean Cousin, although it is often also ascribed to Pierre Bontemps on the basis of comparative works.[565] In the document the sixteenth-century historian Jacques Taveau suggests that Jean Cousin was the sculptor of the monument.[566] The Louvre catalogue quotes the relevant passage:

> *Oultre ce il estoyt entendu à la sculpture de marbre, comme le tesmoigne assez le monument du feu admiral Chabot en la chapelle d'Orléans, au monastère des Célestins de Paris, qu'il a faict et dressé, et monstre l'ouvrage l'excellence de l'ouvrier.[567]*

Henri Zerner, however, has questioned this attribution to Jean Cousin, arguing that he did not normally work as a sculptor.[568] He indicated that while the overall concept should be attributed to Jean Cousin the Elder, the effigy is the work of Pierre Bontemps.[569] Blunt has pointed out that Bontemps was not actually a sculptor of funerary monuments as such either, but a 'master of decoration', although he also produced a number of sepulchral effigies.[570] The attribution of Chabot's effigy is due to its similarity with Bontemps' creation of the effigy of Jean de Humières (d. 1550), formerly in the church of Monchy-Humières, which today also forms a part of the collection of Renaissance sculpture at the Louvre (Fig. 136).[571] De Humières is also represented lying on his side and wearing his full plate armour. In contrast to Chabot, however, he is depicted asleep, resting his hand in his palm and with his eyes firmly closed. Despite these obvious similarities in the poses, there are some close parallels in the craftsmanship and execution of the effigies, in particular the shape of the heads, the fall of the beards, the natural curl of the hands and the almost identical execution of the collars of Saint-Michel. It therefore seems suggestive to attribute the effigy of Chabot to Bontemps.

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[565] See the introduction to Knecht, 'Chabot', p. 463. Taylor, 'French Art', p. 43. This debate has been going on for over a century.

[566] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 79.

[567] Ibid. 'Moreover it is understood of the marble sculpture, as the monument of the late admiral Chabot in the Orléans chapel of the monastery of the Célestins in Paris bears enough testimony to, that it was made and put up by him, and that it shows the excellent skill of the craftsman.'

[568] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 269.

[569] Ibid., pp. 268-273.

[570] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 129. Among these monuments was the effigy of Charles de Maigny, today at the Louvre, which was finished in 1557.

[571] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, pp. 76-78.

Despite the controversies regarding the sculptor of the monument and consequently whether it constitutes a two-phase monument as has been suggested on numerous occasions, there is some evidence as to when it was installed.[572] An account from the Célestins from 18 July 1565, lists expenses to erect the monument of Chabot.[573] However, Michèle Beaulieu rather compellingly points out that this was not the final completion date of the tomb, as the epitaph was finished at a later point.[574] The most conclusive piece of evidence in the dating of the completion of the monument is the epitaph.[575] It equally provides the earliest and the latest possible completion dates for the tomb. The title of Chabot's son in the epitaph, described as grand marshal of France which he received in 1570, allows for 1570 as the earliest feasible completion date.[576] On the basis of the name Jodelle underneath the epitaph, it has been suggested that this refers to the poet Etienne Jodelle, who allegedly died in July 1572.[577] However, despite the compelling overall argument, it appears that the Louvre catalogue made a mistake, as Jodelle died in 1573. Despite this slight correction of the date, the overall argument still holds and it seems conclusive that the epitaph was completed between 1570 and 1573, although the monument itself was erected earlier.

This monument is significant in a number of ways. On the one hand, its application of classical imagery and its attempt to reinvent Chabot's life in the image of the ancients is striking. Epitaph and sculpture work in symbiosis to achieve this aim while breaking with their respective funerary traditions. Instead of depicting the effigy as a traditional recumbent effigy, kneeling, or even as a *transi* as on many other contemporary monuments, the admiral's position lying side-on is a tribute to a Roman-style general. Instead of representing the deceased as asleep or awaiting the Final Judgement, he is represented in the prime of his life and enjoying himself in a scene reminiscent of an ancient banquet. This reference to enjoyment and pleasure of one's life stands in stark contrast to more demure depictions of the sinfulness and punishment of the human flesh. The Roman *genii*, another ancient motif, work to the same effect, visually connecting this monument with classical art.

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[572] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, pp. 269-270; Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 79; Bresc-Bautier, 'Sculpture', p. 54.
[573] Bresc-Bautier, 'Sculpture' p. 54.
[574] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 79.
[575] Ibid., makes a very compelling case for the dating of the monument.
[576] Ibid.
[577] Ibid. It appears Beaulieu made a mistake, as Jodelle died in July 1573, not 1572. See [http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100021391], viewed 3 May 2013.

The epitaph which mirrors the style of the Roman poets is equally revolutionary, as it too breaks with the traditional formula which persisted up to and including most of the monuments of the previous chapter.[578] Unlike previous monuments, which gave the impression of being mass produced or at least suggesting that the scope for creativity was limited to a bare minimum, Chabot's epitaph is unique in its form and in its contents.[579] Mentioning Chabot's most significant political achievements, such as his role as chancellor and his military captain, the epitaph takes on the form of a panegyric, a Roman poem or an epic describing the heroic life of Chabot and his subsequent immortality. Its usage of classical Latin as opposed to French and the unusually complex grammar compared to the standard epitaph using simple Latin on other monuments, equally demonstrates a regard for classical learning and humanist education, as does the commission of a poet. It is significant, however, that despite the obvious allusions to Roman and classical learning, the tomb bears few purely Italian elements compared to previous phases of funerary art. Instead of trying to live up to contemporary Italian art with its pleasing and playful forms, this monument again hearkens back to the golden age of the ancient Roman past, not to sixteenth-century Italy.[580]

A further significant observation is the obvious lack of religious imagery on this monument. The position of the effigy precludes any gesture of supplication, such as hands folded or kneeling down in prayer. Saints or other religious icons have been replaced by the classical and entirely secular figures of *genii*, while the putti above are equally secular figures. It does not seem convincing that the secular nature of this monument could be attributed to the religious convictions of the sculptor.[581] Although Pierre Bontemps was a Huguenot and forced to leave Paris between 1562 and 1563, his personal faith does not appear to have impacted further on this monument than limiting the construction date to a period of two years.[582] Yet while it is striking that some of the most prominent mid-sixteenth century French Renaissance sculptors were Protestants,

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[578] 'Cy gist messire… [name] en son vivant…[rank and titles]. Priez dieu pour son ame amen.'

[579] The repeated mention of Hercules in Galiot's commissions and in Chabot's tomb is perhaps worth pointing out.

[580] The reference to Hercules again works to the same effect.

[581] Another prominent Huguenot sculptor at the court of Henri II, Jean Goujon, also most famously employed classical imagery instead of religious ones. He disappeared in 1562. See Knecht, *French Renaissance*, p. 224.

[582] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 80. The first massacre of Protestants took place at Vassy in 1562. For this reason, Beaulieu suggested that Bontemps could only have worked on the effigy between his return, the monument's erection in the chapel in 1565 and before his retirement in 1566.

their shared faith is perhaps not sufficient to explain the absence of religious imagery on their works. Other European artists, such as Holbein or Dürer, were themselves Protestant sympathisers, but their art does not necessarily omit religious topics. Hence the full extent of the sculptor's personal faith alone impacting so prominently on his work undermines the significance of the patron and does not seem convincing.

In contrast, however, the emphasis on the rank of admiral, Chabot's depiction as a Romanised general and the epitaph with its emphasis on gaining immortality through virtue support that, once again, the key concept on this tomb was to convey the deceased's immortal fame through a new, vibrant pose and panegyric. Rather than limiting the sculptor to using ancient imagery in combination with saints or other religious iconography, the patron chose to represent and to commemorate his father in the guise of an ancient military hero. By being represented as such, he placed Chabot on the same level as ancient military leaders, allowing him to symbolically become one of the ancients worthy of immortal glory. As one of the few to receive special royal permission to be buried within the prominent and prestigious Célestins convent, Chabot's prestigious 'classical' monument suggests that his immortal fame as a military leader was designed to commemorate him for eternity.

However, it has frequently been suggested that there are a few other comparable monuments in sixteenth-century France which are thematically and iconographically linked. Beaulieu suggests that Chabot's tomb is closely related to the monument of Jean d'Humières, today at the Louvre, and the sepulchre of Guillaume du Bellay in the cathedral of Le Mans, which both feature recumbent effigies lying on their sides.[583] It is therefore perhaps worth investigating another analogous monument before arriving at more general conclusions.

A 'classical' humanist tomb: Guillaume du Bellay (1491-1543)

The monument of the famous writer and historian Guillaume du Bellay in the cathedral of Le Mans equally merges humanist learning with classical iconography and a panegyric to commemorate the life of this individual as extraordinary.[584] During his

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[583] Ibid.

[584] Although this monument is frequently mentioned in the literature, full length case studies rarely exist. See Palustre, *Renaissance*, III, pp. 147-151. The most recent assessments of this sepulchre are antiquarian studies of the early twentieth century, such as Victor-Louis Bourrilly, *Guillaume du Bellay, seigneur de Langey, 1491-1543* (Paris, 1905).

lifetime du Bellay was an important courtier, soldier, writer and historian. Although he is best known for his and his brother's memoirs, Guillaume was also a key member of a circle of humanist writers centering upon some of the most prominent poets of the sixteenth century, most notably his close friend Rabelais, who successfully turned his friend's last moments into a heroic poem.[585] Du Bellay died near Tarare north-west of Lyon on 9 January 1543 after a period of illness.[586] After a lavish and expensive funeral, du Bellay was temporarily interred in the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Vincent at Le Mans.[587] In the meantime, Guillaume's brother Jean commissioned an extravagant tomb for the cathedral at Le Mans.[588] The monument was finished in 1557 and survived the Wars of Religion practically intact.[589] It was moved to a new location in a nearby Benedictine abbey in the early nineteenth century, presumably after the cathedral had sustained damage during the Revolution, and it was rebuilt within the cathedral in the chapel of St John the Baptist later in the century.[590]

Du Bellay's tomb merges form and content in an ideal manner. It reflects his status, his martial ability and his interest in sixteenth-century humanism. The approximately three metres high *enfeu* constitutes one of the finest pieces of French Renaissance art, although in its current appearance it has sadly been heavily altered and only partially reconstructed from the original using surviving fragments.[591] The monument today appears as a black and white marble atrium-style building with a gable roof and an inward curving cavity in the middle creating space for the effigy on its *tumba* flanked by two *Atlantae* (Fig. 137).

The atrium-like appearance begins with the base of the monument. In its current appearance, the tomb begins set about 50cm off the floor. Its black and white marble base is visually divided into quarter sections. The outside quarter sections rest on two urn-shaped columns set in black marble divided by a white marble panel each. The middle quarter sections comprise two white marble panels separated by two adjacent Corinthian columns. Both panels show an array of ancient military gear (Fig. 139). The left panel depicts a helmet in front of a sheathed sword and a dragon's head. Other

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[585] Bourrilly, *Bellay*, p. 365.

[586] Ibid.

[587] Ibid., pp. 367-368.

[588] Ibid., p. 369.

[589] Ibid.

[590] Ibid. Although this was not the tomb's original location, du Bellay's extremely well-preserved remains were rediscovered nearby in 1862. Very strong similarities between the facial features of the corpse and the effigy facilitated their identification.

[591] Ibid., p. 370.

weaponry such as a Roman throwing axe and a quiver of arrows are scattered around the helmet. The right panel equally shows ancient armour. A Roman cuirass forms the centre of the construction. Scattered around it there are bundles of spears and spearheads as well as an array of mythical beasts. This bottom section forms the foundation for the inward-curving *enfeu* above, creating an impression of living space.

The top section also supports this notion of the tomb serving the function of a building. The gently curved gable mounted on top of the *enfeu* supports the deceased's coat-of-arms within a sun-shaped frame underneath a plumed helmet. Originally polychrome, the coat-of-arms is now blank. To the left and right, it is flanked by a griffin and a sitting lion. A banderol visually links the paws of the two beasts underneath the coat-of-arms.

In the inward-curving hollow space of the *enfeu*, the visual and thematic centrepiece of the tomb, the effigy of the writer is stretched out on a blanket on the ground (Fig. 138). He is depicted as a Roman general wearing armour, that is to say a cuirass with lamella elbow-length sleeves worn above a folded-up fabric shirt and ending in a lamella skirt at knee length.[592] The face is an extremely close likeness.[593] His bare-headed, curly-haired figure gazes to the left. His long beard is cut square in accordance with contemporary mid-sixteenth century court fashion. Du Bellay's naked left forearm strategically rests upon his highly decorated visor helmet, which is closer to the sixteenth-century fashion than to an ancient Roman model. His hand holds a book which points towards the floor. His right arm casually rests on his outstretched right leg, holding a sheathed long sword. The tip of the blade rests on the author's right shoulder. His feet are dressed in elaborately decorated semi-knee lengths boots, one placed on top of the other. A further two books lie on his lap. Another set of volumes lie scattered on the floor, piled up underneath his bent left leg and another near his feet.

Du Bellay's effigy rests upon a protruding white marble tomb chest featuring an ancient-style battle scene on the shoulders of two black marble sphinxes. The space between the two sphinxes is filled with a modern inscription of white Roman capitals

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[592] For comparable dress, see the 1688 copy of Giulio Romano, *Tapestry of the Story of Scipio,* from the 1532 original at the Louvre. Printed in Chastel, *French Art*, pp. 162-163. See also Antoine Caron, *The Massacres under the Triumvirate*, created 1566 and today also at the Louvre. Printed in ibid., pp. 254-255.
[593] See above.

and humanist round hand on black marble, which was not in place in a 1905 plate of the tomb.[594] It reads:

> *GUILLEMO BELLAIO Langeo Regia D. Michaelis Solidalitate Insigni Equitum, que cataph[ractorum]/ turmae prefecto qui primum litteris in Gallicam nobilitatem invectis. Dehinc restituto longa/ [inter]vallo militari disciplina· qúum provincia Pede-montana ut felieiter [sic][595] aucta sic innocenter prorege a[dminist]/ rata summatum ejusdem tum omnium ordinem expectatione illum[596] reviseret ipsis arridentis fortunæ i[597].../ [in iti]nere obiit. Iº Epūs Ostiensis ac Cenoman. sac[598] card. collegii decanus. Martinus que consimili p...[599]/ clarus normaniæ[600] prorex./*
>
> *Princeps ivetodi Guillelmi que ipsius hæres fratri opt. atque omni virtutum genere prestan[tanti/ [poseur]unt, qúum communis frater epūs Cénoman Rénatus vir santiss & in pietatis studiis e[xcellens]/ quo minus hoc munus uti sussc[i]perat exeque[re]tur immatura mors fecisset.[601]*

Two vertical *Atlantae* form the outside pillars of the monument. Similar to the effigy, they are also depicted as muscular men wearing dress in the style of a Roman general, with a tasselled cuirass and a crossed-over sash around their waists. Their long-grown beards are worn in similar fashion to the writer's beard. On their heads however, they each balance a woven basket full of fruit ending in capitals resembling scrolls.

On the wall behind the effigy, there are three gold inscriptions on black marble. The outside inscriptions are on rectangular pieces of black marble, while the middle one

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[594] These are not the original letters but the work of the twentieth-century restorer. Bourrilly, *Bellay,* plate between pp. 368-369, does not show this inscription.

[595] Must be 'feliciter'.

[596] Bourrilly, *Bellay*, p. 373, gives 'illine'.

[597] Ibid. suggests 'inlis'.

[598] Ibid. gives 'sacri'.

[599] Ibid. gives 'consimili et sodalitate et praefectura'.

[600] Ibid. gives 'Normaniae'.

[601] Ibid., p. 373, for amendments. Changes between the current and the recorded inscription include the changed order of 'primum' and 'litteris' in line 2, the exchange of **ae** for **e** in the modern version in words such as 'prefecto' and the curious usage of 'qúum' for 'cum', the occasional merging of words such as 'prorege' instead of 'pro Rege' and the space between '–que' and the noun preceding it. '[Dedicated to] Guillaume Bellay, lord of Langeay, bearer of the distinguished Order of Saint-Michel, who commanded a squadron of armoured men, who was first among the French nobles to be introduced to literature. Since he had restored longlasting military discipline in the province of Piemont in the meantime, he governed it so happily, so flourishingly, so innocently as viceroy that he was summoned to return soon after in expectation of the highest order. But Fortune laughed in his face and he died while travelling there. Martin, the first bishop of Ostia and Le Mans, deacon of the sacred college of cardinals, [who] was similar to a priest as well as commander and famous viceroy of the Normans, prince of Yvetot, along with his brother made this for Guillaume, who surpassed all in his virtue, after his brother René, the bishop of Le Mans, a most holy man and distinguished in his pious studies, who little used to this duty/honour, took it upon him to put him to the grave after death had taken him prematurely.' Yvetot is a place in Normandy, see also 'Gaignières' (1977), p. 8.

is written on an oval base. All three inscriptions feature Roman capital letters. The narrow outside inscriptions give important biographical information necessary for obits, such as the author's death day. The left inscription reads: OBIIT IIII/ ID IANVA/ ANNO D/ M D XLIII/ IN VICO/ SANSAPH^O/ RINIO AD/ RADICEM/ TARARII/ MONTIS.[602] The right inscription adds PALLADOS/ INVICTI/ IACET HIC/ ET MARTIS/ ALUMNUS// POSITVM EST HOC MAVSOLE/ VM/ MDLVII.[603]

The middle epitaph changes from Latin to French. It reads:

ARRESTE TOY LISANT/ CY DESSOUBZ EST GISANT/ DONT LE CUEUR DOLENT IAY/ CE RENOMME LANGEY/ QVI SON PAREIL NEVT PAS/ ET DVQVEL AV TRESPAS/ GECTERENT PLEVRS ET LARMES/ LES LETTRES ET LES ARMES.[604]

However, the monument as it appears today is only a glimpse of its former construction and it has been altered significantly from the sepulchre depicted in the Gaignières drawings (Fig. 140). The roof, the base and the columns today have been changed completely from its eighteenth-century appearance. From the top to the bottom, instead of a gable roof the roof was previously made of a half-moon shape opening up into a cavity connecting the heraldic panel flanked by the lion on the right and the griffin on the left with the top horizontal section of the monument. This section was significantly wider and more layered than it is in its current form. It also included a black marble inscription panel in an oval shape surrounded by a wreath and possibly ending in a medallion. The side columns with the male torsos mounted on cone-shaped panels appear to be identical. However, this section of the column rests on rectangular panels decorated in bas-relief.

The bottom section of the monument has also been changed significantly. The base in the drawing is much shallower than it appears today. Instead of standing on black marble urns, the columns are mounted on the trophy panels now placed in the central section of the base. The horizontal section in between the urns in the drawing consists of four figures of virtues underneath arches. Overall, the shorter height of the base brings the effigy of du Bellay much closer to the ground, which strengthens the appearance that he lies on a Roman-style stretcher at dinner. Although the overall appearance of the effigy and bed is largely the same, the modern-day appearance adds

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[602] 'He passed away on the fourth day of January in the year 1543 in the village of Sansaphorinius at the foot of the mountains at Tarare.'

[603] 'Here lies the student of unconquered Pallas and Mars. This mausoleum was erected in 1557.'

[604] 'Stop by, you reader; the heart weeps for this renowned Langeay who is represented as a *gisant* below, who had no equal and who in passing away shed tears and woes, letters and arms.'

the black marble panel underneath the bed with the reconstruction information which obviously did not exist in the original of the sepulchre.

Unlike the current white-washed sloping appearance of the vault behind the effigy, the drawing shows a very different image. The inside of the tomb opened up underneath an archway on two columns and a decorated top section, creating a second and a third layer of architectural depth. The inside of the archway opened up again into a highly-decorated tympanum featuring a further inscription on a rectangular piece of black marble. A putto and foliage surround this section, which presumably contained the information of one of the other black marble panels. Underneath the tympanum, three ornamented slabs were separated by two columns. On each slab, there was a black marble inscription panel. The left piece is rectangular and taller than wide, while the middle panel was oblong-shaped at the bottom. The second half of the middle section and the right inscription are partially blocked by the effigy. Presumably, the side panels bear the inscription today found on the rectangular panels behind du Bellay's effigy.[605] Finally, the columns now dividing the trophies underneath originally flanked the effigy's bed and supported the columns of the inside archway.

Although the monument in its original format was even more striking than it is in the current reconstruction, it is difficult to establish who created the sepulchre. Due to similarities between the recumbent and Romanised effigies of du Bellay and Chabot, it has been suggested that Jean Cousin could possibly be its creator, an attribution which the analysis of Chabot's tomb above has discouraged.[606] While attribution to the same sculptor as Chabot's tomb may be compelling based upon the poses of the effigies, there is little else in favour of this suggestion, as the carving style is very different.[607] Other attributions have included Jacques d'Angouleme and Noël Huet.[608] Bourrilly has suggested that Noël Huet seems a likely possibility, as a letter written by him echoes the Latin epitaph.[609] Furthermore, he has suggested that it may have been written in 1556, hence close to the erection of the monument; yet again, there is little proof for this either.[610] More convincing is his quotation of a letter written by the widow of Guillaume's brother Martin du Bellay (d. 1559) to her brother-in-law Jean du

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[605] Unfortunately, the writing is too small to be deciphered on the prints of the drawing and I have not found a recording.

[606] Bourrilly, *Bellay*, pp. 372-373.

[607] Effigies were often created by specialist carvers.

[608] Bourrilly, *Bellay*, pp. 372-373.

[609] Ibid., p. 373.

[610] Ibid. Unfortunately I have been unable to locate other works by Noël Huet.

Bellay, dated 12 August 1559. It specifies material used by one Noël Huet for the tomb of Jean's brother.[611] However, it is unclear which tomb for which of his two deceased brothers, Martin or Guillaume, is the object of the letter in question. In the absence of the tomb of Martin du Bellay for comparison, which does not survive even as a drawing, the otherwise compelling suggestion that Huet was involved in the creation of Guillaume's tomb must be approached with an element of caution.

The four epitaphs as recorded by Gaignières correspond to the three key epitaphs today at least in their wording (even if they are not the original). They are highly significant to the understanding of the monument and the commissioner's intentions in commemorating his brother as a hero. The middle epitaph in particular provides the clue to the understanding of this sepulchre. It deliberately draws upon du Bellay's double-skill as a writer and as a soldier. The emphasis in the middle inscription fits well with the overall construction of the monument, which emphasises his dual role by portraying him as a Roman-style general surrounded by books. The middle epitaph is written in two sets of couplet end rhymes and poetic verse rather than in plain text, which in its own emphasis on duality once again supports the dual nature of this man's life already portrayed in the books and the effigy. In association with the middle epitaph, this duality suggests that Jean du Bellay wanted his brother's tomb to portray Guillaume as a man of the sword as well as of the book.

This dual image, however, equally corresponded to the ideals of the Renaissance man as a humanist and soldier, who was not only accomplished on the battlefield, but who also possessed an interest in ancient cultures. The patron's choice of classical iconography also helps to depict the deceased as a humanist with an interest in classical education. He is depicted as a Roman general, instead of as a sixteenth-century commander, which implies a personal interest in the classical world.[612] The books surrounding him support this impression of learning. It is perhaps noteworthy that the volumes surrounding the poet do not appear to be purely religious tracts, as they are not ceremonial books such as the famous books of hours or illustrated bibles. Instead, they are a reasonable size, hence portable, which allows them to be studied by a learned man at home rather than within the confines of a monastic library. The binding is simple, yet effective in holding the volumes together, which again implies that these are not

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[611] Ibid., pp. 374-375, quotation at p. 374. 'Maistre Noël Huet m'a dict qu'il y a au Mans, du reste de celuy de feu Monsieur vostre frère aisné, assez de marbre blanc et noir pur fair deluy de dernier.'
[612] This interest in classical antiquity is almost universal throughout the French arts in this period. See Chastel, *French Art*, pp. 166-167; 172-176,

ceremonial, or religious tracts, but humanist books. As a fully accomplished Renaissance man, Guillaume du Bellay himself also published tracts on different subjects in addition to his famous memoirs. Among these works is a treatise on warfare entitled *Instructions sur le faicte de la guerre*.[613] This treatise includes the proper employment of troops, their organisation and the general's conduct in battle, hence passing on his military experience to future generations.

The emphasis on learning and education is once again also found in the epitaphs. The epitaphs were at least partially composed by du Bellay's humanist friends, including the poets Marot and Rabelais, who also attended his funeral on 9 March 1543.[614] The outside inscriptions are constructed in Latin, the language of learning and diplomacy in the sixteenth century, as well as the language of the ancient Romans. The middle inscription, however, is constructed as a poem in French, which combines the ancient tradition of poetry with the French language.[615] This fusion of ancient tradition and contemporary sixteenth-century scholarship therefore depicts du Bellay as an all-round learned man, accomplished on the battlefield and as a writer, similar to the Roman general Vegetius.[616]

In addition to the classical Latin, however, the wording of the epitaphs once again emphasises du Bellay's claim to immortal fame as a military leader in addition to his writings. The left and right epitaphs in particular suggest that du Bellay was 'unconquered' during his lifetime, not even by his own premature mortality, and as such he stood on the same level as the ancient heroes. The effigy's recognisable Roman pose, further enhanced by the effigy's proximity to the ground as shown in the drawing of the monument, equally draws parallels to a Roman hero's well-earned feast after his deeds of fame and valour are done. His bed, quite literally, rests on Roman trophies to symbolise the deceased's famous military achievement and his equally famous writings based on classical learning. Rather than using ancient motifs to create a connection between the longevity of the deceased's service, his ancient nobility or similar contemporary issues, Guillaume du Bellay's monument deliberately places its owner on

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[613] Raymond de Rouer Fourquevaux, *Instructions sur le faict de la Guerre par Guillaume Dubellay de Langey* (Paris, 1548). It has been frequently pointed out that this tract is presumably by Fourquevaux rather than du Bellay, yet the attribution to Langey is extraordinary.

[614] Jean Plattard, *The Life of François Rabelais* (London, 1930), pp. 203-4.

[615] Some other monuments use this combination, such as the tomb of the dukes of Orléans, yet it was not very common.

[616] He also produced a key tract on Roman warfare, *De Re Militari*, one of the key texts of late medieval and Renaissance warfare.

the same level as an ancient Roman hero. Depicting him as a grand military leader and famous writer whose name would live on unconquered by death and fully supported by classical imagery and epitaphs, the patron of the tomb successfully commemorated his brother in the classical tradition of the ancient heroes.

Keeping in line with the dominance of classical imagery in the *topos* and manner of the monument, however, it is striking that traditional pious or Christian elements are entirely absent on this monument. Neither the imagery employed nor the epitaphs give any reference as to the traditional understanding of the Christian religion, in particular of Catholicism. The epitaphs do not contain any of the religious formulae traditionally found on tombs, such as 'Amen' or 'Prie dieu pour lui'. The effigy itself is also represented in a pose of relaxation, not in a state of contemplation, devotion or prayer. The saints previously common on monuments have entirely disappeared only to be replaced by classical virtues. Their disappearance provides a strong contrast with the classical *Atlantae* with their filled wicker baskets. With their emphasis on filled baskets which complements the diner's pose, they almost remind the viewer of the Roman god Bacchus, the god of debauchery and decadence. This – perhaps unintentional– reference to a pagan God and the ancient pose provides a strong contrast with earlier 'antique' monuments which characteristically retained close relationships between ancient iconography and Christian faith. It is thus worth investigating in a further context to establish its relevance to the period.

A Catholic tomb: François de Lannoy (d. 1548) and Marie de Hangest-Genlis
Unlike the previous two monuments, the tomb of François de Lannoy (d. 1548) and his wife Marie de Hangest-Genlis in the church of Folleville employs classical elements while also adhering to Catholic imagery. The tomb is often only mentioned in passing while the primary focus has been directed towards the earlier tomb of Raoul de Lannoy in the same church.[617] Although the patrons were closely related – they were father and son – their funerary monuments could hardly be more different. The tomb of Raoul de Lannoy is renowned for displaying some of the purest Italian craftsmanship in

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[617] Most of the literature covering the sepulchre of Raoul de Lannoy also briefly mentions this tomb, although it is rarely included in the mainstream literature. Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 37, mentions François's tomb in the caption of an image, but does not discuss it. See Carlier, 'Trois monuments', pp. 203-220; Durand, 'Lannoy', pp. 329-404; and Debrie, 'Monuments', pp. 415-438. The most complete summary of this monument is Michelin, *Folleville*.

sixteenth-century France, while the sepulchre of his son François de Lannoy is a much more indigenous construction (Fig. 141).[618] Like his father, François commissioned his monument during his own lifetime. Unlike his father's sepulchre, however, it was finished three years before his death, although the epitaph was only added at a later date.[619] Durand gives a transcription of an excerpt from the deceased's will written in August 1545. It specified that François 'Veut et entend estre inhume en la chapelle de M. Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Folleville, entre l'autel et les représentations de ma femme et moy, comme l'on vn [sic] nu [sic] sépulchre'.[620] The phrasing of the will suggests that the monument was already *in situ* at the time François wrote his testament. Furthermore, the location of the monument specified in the will corresponds to its current site, thus confirming that the tomb remains in its original location. As Durand remarked, the monument is in surprisingly good condition compared to some other tombs, as it is virtually intact, although the individual elements appear to have been moved as they no longer sit flush with the slab upon which they rest.[621]

Unlike the marble tomb of his parents, most of the monument of François and his wife is constructed from freestone.[622] The outside of the *enfeu* consists of a vertical bar with a variety of different motifs, among them egg and dart motifs, vertical lilies arrayed to simulate a floral chain, and foliage. The horizontal bar also depicts three Roman-style busts featuring a young male head with a hat amid foliage. The sides of the bar have been repositioned as the connection between the bar and the capital to either side displays a wide gap.[623] The two capitals display a fountain amid broad foliage surmounted by a flower petal. The two columns which form the outside of the *enfeu* are equally highly decorated with candelabra.

The inside of the *enfeu* shows the deceased couple kneeling in front of two lecterns (Fig. 142). Showing their right side to the viewer, both effigies kneel on cushions in front of open prayer books lying on the desks.[624] Represented wearing full

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[618] Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 402.

[619] Ibid. The epitaph mentions the late king Francis, who died in 1547. See below.

[620] Ibid. This is perhaps an error, intended to mean 'vv vn'. 'I wish and intend to be buried in the chapel of Saint-John the Baptist of Folleville, between the altar and the representations of my wife and myself, as one sees on the sepulchre.'

[621] The clearest example is the knight's pulpit, as the bottom is broken off in places at the outside and hence no longer level with the slab.

[622] Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 403.

[623] The left capital appears to be a restoration if not a replacement of the original.

[624] Reading desks first appear with the tombs of the duke of Berry or Charles VIII, but do not become common again until the mid-sixteenth century.

plate armour and a heraldically decorated surcoat, François kneels in front of his wife, closer to the church altar (Fig. 143). His head is uncovered and he wears a long, neatly trimmed beard in the courtly fashion of the 1540s.[625] Around his neck, he wears two rows of a chain. His wife is placed behind him in an identical pose, her long, low-cut dress draped around and behind her in elegant folds (Fig. 144). Her fashionable long fur sleeves trail downwards, while her ribbed puff sleeves extend to her wrists. On her right hand, she wears two rings, one on her index and one on her ring finger. On her head, she wears a neat hood ending in a train hanging below shoulder level. Her facial features are plump yet do not appear to display individual characteristics. Based upon the evidence of two full length breaks, one across her neck, another larger one just below her chin underneath her face, it seems likely that her head and her face have been reattached.

Each pulpit is draped with a cloth and the right side of the lectern bears the spouse's respective heraldry. On the right side of François' pulpit, his coat-of-arms is surrounded by his father's chain, the heirloom given to him by Louis XI in recognition of his services to the French crown. Inside it, the coat-of-arms displays the heraldry of Lannoy in the first and fourth quarters, as well as of Neuville in the third quarter.[626] The arms of Hangest in the second quarter allow for the incorporation of his wife's heraldry into his own.[627] The lady's coat-of-arms is depicted as standard diamond-shaped female coat-of-arms displaying her matrimonial heraldry. It displays the line of Lannoy and Neuville in the first and third quarters, with the heraldry of Hangest in the second half of the coat-of-arms.

The tomb chest itself shows the four cardinal virtues in bas-relief (Fig. 145). The figures stand underneath arches separated by Roman-style busts and columns with candelabra. From the left to the right, they depict Justice, shown here as a Roman-clad female figure with a helmet-crown, a sword and scales; Prudence shown as a young lady holding a mirror and a compass; Temperance holding a bridle and a clock tower; and finally, Fortitude, holding a tower in one hand and throttling an upside-down dragon with the other.[628] With the exception of Fortitude, the other three figures turn towards the right. The small Roman busts at the top of the archways support this, as

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[625] Due to a line running horizontally through the section of the beard beneath the chin, it gives the impression that it has been re-attached.

[626] Carlier, 'Folleville', p. 218.

[627] Ibid.

[628] For the compass, see Debrie, 'Monuments', p. 428.

only the two on the right flanking Fortitude turn to the left while the remaining three turn towards the right. It is unclear why this is the case, although presumably not for geometrical or aesthetic reasons alone.

On the now otherwise plain back wall of the *enfeu*, there are an epitaph on a separate slab leaned against the wall and three wreaths with three coats-of-arms within them.[629] The epitaph reads in Roman capital letters:

> *CY GIST HAVT ET PVISSANT SEIGNEVR,/ MESSIRE FRANÇOIS DE LANNOY, EN SON VIVANT/ CHEVALIER, SEIGNEVR DE MORVILLIERS, FOLLEVILLE,/ GANNES, PAILLART, SARESVILLER, ORESMEAVX,/ GOLLENCOVRT, DOMPMARTIN, INOCOVRT, / HAPEGLENE, RAINEVILLE, ENFANT D'HONNEVR/ DV FEV ROI LOVIS XII ET PVIS APRÈS SON PANETIER/ CONSEILLER ET PENSIONNAIRE DV FEV ROI/ FRANÇOIS I^{ER} , GOVVERNEVR, BAILLI, CAPITAINE/ DE CHAVNY ET CAPITAINE DE LA VILLE ET CITE/ D'AMIENS, [ET A]VSSI CAPITAINE DE MIL HŌMES/ DE PIEDS ET DE CENT CHEVAVX-LÉGERS,/ QVI TRESPASSA LE XIII^E DE JVILLET, L'AN/ MIL V^C XLVIII, CY AVPRÈS GIST MADAME MARIE/ DE HANGEST-GENLIS QUI TRESPASSA LE* [blank] *JOVR/ DE* [blank] *L'AN MIL* [blank] *POVR LEVR AMES.*[630]*

The middle wreath is the largest and it is placed just above the epitaph. Within the wreath, there is a coat-of-arms surrounded by a chain, the emblem of the Lannoy family. The coat-of-arms is similar yet not identical to the coat-of-arms on the lectern adjacent to François's effigy.[631] While it displays the heraldry of Lannoy in the first and fourth quarters, the arms of Poix occupy the second quarter. The third quarter shows the arms of Neuville. Thus the coat-of-arms depicted displays François's ancestral coat-of-arms based upon his paternal and his maternal lineage.[632] The wreath behind the lady's effigy also features a quartered coat-of-arms within it. The first and fourth quarters

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[629] It appears that the wall was previously covered with fleur-de-lis, as one remains in the bottom right hand corner behind the effigy of François.

[630] On the basis of the appearance of the slab and the modernised spelling and punctuation one can deduce that this is not the original epitaph. 'Here lies great and powerful lord François de Lannoy, in his lifetime knight, lord of Morvilliers, Folleville, Gannes, Paillart, Saresviller, Oresmeaux, Gollencourt, Dompmartin, Inocourt, Hapeglene, Raineville, child of honour to the late King Louis XII and afterwards his Panetier, counsellor and receiver of a pension from the late Francis I, governor, bailly, captain of Chauny and captain of the town and city of Amiens, and also captain of a hundred men on foot and a hundred light cavalry. He passed away on the thirteenth of July, 1548. Here lies also Madame Marie de Hangest-Genlis, who died on the … day of … in the year …. [Pray] for their souls.'

[631] It is the same coat-of-arms displayed on the side of the sixteenth-century baptismal fountain made of Carrara marble opposite the church entrance.

[632] Carlier, 'Monuments', pp. 206, 208. The parents of his father Raoul de Lannoy were Thomas de Lannoy and Marguerite de Neuville Matringham. On his mother's side, her parents were Antoine de Poix and Jeanne de Folleville.

display the heraldry of Hangest, while the second and third show the three vertical bars of Amboise.[633] Carlier has pointed out that her heraldry is unusual as it does not depict the line of her parents Adrien d'Hangest and either Claude or Françoise Dumas, but the heraldry of her grandparents Jean de Hangest and Marie d'Amboise.[634] Carlier has suggested that the reason for the strange compilation of heraldry is due to the Dumas side of the family converting to Protestantism in the early to mid-sixteenth century and hence perhaps being deliberately omitted from the tomb. This notion of scandal particularly surrounded the brothers of Marie d'Hangest during the 1560s and 1570s: they not only converted to Protestantism, but at least one of them also actively engaged in the raiding of a monastery.[635] A further relative actively supported the Protestant cause with troops.[636]

The third wreath, however, breaks the pattern of displaying heraldry. Instead of coats-of-arms, it displays a frontal face, the famous relic of the head of St John the Baptist resting at Amiens Cathedral. Formerly, there were more carvings on the back wall, such as three ascending diamond patterns behind the effigy of François. These have now been mutilated and only the silhouette of the shapes remains.[637]

On the basis of the four virtues, it has been suggested that the tomb of François de Lannoy resembles the tomb of Cardinal Charles Hémard de Denonville (1493-1540) at Amiens and hence it has been suggested that the Lannoy tomb equally may have been constructed by the same French sculptor Matthieu Laignel (Fig. 147).[638] The cardinal's tomb was created in 1543. The *enfeu* is set directly in front of an east-facing pillar of the south transept. It features the kneeling effigy of the cardinal at a prie-dieu, the cardinal virtues Justice, Prudence, Temperance and Fortitude, as well as a head of St John the Baptist within a wreath. The Hémard virtues display the same attributes as the

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[633] Ibid., pp. 208, 218. Her mother's Christian name is not clear.

[634] Ibid., p. 208.

[635] Ibid. David Potter, 'The French Protestant nobility in 1562: the "associacion de Monseigneur, le Prince de Condé"', *French History*, 15 (2001), p. 314.

[636] Although he later changed his mind, Louis de Lannoy, assembled 4,000 troops to join the Prince of Condé, the Protestant leader, in September 1562. See Potter, 'Protestant nobility', p. 315.

[637] The mutilations presumably occurred during the French Revolution, as the monument of Raoul de Lannoy was only saved due to local initiative. See chapter 2.

[638] Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 140. Palustre, *Renaissance*, I, pp. 42-44. On the cardinal's life, see Cédric Michon, 'Charles Hémard de Denonville (1493-1540), in Cédric Michon, *Les conseillers de François Ier* (Rennes, 2011), pp. 331-333. Although Hémard came from a newly ennobled family himself, his association with some of the leading counsellors of the realm, among the Anne de Montmorency, Antoine Duprat and Philippe Chabot brought him into royal service. During the two years before his death, he served as an Italian expert on the privy council.

Lannoy virtues. More strikingly, however, in both cases the first three virtues face left away from the altar, while the final one faces right.

Despite the differences in material, Christine Debrie has suggested that the Folleville sculptor was Matthieu Laignel on the basis of its similarities with Cardinal Hémard's tomb.[639] She has very compellingly placed the virtues on both tombs side by side and concluded that 1542, hence a year before the completion of the cardinal's tomb, is a possible starting date (Figs. 145-146). Pierre Michelin has taken this argument further, arguing that the style, gestures and attributes of the Folleville virtues strongly resemble those at Amiens, although the figures of Temperance and Prudence have been swapped around.[640] Furthermore, he also pointed out the strange composition of Fortitude facing to the left, yet all other virtues facing to the right. As this is a rather unusual arrangement of the figures, the argument is compelling.

It is, however, perhaps possible to take this suggestion further. The similarities between the two monuments expand beyond the virtues. All three effigies are portrayed kneeling at pedestals draped with a cloth (Fig. 149). Their faces are strikingly plain and without individual features. The lady and the cardinal both also wear rings on the same fingers. A further unusual similarity is the chain of horizontal lilies, which decorates the top bar on both sepulchres. The most striking feature in both monuments, however, is the head of St John the Baptist set within a wreath on the back wall of the *enfeu* (Fig. 148). Although the effigy and the position of the saint's head on the side closer to the altar differ between the two monuments, the reason seems to be proximity to the altar alone. Otherwise the composition appears mirrored entirely. Furthermore, the candelabra and in particular the shape of the leaves on the rosette of foliage on the side of the columns on the Hémard tomb strongly resembles the leaves surrounding the capitals at Folleville. The little flower petals also bear the same characteristics. Therefore it seems most likely that the sculptor of the Amiens monument was the same as the sculptor of the monument of François de Lannoy at Folleville.

There are further hypotheses to be drawn from the analysis of these monuments. Both tombs employ religious gestures and imagery, such as effigies kneeling in prayer, psalms and the head of St John the Baptist, with a small selection of classical imagery, most notably virtues and medallions. In contrast to previous 'antique' tombs featuring a multitude of saints and apostles, such as the tombs of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany at

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[639] Debrie, 'Monuments', pp. 426- 428. Durand, 'Lannoy', p. 403, remarks on differences in material.
[640] Michelin, *Folleville*, p. 140.

Saint-Denis, Imbert de Bastarnay at Montrésor, or the dukes of Orléans also at Saint-Denis, there is only one potent reference to the local veneration of St John the Baptist's relic at Amiens.[641] Calling upon an important saint's relic in the area, the patrons clearly wished to be commemorated as Catholics. However, the classical imagery on these two more religious monuments remains limited to virtues and other non-offensive classical iconography, rather than depicting the effigies of the deceased in the guise of ancient Romans as on the monuments of du Bellay and Chabot. Nevertheless, even these devout patrons chose to include classical imagery on their monuments.

In contrast, the classical monuments of du Bellay and Admiral Chabot omit any religious references in favour of representing the deceased once again as ancient military leaders worthy of immortal fame. Fully adhering to the classical theme, not even the effigies are represented in gestures of supplication, as they casually rest on their sides in classical poses, copying ancient Roman heroes, nor are the supporting figures religious. Instead they are putti, *genii* and Fortune in Chabot's case and Roman *Atlantae* on du Bellay's sepulchre, which are all secular figures. The absence of saints and apostles on these two humanist monuments suggest that, while classical imagery such as virtues were almost universally accepted, for some individuals it was deemed more significant to display their affinity for humanist learning and to commemorate their quasi-ancient military fame than being portrayed as devout or appealing to saintly interveners on their funerary monuments.

Although the four monuments discussed in this chapter initially appeared to only show common artistic elements in the form of a pair of kneeling and a pair of recumbent effigies, three key themes arise from these sepulchres. The most obvious is a tendency to employ classical imagery; followed by a decrease in religious imagery, most notably saints, and a dominance of French as opposed to previously prevalent Italian sculptors. While the increase of classical imagery and French sculptors have already been discussed, the decrease of saintly iconography before the iconoclasm of the Wars of Religion is more difficult to explain. Out of my database of thirty tombs commissioned by Catholic patrons between 1540 and 1590, the only tombs to still use saints as part of the iconography are the two discussed above.[642] It is not immediately obvious why saints and apostles increasingly lost their significance on funerary

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[641] See chapters 2 and 3.
[642] See Appendix A. There are some angels and kneeling effigies, yet there are no saints. The Gaignières drawings support this absence of saintly iconography. The only exceptions are the two heads of St John the Baptist on the tombs discussed above.

sculpture in the 1540s, the majority of monuments featuring virtues or other classical designs instead.[643] Iconographic orientation within art towards the classical world with its emphasis on personal immortal fame may be one decisive contributing factor.

It could even be argued, perhaps, that the strongest indicator of the impact of the Reformation on tomb sculpture was the religious beliefs of some of the most famous sculptors of the period. As has been suggested, the religion of famous sculptors such as Jean Goujon and Pierre Bontemps impeded their career at court after the massacre of Protestants at Vassy in 1562.[644] Hence one reason for the decline of religious iconography on tombs may be due to the sculptor's individual beliefs. However, the sculptor's beliefs undermine the crucial significance of the patron and his beliefs in the creation of his commission. Tombs were after all designed to eternally commemorate the legacy of the deceased, and their iconography embodied the patron's last public statement. Perhaps it is thus more conclusive to suggest that the declining appeal to portray saints and similar unambiguous imagery on new tombs points towards religious confusion regarding their spiritual powers rather than a preventative measure against damage to the monument. While iconoclasm had started to occur occasionally, it was only outlawed in 1561, suggesting that it had not previously become a major problem and hence presumably was not a key contributor to the disappearance of saints on funerary monuments.[645]

Furthermore, three out of four monuments discussed in this chapter show evidence of religious tensions, most notably through the omission of religious imagery and correct heraldry. Only in two out of four cases, that is to say for Cardinal Hémard and the Folleville tomb, is it possible to conclude with certainty that the deceased were practising Catholics on the basis of their occupation and their iconography. The head of St John the Baptist, Marie d'Hangest's rosary and the omission of the Protestant side of the family on her coat-of-arms equally indicate that she and her husband were devout Catholics. On the other two monuments, the question of religion is omitted entirely, which may in turn express controversies regarding religious matters either by the deceased or the sculptor of his monument. Hence in at least one case, that is to say in the heraldry on Marie's tomb, this alteration may indicate that religious tensions were present in the mid-sixteenth century, and that they at times also began to find their way

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[643] See also 'Gaignières'.

[644] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 80; Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 224, 301-302.

[645] William Monter, *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parlements* (Harvard, 1999), p. 215. Heller, *Iron and Blood*, p. 16.

into funerary sculpture. Therefore the reluctance to employ, and thus openly to commit to, unambiguous religious emblems on tombs in times of religious pluralism may indicate the growing impact of the Reformation on French society which started to manifest itself even among Catholic patrons in France as early as the mid-sixteenth century.[646] Similar trends have been discussed more recently by scholars with regard to French Renaissance literature, which suggested that 'cosmopolitan' ideas of toleration were more widespread in mid-sixteenth century France than has been traditionally assumed.[647] Nevertheless, the observations in this chapter are based on four monuments only and more work is needed to confirm these hypotheses. Thus the findings should not be overestimated or generalised albeit the iconographic changes appear to reflect a degree of religious change and tension. The next chapter therefore endeavours to explore if the disruption of the Wars of Religion impacted on funerary sculpture.

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[646] Mack Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 4, quotes a passage from Georges Livet, *Les guerres de religion* (Paris, 1977), p. 122, for the traditional view providing a counter position to the argument above. Recent scholarship has started to revise this attitude, although the full extent of these finds is not yet fully established, see Mack Holt, 'Religious violence in sixteenth-century France', in Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts, and Andrew Spicer, (eds.), *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and early modern France* (Past and Present supplement 7), (Oxford, 2012), p. 73, n. 62.

[647] Anna Carlstedt, 'Early modern cosmopolitanism: towards a poetics of toleration?', presented at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, 25-28 October 2012. See Barbara B. Diefendorf, 'Waging peace: memory, identity and the Edict of Nantes', in Kathleen Perry Long (ed.), *Religious Differences in France: Past and Present* (Kirksville, 2006), p. 33, on the fluctuating nature of confessional identity in the mid-sixteenth century.

Chapter 6:

The Wars of Religion in French tomb sculpture, 1562-1589

The massacre of a Protestant congregation at Vassy by the duke of Guise and his men on 1 March 1562 began a series of intense social, political and religious strains most commonly known as the Wars of Religion (1562-c. 1589).[648] For the next quarter of a century, Catholic and Protestant factions raided the country, motivated by religion, social improvement and above all, noble power. This period was in many ways one of the most influential, and simultaneously one of the most devastating, periods for the study of French tomb sculpture.[649] On the one hand, the resulting religiously motivated violence has proven detrimental to the survival of funerary sculpture of the sixteenth and previous centuries.[650] In consequence, only a small selection of monuments survives intact or barely damaged. Huguenots and other members of the Protestant congregation commonly targeted sepulchres to eradicate what they perceived as idol worship, particularly the figures of saints on monuments, such as on the tomb of Jacques d'Estouteville or the Gouffier family mausoleum at Oiron.[651] Recent literature has suggested that the theft and subsequent sale of religious and high status objects was also particularly used to raise money for Huguenot armies.[652] By destroying the objects

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[648] It is not entirely clear who triggered the attack. Apparently the Huguenots threw stones at Guise and his men while engaging in a forbidden gathering, which the duke answered by opening fire despite being under orders to leave private congregations in peace. The immediate result was thirty dead and at least three times as many wounded. For a short summary of the events at Vassy, see Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 301-302. In the longer consequence, failure to call the duke to justice triggered a Protestant rebellion under Condé, which instigated the first War of Religion. After short episodes of peace, several more wars followed until the accession of Henri IV. The literature on the Wars of Religion is vast and includes Natalie Zemon Davies, 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France', *Past and Present*, 59 (1973), pp. 59-91. See Judith Pollmann, 'Countering the Reformation in France and the Netherlands: clerical leadership and Catholic violence, 1560-1585', *Past and Present*, 190 (2006), pp. 83-120, for a good summary of the main literature since then. See Baumgartner, *France;* and J. H. M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis* (Cambridge, 1975) for more traditional views. For a good summary of recent and more critical literature, see Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts and Andrew Spicer (eds.) *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and early modern France* (Past and Present supplement 7), (Oxford, 2012).

[649] See Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 146-152, on the impact of the Wars of Religion on sculpture.

[650] Baumgartner, *France*, p. 245-246. Salmon, *Society,* p. 137. Iconoclasm was made a capital offence at Easter 1561, indicating that it had become a problem, see Monter, *Judging*, p. 215; Barbara B. Diefendorf, 'Rites of repair: restoring community in the French religious wars', in Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts and Andrew Spicer (eds.) *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and early modern France* (Past and Present supplement 7), (Oxford, 2012), pp. 39; 41-42.

[651] Garrisson, *Sixteenth-century France*, p. 296. See chapters 1, 3 and 4 for examples.

[652] Philippa Woodcock, 'The fortified parish church: pacification, protection or provocation during the French Wars of Religion?', *French History*, 24 (2010), pp. 538-540; and Andrew Spicer, '(Re-)building the sacred landscape: Orléans, 1560-1610', *French History*, 21 (2007), pp. 253-254.

of their victims' family memory and pride, mutilations of coats-of-arms and effigies also served as attacks on Catholic lords in the present and in the afterlife.[653] Thus separated from the care by the living and hope of reaching salvation sooner, the dead suffered the ultimate punishment.

It is, however, equally important to remember that tomb construction did not come to a halt completely during the later sixteenth century. A small but significant number of new monuments were constructed between the 1560s and 1580s. The two best-known repositories of surviving French funerary sculpture, the Musée du Louvre and the royal mausoleum at Saint-Denis, contain a small but fine selection of prominent monuments from this period. They include some of the most renowned works of art created in the sixteenth century, such as the two monuments of Henri II (1547-1559) and his wife Catherine de Medici (1519-1589) in Saint-Denis (Figs. 150-151), or the tomb of Valentine Balbiani (1518-1572) and the monument of her husband René de Birague (c. 1507-1583), both preserved at the Louvre (Fig. 152). Another seven monuments constructed during the Wars of Religion survive outside of the Louvre or Saint-Denis.[654]

Although few tombs survive, the remaining new commissions which have survived in prominent locations are generally very high status objects. Out of ten surviving monuments commissioned, begun or completed between 1562 and 1589, eight belonged to either an aristocrat or to a member of the royal family. The clergy are represented by three specimens, while the lesser nobility is entirely absent from this sample.[655] The high-status nature of the surviving objects may in part be explained by Blunt's observation that the Wars of Religion were as much a power struggle as a quest for religious truth, as rival dynasties at court supported either the Catholic or the Protestant factions.[656] Nevertheless it is to be investigated in what ways, if any, funerary sculpture mirrored or perhaps even contributed to this struggle.

Out of the surviving sepulchres, the trend of 'activating' the effigy continued. Five monuments feature kneeling effigies, one is represented lying on her side, three consist of *transi* effigies or bas reliefs as part of the construction, one effigy has

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[653] Diefendorf, 'Rites of repair', p. 33. Solignat, 'Funérailles', pp. 120-121.
[654] See Appendix A.
[655] Although the latter are absent from this sample, it does not mean that they did not exist. See Solignat, 'Funérailles', p. 120, for examples for the reconstruction of tombs destroyed in the Wars of Religion, such as the commissions by Jean de Dienne in 1579 and Robert de Saint-Géry in 1585.
[656] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 133. Many Bourbons, for instance, supported Protestantism while their Guise rivals supported Catholicism.

disappeared completely and two effigies are represented as traditional *gisants*. Out of these monuments, two are so-called double-deckers, which describe the effigies of the deceased represented as *au vif* and as *transi* on the same monument.[657] The remaining monument is a wall-mounted tomb slab and does not feature an effigy, although it also incorporates macabre elements. Hence the two emerging themes artistically are the prevalence of *transi* effigies and the active poses. In order to explore these phenomena, this chapter analyses three artistically diverse monuments in detail: the renowned double-decker monument of Valentine Balbiani at the Louvre and the sepulchre of Henri II's famous mistress Diane de Poitiers (1499-1566) at Anet with a kneeling effigy introduce two significant Renaissance ladies, while the *transi* tomb of Claude Gouffier (d. 1570) represents the men. They represent three common types of funerary monuments in this period: a double-decker, a cadaver tomb and a sepulchre with a kneeling effigy.

Constrasting life and afterlife: Valentine Balbiani (1518-1572)

The tomb of Valentine Balbiani, today preserved at the Louvre, shows how patrons artistically reinterpreted the theory of resurrection through classical representations of the effigy *au vif* and *de la mort*.[658] One of the most significant monuments of the later sixteenth century, the originally white and black marble monument by Germain Pilon constitutes a significant artistic achievement in terms of its extraordinary craftsmanship and its innovative design.[659] The tomb was commissioned by the Milanese Francophile nobleman René de Birague, Valentine's husband, who became chancellor of France between 1573 and 1578. Thanks to her marital connections, her funerary monument

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[657] The monuments in question are the tomb of Valentine Balbiani which combines an effigy lying on her side with a *transi* relief underneath; and the monument of Henri II and Catherine de Medici at Saint-Denis, which features kneeling effigies of the couple on top and two *transi* underneath the vault.

[658] As this is considered to be one of the most significant sepulchres of the sixteenth century, there is a vast literature. Beaulieu, *Louvre*, pp. 134-136, proves a useful starting point. Panofsky, *Tomb*, p. 81. Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, pp. 384-388, writes a good section on the construction of the monument and its relationship with René de Birague's tomb in the same chapel. He also includes a colour image of the Gaignières drawing of the monument. For more detailed and recent information on the monument's construction, see Catherine Grodecki, 'Les marches de Germain Pilon pour la chapelle funéraire et les tombeaux des Birague en l'église Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers', *Revue de l'art*, 54 (1981), pp. 61-78. Chastel, *French art*, pp. 208, 211, 214, comments on its artistic quality.

[659] See in particular Henri Zerner, 'Germain Pilon et la tradition de la sculpture funéraire française', in Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Germain Pilon et les sculpteurs français de la Renaissance: Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le service culturel les 26 et 27 octobre 1990* (Paris, 1993), pp. 195-211, esp. pp. 206-208. See the same volume for detailed studies of Pilon's work.

was originally erected in the Birague chapel of Saint-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers in Paris along with the tomb for her husband by the same sculptor.[660] Along with the other monuments erected in this church, Valentine's sepulchre was moved to Saint-Louis on 16 September 1783 as part of a general relocation of tombs which had been decided since 1767, while the church itself was demolished soon thereafter.[661] The sepulchre was again moved in the course of the Revolution to the *Musée des Monuments français* between 8 and 26 *Floréal* of the year two of the revolutionary calendar, that is to say between 27 April and 15 May 1793.[662] It arrived at the Louvre in 1816, although some of its constituents were mistakenly attributed to the tomb of her husband, René de Birague.[663] Further elements were recovered by Courajod and others in the course of the century and by 1902 the last part, the angel's head, had entered the collection at the Louvre.[664]

As a result of the repeated removal of the monument, today only the white marble effigy with her companion dog, a *transi* figure of the deceased in bas-relief, two trophies, two coats-of-arms and the putti remain preserved at the Louvre (Fig. 153). The effigy, once again a close likeness, is represented on a mattress-like slab decorated with clover leaves and other foliage.[665] The effigy itself is approximately life-sized and represented as a young lady in her prime.[666] She is embodied casually lying on her left side, reading a book (Fig. 156). Her left arm supports her body and while resting her elbow on two cushions, her arm is bent upwards to enable her hand to touch her left temple pensively while her gaze is trapped on the pages. Her right arm is draped casually over her right leg. Her right hand holds open the pages of a small book, splitting its right hand side pages neatly into two halves between thumb and forefinger.

Although Valentine's pose is casual, her clothing and the attribute of the book suggest that the effigy represents a high status noblewoman. Underneath a pleated hood, curly hair is allowed to show to either side of her face. Valentine is represented wearing

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[660] Raunié, *Épitaphier*, pp. 261-273, gives a brief history of the church. He describes the chapel as Chapelle de Saint-René, perhaps in reference to Birague's Christian name. Today it is known as the Birague chapel.

[661] Ibid., pp. 272-273.

[662] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 136.

[663] Ibid.

[664] Ibid.

[665] A number of large, vertical cracks in the slab presumably derive from its transfer to the *Musée des Monuments français* where it was reassembled stone by stone. Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 136.

[666] Ibid., p. 134, gives 1.62m as the length of the effigy, which must have been close to Valentine's actual height.

a long, elaborate dress. Her tight-fitting bodice is adorned with a multitude of buttons down the centre and on the equally tight-fitting sleeves. The bodice is unusually high-collared, while it reveals a prominent ruff around her neck. The skirt of her dress is equally long and covered in a damask-like pattern as it drapes modestly around her bent knees above her ankles. A small lapdog places his left paw onto her leg in a gesture of devotion and gazes at his mistress attentively. To either side of the slab, a curly-haired, cloaked putto holds a torch or a trumpet upside-down (Figs. 154-155). The right putto misses a number of his toes.

However, this monument is unusual in that it displays not one, but two representations of the deceased.[667] Underneath the effigy, there is a second depiction of the now aged deceased as a shrouded *transi* in bas-relief (Fig. 157). Originally, it was vertically mounted on the outside of the tomb chest, as if to signify the corpse within. The final elements are two Roman-style trophies to the left and right of the bottom end of the composition as it is preserved at the Louvre.

Above the effigy, two oval-shaped coats-of-arms remain. The heraldry on the left depicts her husband's coat-of-arms.[668] The heraldry on the right shows her own and her husband's coat-of-arms impaled.[669] As the couple was buried in the same chapel yet in two separate monuments, presumably to honour René's entry into orders after his wife's death, the coat-of-arms would have nevertheless created a strong visual link between the spouses.

The Gaignières drawings, however, show this monument's previous appearance as an impressive *enfeu* constructed in bronze and black and white marble (Fig. 158).[670] Provided that the drawings are to scale, using the measurements of the recumbent effigy as a guide the monument would have been just over 4.8 metres in height and slightly over two metres wide.[671] A tasselled curtain held in the middle by a bronze angel placed in front of a black and white archway and by two bronze angels on the sides forms the architectural backdrop of the tomb. The remaining section of the curtain naturally falls behind the base of the monument. At the top the curtain folds over slightly to reveal the

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[667] Other double-deckers are the monument of Louis de Brézé at Rouen and the royal tombs of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, Francis I and Claude of France, and Henri II and Catherine de Medici, all at Saint-Denis.

[668] Argent, three fesse embattled gules, charged with five trefoils or.

[669] Raunié, *Épitaphier*, p. 297, describes her coat-of-arms as gules, a dolphin argent crowned or.

[670] Pilon received the incredible sum of 8,700 livres for his work, although this also covered the cost of the material. See Grodecki, 'Birague', p. 68.

[671] Based on measurements given in Beaulieu, *Louvre*, p. 134.

heraldry of her husband with its correct polychromy. The trefoils point upwards since the curtain is folded over. Unfortunately, the polychromy recorded in the drawings has been entirely lost from the surviving fragments of the tomb.

In front of the curtain, there are three buildings resembling ancient temples. The largest of the three is the building in the middle. It features a gabled roof upon which two putti sit sideways. They face each other and each holds a palm branch in his hand. Between them, a skull rests upon a pedestal on the top of the roof, surmounted by a black cross. Underneath the gable, there are three putti-heads amid wings and foliage. One of the putti on the side of the gable has been preserved. Underneath the gable, the building incorporates a large, black marble inscription panel set within a white marble frame. Although the panel itself has been lost, the wording of the epitaph has been recorded.[672] Golden Roman capital letters once read:

> *D.O.M.S. – VALENTINÆ BALBIANÆ, MATRONÆ CLARISSIMÆ ATQUE ORNATISSIMÆ, CUIUS ANIMA SALUTE ET QUIETE FRUITUR SEMPITERNA, CORPUS RENATUS// BIRAGUS, FRANCIÆ CANCELLARIUS, CONJUX PIENTISSIMUS, UXORIS BENE MERITÆ ML-MOR* [sic], *HIC CONDI CURAVIT.*
>
> *OBIIT ANNO CHRISTIANÆ SALUTIS M D LXXII, XIII KALENDAS JANUARII. VIXIT ANNOS LIV, MENSES VI, DIES XX.*[673]

Above and below the panel, there were two white marble figures set within a black marble half-moon arch connecting them to the inscription panel. Unfortunately, the drawing is too schematic to give further details as to their accurate appearance, although it appears that they were hybrids once emerging from foliage. At the base of the central building, two trophies completed the ancient-style setting. To the left and right, the central temple connected to two further buildings via two set-back columns with mansard roofs. The outside buildings are practically identical in their architecture, although not in their contents. Both consist of two overlaid black marble mansard roofs with white marble piping. A white marble skull sits prominently at the centre of each roof, providing a strong contrast to the background. Each skull is in turn surmounted by the oval-shaped coat-of-arms discussed above, the one on the left depicting René de Birague's heraldry and the one on the right depicting Valentine Balbiani's married coat-

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[672] Raunié, *Épitaphier*, pp. 296-297.
[673] '[Here lies] the body of Valentine Balbiani, brightest and most beautiful of matrons, whose soul may enjoy everlasting health and rest. Her most faithful husband René Birague, chancellor of France, created this monument [to commemorate] the good merits of his wife. Her obit is in the year of Our Lord the Saviour 1572, the thirteenth day of January. She lived 54 years, six months and twenty days.'

of-arms. Just underneath the roof and the skulls, there is a bronze inscription panel on both buildings. The black marble interior of the buildings with a horizontal white marble moulding then opens up to create the impression of a white marble doorframe surmounted by a putto each and opening up into a white marble archway. Underneath each archway, a winged angel stands on an inscribed white marble pedestal in front of a white marble base. It seems from the drawing that these angels were constructed from bronze rather than marble. To either side of the base of the side buildings, there were two bas-reliefs of dancing figures amid foliage.

The three buildings are set upon a black marble slab surmounting a large white marble base providing the backdrop for the tomb chest upon which the effigy is situated. The recumbent effigy once lay on top of a black marble trapezoidal pedestal. It rested upon a further white marble trapezoid-shape which displayed the trophies which survive in the Louvre to the left and ride sides of the base. A third black-marble trapeze with white marble edges formed the basis of the construction supporting the recumbent effigy. Placed in front of the three trapezes, which are scaled down from the top to the bottom, there was a rectangular white marble tomb chest displaying the *transi* effigy in bas relief. It in turn rested upon a smaller rectangular white marble construction displaying three panels with putti-heads divided by two slightly longer panels between them. Finally, the base of the monument consisted of three layers of black marble pedestals above three black marble pedestals edged with white. The outside sections of the basis stretch to the full width of the monument, while the front-most section of the base is only as wide as the tomb chest bearing the *transi* effigy.

There were once a number of inscriptions underneath the skulls and underneath the *genii*. Although the inscription panels have now been lost, their wording has been recorded, and is also legible on the Gaignières drawing of the monument.[674] On the left side, the inscriptions read 'NON MORTUA EST QUÆ IN CŒLIS VIVIT' and 'QUOD BENE QUIS AMAT VIX OBLIVISCITUR'.[675] On the right side, the words read the same phrases repeated in French 'MORTE N'EST POINT QUI VIT AU CIEL' above the figure and 'QUI BIEN AIME TARD OUBLIE' below the niche.[676]

The construction of the monument began with a contract between the deceased's husband René de Birague and Germain Pilon shortly after his wife's unexpected death.

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[674] Raunié, *Épitaphier*, p. 296. None of the inscriptions are recorded by Beaulieu.
[675] Ibid. 'She is not dead who lives in heaven' and 'who loves well is hardly forgotten'.
[676] Ibid.

Two contracts survive from 1573 and 1574 which demonstrate the patron's initiative in the commission of the monument.[677] The first contract did not specify a recumbent effigy, which was only included in the contract from 7 April 1574.[678] Its wording describes the position of the recumbent effigy precisely as she appeared in the drawings and in the Louvre:

> *lad. dame, elle sera de marbre blanc, de la grandeur du naturel, à demy couchée et appuyée, aornée d'acoustrement de robbe de velours figuré, l'ung de ses bras sur deux orilliers qui seront faictz en forme de broderie et drap d'or et de l'aultre main tiendra ung livre ouvert faisant action de regarder dedans; et sera auprès d'elle ung petit chien de marbre faict au plus près du naturel que faire se pourra.*[679]

The contract shows an extraordinary level of detail in the commission of this monument. It is most striking that the contract stresses the need for the effigy's natural appearance, in her manner and demeanour, as well as in her attributes. Her position and her gestures are to be created as natural as possible, down to the detail of her manner of reading her book and the fabric of her clothing. Even the little dog should be created as lifelike as possible, which suggests that the patron chose the recumbent effigy to create a deliberate tableau of vivacity and life. Furthermore, the specification of the richness of the appearance of the material is equally significant, as the contract specifies some of the finest cloths available, such as velours and cloth of gold. This suggests that rather than leaving the lady's dress to chance, the commissioner deliberately chose some of the richest materials available to emphasise his late wife's and associated with it, his own, superior status. In turn, the complexity and depth of the instructions to the sculptor demonstrates how precisely patrons specified their wishes regarding sumptuary expenses or status.

As the undoubted work of one of the most famous sculptors of the mid- to late sixteenth century, the monument of Valentine Balbiani is thus most frequently mentioned in the context of Pilon's sculptures. Blunt has pointed out the characteristic carving of the recumbent effigy's hair which can also be seen on many of Pilon's other works, such as on the ladies of the almost contemporary monument for the heart of

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[677] See Grodecki, 'Birague', pp, 74-75, for transcriptions of the contracts.

[678] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 385.

[679] Grodecki, 'Birague', p. 75. '[T]he said lady to be constructed in white marble, life-sized, half-resting and half-leaning, adorned with an outfit imitating velours robes, one of her arms on two cushions which shall be made to imitate embroidery and gold cloth and the other hand to hold a book open in the manner of gazing into it; and close to her there shall be a small dog made of marble which shall be made as lifelike as possible.'

Henri II from 1561-1562, today preserved at the Louvre.[680] Blunt has further remarked that Pilon's great artistic success lies not only in his extraordinary technical ability, but also in his ability to hide the more gruesome details of his representations of death in favour of 'complete relaxation' of the body and soul.[681] He correctly points out that Valentine's tomb differs from his creation of the *transis* of monuments such as the royal sepulchre of Henri II and Catherine de Medici at Saint-Denis by providing a more naturalistic and less idealised depiction of the corpses.[682] It may be a mere coincidence that Pilon's earlier works portray a serenity not found in his later effigies or it may have been his patron's choice to convey a certain image. Considering the contract's high specification of the level of detail on the effigy represented *au vif*, it would not be surprising if the detail on the *transi* was equally deliberately chosen by the patron.

Nevertheless, the choice of two thematically and technically opposed effigies on this monument requires interpretation.[683] The two side inscriptions repeat the *memento mori* theme already introduced by the two representations of the effigy as a living creature enjoying her book and the companionship of her adoring dog, while she is equally depicted as a lifeless, shrouded and slowly decaying corpse underneath the tomb slab. Zerner remarked that the pose appears to be taken out of the 'intimate' life of the lady.[684] This drastic change in the representations of the effigy must be deliberate and it works well in conjunction with the rest of the monument as a contrast between life and mortality.[685] The depiction of skulls also serve the same purpose of contrasting death and everlasting life, as indicated by the two angels reaching towards a cross and a skull above the central roof. As suggested by the inscriptions flanking the scene, however, the purpose is not merely to point towards the mortality of man as visually depicted by the *transi* represented on its *tumba* to simulate the corpse inside the chest. Instead, the second phrase on the flanking inscriptions gives the key to the double depiction of the effigy, which suggests that although the mortal body is decaying in its grave, the soul of the deceased lives on in heaven as merry as she was during her

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[680] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 129, 147; and Beaulieu, *Louvre*, pp. 126-128.
[681] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 148.
[682] Ibid., pp. 147-148; 150.
[683] Beaulieu, *Louvre,* pp. 134-136, refrains from interpreting the monument, once again the result of its isolation from its context.
[684] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 387.
[685] Panofsky, *Tomb*, pp. 63-66.

lifetime.[686] The dog's gesture of affection here appears to take on the purpose of the loving and equally beloved creature, as well as the more traditional role of matrimonial fidelity of the lady to her husband. It hence echoes the second part of the phrase inscribed in the side panels, that she who loves is hardly forgotten, thus hinting at Valentine's commemoration beyond death through her memorial. The curtain above supports this interpretation of contrast and the deliberate incorporation of visual references to the side inscriptions. The curtain is covered in a multitude of stars and hence visually simulates heaven. As this visual representation of heaven creates the background to the effigial representation of the deceased as a living person, it thus symbolises Valentine Balbiani's enjoyment of her heavenly existence among the angels as well as her commemoration through her funerary monument. Rather than displaying despair at her loss or his wife enduring purgatory, this representation portrays an understanding of religion and the afterlife which supersedes more traditional double-deckers.[687]

The monument of Valentine Balbiani commissioned by her husband Cardinal Birague clearly fulfils a religious and commemorative function. The angels and the cross display a strong sense of piety, as do the epitaphs. The emphasis on the lady's virtuosity in the epitaph could be interpreted as helping her through purgatory, while equally advocating her virtues to the heavenly judge. Nevertheless, visual imagery which could be unambiguously identified as Catholic such as saints or rosaries is curiously absent, the patron choosing a classical and a traditional pose instead. Rather than presenting the effigy as a figure kneeling in prayer, the patron chose to display his wife's effigies as a combination of *transi* and *au vif* figures. Visually interpreting the Christian story of resurrection, Valentine's sepulchre suggests that while the body will undoubtedly decay, the deceased's soul will live on in heaven as merrily as she was during her mortal lifetime, commemorated for eternity through her tomb monument. Securing immortality of a different kind, that is to say immortality of the soul rather than the name, the choice of a classical pose for a female effigy thus merges the religious message of resurrection with the classical concept of immortal fame in an ideal manner.

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[686] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, p. 174, has described the portrayal of death on this monument as little more than a 'deception'.

[687] The double-decker of Francis I and Claude of France displays the praying couple above the tomb and as *transi* below the vault, suggesting traditional piety during one's lifetime leads to salvation of the soul while the mortal body decays.

<u>Salvation and personal fame: the tomb of Diane of Poitiers (1499-1566)</u>

Representing one of the most influential females of the French Renaissance court, the tomb of Diane of Poitiers at Anet equally reinterpreted the Christian concept of the salvation of the soul in the classical depiction of her personal fame.[688] Also known as the widow of the Seneschal of Normandy Louis de Brézé who died in 1531, Diane of Poitiers is most famous as the long-term mistress of Henri II.[689] Although she was significantly older than her royal protégé, they soon embarked on a relationship which went well beyond the educational duties she had been entrusted with by Henri's father Francis I.[690] She gained considerable influence at court until Henri's fatal injury at a tourney on 10 July 1559.[691]

The legacy of Diane of Poitiers describes an extraordinary lady of power and beauty. In terms of her political influence, she entered into long-term rivalry with the Queen Catherine de Medici and often undermined the latter's influence at court and particularly over the king himself.[692] The advancement of Diane's own family, such as the title of marshal of France for the husband of her daughter, and the king's gift of Chenonceau to her as opposed to Catherine, equally describe the lady's power.[693] Sixteenth-century legends ascribed Diane almost mystical powers regarding her extraordinary beauty well into old age, and associated with it, her power to seduce the king. One of these legends suggests that she drank gold to preserve her youth and good

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[688] As one of the most influential women of the French Renaissance, Diane of Poitiers has captured the fascination of many. She is mentioned in most historical and art historical studies, although once again there is little scholarly material exclusively devoted to her. See Françoise Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers et le Mythe de Dianne* (Paris, 1963).

[689] Diane of Poitiers constructed an impressive funerary monument for her husband in the cathedral of Rouen. It features two effigies of the deceased *au vif* and as *transi*. Unlike other monuments, however, it is the only sepulchre to incorporate the *au vif* representation as armoured effigy mounted on horseback.

[690] Garrisson, *Sixteenth-century France*, p. 135. Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 203.

[691] Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 202, 245.

[692] See Sheila ffolliott, 'Casting a Rival into the Shade: Catherine de' Medici and Diane de Poitiers', *Art Journal,* 48 (1989), pp. 138-143, on the visual implications of the rivalry between the two ladies. The most prominent manifestation of their rivalry is the concoction of the imagery of ancient female deities, that is to say the Diana imagery for Diane and the Artemisia imagery for Catherine. This theme has now been developed quite prominently by scholars such as Marian Rothstein, Sheila ffolliott and others.

[693] Catherine had previously requested Chenonceau for herself, yet her husband gave it to his mistress while only granting her Chaumont. After his death, however, Catherine initiated an exchange of castles which enabled her to take possession of Chenonceau for herself in 1560 while Diane received Chaumont. See Knecht, *Renaissance France*, pp. 205-206, 278, 435, on Diane's influence at court.

features; a suggestion which has since been confirmed by scientists who chemically and DNA-analysed her remains.[694]

Her funerary monument in the castle chapel of Anet is equally in many ways one of the most iconic and yet one of the most complex of the period (Figs. 159-160). The monument itself was fully destroyed during the French Revolution. It has only been restored and re-erected in the chapel in very recent years.[695] Although the reconstructed tomb is faithful to the original drawing in many ways, there are some significant additions, omissions and replacements.[696] Hence we will focus on the drawing wherever possible.

In the drawing, the white marble effigy of Diane is shown kneeling in prayer on a tasselled cushion in front of a prie-dieu with an open book, perhaps a book of hours (Fig. 159). Diane is represented in almost demure dress. The white marble effigy wears a plain hood and a ducal coronet. The hood is similar to the one shown in the *Portrait of Diane of Poitiers as an old woman* by François Clouet from c. 1555.[697] A long cloak drapes around her shoulders and ends in folds over her bent legs. Her bodice, adorned with jewels and pearls, is the only decoration apart from a narrow pearl necklace. Her skirt is undecorated and falls to the floor in elegantly draped folds. At the back of the pedestal facing away from the effigy, two sitting angels flank a coat-of-arms surmounted by a ducal coronet.[698]

The tomb chest underneath the effigy is constructed from black marble. In the drawing, the short side underneath the effigy displays Diane's married coat-of-arms underneath a ducal coronet surrounded by a knotted cordelière, with the heraldry of her late husband Louis de Brézé on the heraldic right and the quartered heraldic left depicting the combined coats-of-arms of Diane's parents. Two inscriptions in gold letters today decorate the lateral sides of the *tumba* while only the southern one is

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[694] Seward, *Prince*, p. 231. See François Feuilleux, 'Après 215 ans d'attente, Diane de Poitiers a retrouvé son tombeau', Agence France-Presse(AFP), 29 May 2010, for confirmation of this theory, [http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jiPWXpiETc33TyPer-POzlNkC1VA], viewed 16 May 2013.

[695] The tomb was re-erected in the church with great pomp and ceremony on 29 May 2010. See Feilleux, 'Diane de Poitiers', 29 May 2010.

[696] For instance, Diane's coronet was omitted in the reconstruction. A number of interlinked D and H on the *tumba* which were not in the drawing now pay tribute to the alliance of King Henri and his mistress. These initials are elsewhere found most prominently on the façade of Anet, on the portal and in many other locations throughout the château. Finally, the prie-dieu's shape was also changed from angular, draped with a cloth, to curved.

[697] Today at the *Musée de Condé*, printed in Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 207.

[698] Unfortunately, the coat-of-arms at the back faces away from the viewer in the drawing and is thus impossible to discern. Presumably it also showed Diane's married coat-of-arms.

visible in the drawing. It began with D. O. M. D. rather than the standard opening to an epitaph, D. O. M. S. The south side in the reconstruction reads ÆTERNÆ Q MEMORIÆ in the headline, followed by:

> *DIANÆ PICTONEN DVCIS VALETINÆ LODOICI/ BRESÆI SVMI APVD NORMANOS/ SENESCALLI VXORIS PIETAT AC RELIGIONIS/ INTEGRITATE LAVDABILIS HVIVSQ SACRÆ/ CÆDIS CONDITRICIS CHARISS MATRIS PIETISS/ FIL LUDOICA PRINCIP ILLVSTRIS CLAVD LOTHARÆNI/ DVC AVMALLÆI FRANCISCA ROBERTI MARKIANI/ STRENVISS DVC BVLLIONEN COIVG MŒSTIS S P.P.*[699]

The north side which is on the off-side in the drawing reads, equally in gold letters today: 'HIC TECV MEDITAS PAVLISPER SISTE VIATOR' inside an upside-down drop-shaped incision in the marble. The actual epitaph underneath reads:

> *PROLE OPIBUSQ POTENS GELIDO TAMEN ECCE DIANA/ MARMORE PROTERITVR VERMIBVS ESCA IACENS/ TERRA CADAVER HABET, SED MENS TELLVRE RELICTA/ MORTE NOVANS VITAM REGNA BEATA PETIT/ VIXIT AN. LXVI. MENS III. DIES XVII/*
>
> *OBIIT AN. A CHRISTO NA. M. D. LXVI VI CALEND. MAII.*[700]

The tomb chest ends in two black marble barrel blocks. Placed directly above, the tomb chest appears to rest on two tasselled cushions balancing on the barrels, creating a pronounced cavity underneath the *tumba*. In front of each barrel, the *tumba* rests on two identical white marble busts of harpies on each side. Each taloned harpy wears a crown with an upside-down crescent upon her headband, an attribute typically associated with the ancient deity Minerva.[701]

It is perhaps no coincidence that the funerary monument was erected so close to Diane of Poitier's castle at Anet. The castle itself was given to Diane by her royal lover as a gift and Diane commissioned one of the most sought-after architects of the century,

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[699] The epitaph is heavily abbreviated. 'And in eternal memory of Diana of Poitiers, Duchess of Valentinois, the wife of Louis de Brézé, great seneschal of Normandy, out of piety and religion, [to celebrate/commemorate] the laudable purity and holiness of this deceased patroness, of their most cherished and pious mother, by her mournful daughters Louise, wife of Claude de Lorraine, duke of Aumal, and Françoise, wife of Robert de la Marck, duke of Bouillion.'

[700] 'Stand here with you for a short while, young and mighty traveller, to think. Finally view Diana, set down in cold marble, who will provide fodder for the worms when the earth has her body, but her mind remains on earth, the blessed kingdom to seek the renewal of life in death. She lived 66 years three months and 17 days. Her death day is in the year of Christ's birth / of Nazareth [depending on whether NA. stands for Natum or Nazaretae] 1566 on the 6th day of May.'

[701] See the upside-down crescent on the headband of Diana in *The Drowning of Britomartis*, a scene from the tapestry depicting the Story of Diana, today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 279; and Bardon, *Diane*, pp. 39-40, pl. 1, for the lunary cult of Diana.

Philibert de l'Orme, to create an impressive Renaissance façade and courtyard.[702] Hence the erection of her funerary monument in the chapel of her château at Anet is a symbol of her power in her prime and her ability to command the most renowned architects of the time; yet equally of her downfall after Henri's unexpected death as this was one of the few castles she was allowed to keep.

However, it is perhaps worth noting that the choice of black and white may have been more personal than merely based upon sixteenth-century fashion for sepulchral monuments. Despite being the mistress of the king, Diane tended to wear mourning colours from her husband's death until the end of her life. Some critics have suggested that this may have been due to black being particularly suited to her skin tone and hence showing off her features to the best advantage.[703] Nevertheless, black and white were recognised as her particular colours; as on Henri's fatal last ride, he wore this colour scheme as a tribute to his mistress.[704] It may have therefore also influenced the choice of colours and material on her tomb.

Although this monument undoubtedly constitutes the sepulchre of one of the most significant females at court during the sixteenth century, it has been widely neglected in the literature; presumably, this is due to the fact that it only existed on paper for over two hundred years. Furthermore, at the time of its construction, Diane had already lost most of her power and influence at court due to her lover's early death, and subsequently his wife's advance to power herself as the mother of his successors. Despite these caveats, her sepulchre features some common themes of later sixteenth century funerary art. The monument is clearly a pious artefact, despite the absence of saintly imagery. The effigy is once again represented as the kneeling and praying type as opposed to recumbent. In this sense it echoes the kneeling effigies of the royal double-deckers, such as that of her lover at Saint-Denis, or the tomb of her late husband at Rouen.

Rather than using a *transi* or a double-decker, however, Diane's daughters chose to depict their mother as a natural yet youthful effigy to signify her worldly fame during her lifetime. Instead of the *transi* which one might have expected, the epitaphs take on the function of the cadaver imagery or even of a *memento mori* through their particular wording. While the current southern-side inscription celebrates the lady's piety, the

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[702] Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 72.
[703] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 394.
[704] Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p. 245.

northern side immediately admonitions the viewer to think upon his own fate and the inevitable decay of Diane's mortal remains. It then suggests that Diane's soul has reached salvation, though her body must decay.

This pious message is remarkable in a number of ways. Although it seems to be a pro-Catholic monument as Diane was a Catholic and both her daughters had married into Catholic families, there is a curious absence of Catholic imagery.[705] Instead, the religious focus is on the concept of salvation of the soul despite the decay of the mortal remains. Rather than trusting in the intercessory power of saints, this suggests that the hope of salvation had become the central concept in later sixteenth-century religious thought reflected in tomb sculpture even among prominent Catholic families.[706]

In addition to the pious message, however, the classical concept of fame and the immortality of the name once again feature on this monument. Instead of portraying virtues, the four harpies constitute prime examples of female classical imagery. According to Greek legend, harpies carried the souls of the dead into the underworld, but they also killed those who had roused Zeus's anger. They thus represent a classical funerary element once again linking Diane's fate with the salvation of her soul. Yet perhaps they could equally constitute a bitter message that, despite her power in her lifetime, having merely been the king's mistress she was buried separately from him at her own time of death.

Nevertheless, the use of the classical harpies, traditionally powerful, sometimes vengeful female hybrids, works well in conjunction with the Diana cult Diane of Poitiers created for herself during her lover's lifetime. The artistic cult around her person which Diane created at court is well established and was perhaps enhanced by the instability of her political position as mistress, not wife, to the king.[707] As one of the chief patronesses at court of significant and long-lasting projects of art, her most important commissions include the creation of the Renaissance château at Anet, as well as a number of sculptures today preserved at the Louvre. The sculpture of Diana with a stag at the Louvre is one of the most famous.[708] This prominent part of a former fountain depicts the goddess nude, holding a bow in her outstretched left hand and

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[705] Both were from Diane's marriage, as she did not have children with Henri. Françoise married Robert de la Marck and Louise married Claude of Lorraine, see ffolliott, 'Shade', p. 143, n. 24.
[706] See Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 182-181, on the concept of salvation for *transis*.
[707] See Bardon, *Diane*.
[708] See Beaulieu, *Louvre*, pp. 96-99, for information on this sculpture. Traditionally attributed to Goujon, recent scholars have proposed an anonymous sculptor instead. See Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 394.

gently embracing the neck of a stag with the other. Two dogs surround the scene which is mounted upon an elaborate pedestal decorated most prominently with the initials D and H for Diane and Henri.[709] The same imagery employing a stag and two hunting dogs is also found above the entrance portal to Diane's château at Anet. Furthermore, a series of paintings of the king's mistress survive, representing her as the incorporation of an immortal classical ideal, the ancient hunting goddess Diana, and most frequently depicting her nude. Among the most famous paintings are the *Bath of Diana* by François Clouet, and the anonymous painting of *Diana the Huntress*.[710] A further famous painting by François Clouet, the *Lady in Her Bath* originally assumed to depict Diane has since been disputed.[711] In all of these famous cases, it is striking that Diana depicted herself as the Roman hunting goddess, the epitome of a powerful female immortal, rather than as a sixteenth-century noblewoman. In this sense, Diane created a classical cult of immortality about her person which centred upon her very own version of personal fame.

Diane's funerary monument follows the same classical principle of fame beyond death combined with religious overtones. Unlike the *transi* of Valentine Balbiani which contrasted her effigy *au vif*, the two female busts unequivocally display femininity in its prime, equally untouched and intangible, by decay and mortality. To compliment this notion of eternal youth and beauty in life as in death, the effigy of Diane is represented in her prime, as a pious yet as an eternally youthful figure. It thus references Diane's favoured commission of paintings of herself as a goddess and her extraordinary beauty as the source of her power as the king's mistress. In depicting her thus, however, the tomb equally embodies the classical ideal: while the body may decay, the name of the famous will undoubtedly live on. Advocating a female version of the classical ideal of immortality through one's deeds, her daughters paid tribute to their mother's legacy – a legacy which, although religious, celebrated femininity, youth and beauty, above all else.

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[709] Beaulieu, *Louvre*, pp. 96-99.
[710] François Clouet, *Bath of Diana*, c. 1550-1560, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, in Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 219 ; and ibid., p. 210, for Anonymous, *Diana the Huntress*, c. 1550-1560, at the Louvre in Paris.
[711] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, pp. 204-208. Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, p. 119.

‘Here is the end’: the *transi* tomb of Claude Gouffier (d. 1570)

The tomb of Claude Gouffier at Oiron is the latest of the Gouffier family tombs and a prominent example of a *transi* standing on its own to symbolise the finiteness of mortal life (Fig. 161).[712] The white marble monument was commissioned by Claude Gouffier himself, who also instigated most of the construction of the church. It was presumably created by Jean Juste II in the late 1550s.[713] Jean Juste received a payment for the monument of Claude Gouffier and his wife Jacqueline de la Trémoîlle on 16 February 1558.[714] It has been suggested that the monument was finished in 1559.[715] It was damaged in the 1560s when the church was sacked by Huguenot iconoclasts, who severely mutilated all four Gouffier tombs within it. It was again damaged in 1793, leading to the loss of the female effigy.[716]

The sepulchre of Claude Gouffier consists of a marble tomb chest with a now severely damaged *transi* on top. The effigy once lay on a stylised shroud, of which only fragments can be seen underneath the body today (Fig. 162). Rather than revolving or writhing in an agonising pose as seen for instance on the tomb of Valentine Balbiani, the effigy is depicted rigid and stretched out in a straight line. The head faces upwards, yet the facial features have been mutilated. The left half of his scalp has been taken off, while the right half displays wavy hair. The neck remains fairly intact and shows a protruding vein. The torso, once nude and displaying the ribcage, has today lost some of its former definition and crispness. The arms have equally been mutilated and the hands cleanly cut off. They were formerly placed upon the torso to cover Claude's private parts, as is common practice on *transi* effigies.[717] The legs were stretched out and the muscular thighs remain comparatively intact. His shins, however, have been damaged severely. The lower sections of his legs and his feet have practically disappeared, adding to the gruesomeness of the monument.

The *tumba* can be visually divided into three sections if viewed from the front. The middle section displays a medallion with an inscribed ribbon surrounding the initials of two interlinked C and an H. The inscription surrounding the initials reads

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[712] The most useful among the limited literature are Montaiglon, 'Juste [III]', pp. 552-568; Palustre, *Renaissance*, III, pp. 229-230, 233; and Guillaume, 'Gouffiers', pp. 131-139. Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, p. 169, briefly mentions the tomb.

[713] Although this monument was strictly speaking constructed slightly before 1562, it fits this chapter thematically.

[714] Montaiglon, 'Juste [III]', p. 559.

[715] Guillaume, 'Gouffiers', p. 133, suggests it was finished in 1559.

[716] Ibid., p. 562.

[717] 'Gaignières', p. 108.

Claude's personal motto, 'HIC TERMINUS HAERET', curiously written as a mirror-image of itself.[718] To either side of this panel, the flanking panels each show a skull within a pair of crossed bones and two horizontal bones in the middle of the skull within a diamond-shaped bas relief. Above the skulls and cross-bones imagery, the rims of the side panels of the front face have been damaged. The sides of the tomb chest show the Gouffier coat-of-arms within a collar of Saint-Michel underneath a coronet (Figs. 163-164). The west end has been damaged and the split in the connection between the front and the side panel patched up with mortar or a similar substance. The east end panel has also taken some damage and been repaired, but more skilfully and less obviously than on the opposite side.

It is less common in the late 1550s to 1580s to find a *transi* on its own than in combination with a representation *au vif*, yet not entirely impossible as the tomb of Claude Gouffier indicates. The level of *memento mori* and macabre imagery on his tomb, however, is quite remarkable. The *transi* effigy obviously takes a key position on the monument. The two skulls and the backwards inscription, however, add a new layer of meaning to the cadaver on top of the *tumba*.[719] Instead of signifying the triumph of eternal life over death and decay, this monument emphasised the finiteness of death for the mortal body as symbolised by Claude's personal motto, which translated means 'here is the end'. The skulls to either side of the motto visualise this finality.

Although the three monuments discussed in this chapter vary considerably in style, iconography and execution, some common themes emerge. The tomb of Valentine Balbiani combines an *au vif* pose with a cadaver, while Diane of Poitiers and Claude Gouffier each only portray at least one aspect of the duality expressed on Valentine's tomb. A number of other observations are also worth mentioning. While the tombs of Valentine and Claude displayed a decline in traditional religious iconography, such as saints or rosaries, the religious message remains prominent in the imagery and the epitaphs used. On the other hand, there is also a symbiosis of the usage of religious and classical motifs and themes, most notably the concept of immortal glory, which supersedes a purely artistic level.

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[718] A further panel with the same imagery and backwards inscription stands to the left of the monument. It was presumably placed above the sepulchre. This motto is also inscribed above the entrance portal to the church, although here it is spelled properly. Claude Paradin, *Devises heroïques* (Lyons, 1557) records the motto backwards, yet not as a mirror-image of itself. See French emblems at Glasgow, [http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FPAb170], viewed 18 June 2013.
[719] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, p. 169, has also pointed towards the absence of vanity and the finiteness of death displayed on this monument.

Although none of these three monuments display Catholic iconography, such as rosaries or saints, all three place a strong emphasis on the afterlife and the salvation of the soul. While the tomb of Claude Gouffier omits religious iconography or even religious inscriptions, it displays a strong *memento mori* message in Claude's personal motto. It explicitly states 'here is the end', implying that with death and the subsequent decay of the human body his earthly life is irrevocably over. The monument of Valentine Balbiani depicts a more traditional Christian understanding, suggesting that although the body may decay, the soul will be resurrected and will continue to live on through the love of its loved ones. Diane of Poitiers' monument, in contrast, reflects on the mortality of the body and the immortality of the soul in the epitaph. In displaying the effigy as an eternally pious, youthful and beautiful lady, it suggests that death is but a state of the body as the soul lives on.

It is perhaps no coincidence that this concern for salvation of the soul finds its way into funerary sculpture of this period.[720] It has been suggested that the Counter-Reformation resulted in an increase in *memento mori* iconography, which appears to be reflected in these case studies also.[721] All three monuments expressed a concern and a belief that while the mortal body decays and becomes fodder for the worms, the immortal soul lives on. As Cohen suggested, one of the key usages of *transi* effigies was the expression of the hope for salvation.[722] Although *transis* by no means existed in a vacuum and had existed before, in the light of the brutality of the Wars of Religion, this seems a possible explanation for the appeal of frequently naturalistic cadaver effigies and skulls in this period. As the last public statement of the deceased before Man and God, and in reaction to the religious uncertainty and the extreme brutality of the period, sepulchres only settled on the safest common denominator: the belief that the soul lives on regardless of the fate of the mortal remains.[723]

However, compared to the previous chapter, it is striking that classical imagery appears within a reinterpreted religious setting and this also fits well with the increased concern for the salvation of the soul during the Wars of Religion. As discussed in the previous chapters, the classical ideal in Renaissance funerary art was based on

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[720] On the significance of *transi* effigies, see for instance Paul Binski, *Medieval death: ritual and representation* (London, 1996), pp. 139-152. Saul, *Church Monuments*, pp. 312-335.
[721] Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the afterlife* (London, 1991), pp. 224-225.
[722] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 182-181.
[723] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and memory in early modern England* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 110, 114, equally describes either a lack of religious imagery or an increased focus on resurrection on English tombs after the Reformation.

conveying the deceased's personal fame through his deeds in life. Previously only employed for male patrons, even the female monuments discussed in this chapter employed classical motifs in such manner. The half-recumbent effigy of Valentine Balbiani continues in the same artistic tradition as the sepulchres of Chabot and du Bellay due to the effigy's pose, yet this ancient pose is transferred into a religious context through the stylised depiction of heaven and the salvation of the soul. The harpies underneath Diane of Poitier's praying effigy equally merge this ancient Greek sepulchral element with a religious pose and Christian message in the epitaph. Rather than depicting the deceased as quasi-ancients basking in the glory of their deeds, the contemporary dress and setting on the two female tombs suggest that the classical concept of commemorating the deceased via their immortal fame was incorporated seamlessly into sixteenth-century reality and religious thought. As religion became more diverse and the concept of 'true religion' increasingly uncertain, the classical ideal of fame and immortality through one's deeds offered a more concrete, more accessible, and hence more attractive answer to the question what happens after death. Combining commemoration of the patron's worldly deeds with the religious focus on the salvation of the soul, that is to say his immortal rewards for a pious life, this helps to explain the appeal of classical imagery in late sixteenth-century funerary art.

As with all abstract concepts, the impact of religious change is often difficult to interpret on individual monuments alone. Read in combination with the previous two chapters, however, it is striking that from the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the previously dominant saintly iconography on tombs slowly decreased, to the extent that it had completely disappeared by the 1570s. As already pointed out in the previous chapter, this disappearance does not correlate with the emergence of iconoclasm during the Wars of Religion: it began earlier. Hence it cannot be interpreted as a response to, or a preventative measure against, targeted damage to funerary monuments. What this decline was in response to is more difficult to establish based on funerary sculpture alone. Surely one would have expected Catholic patrons to appeal to the saints to intercede for the dead against the emerging threat of heresy, yet this is not the case. Perhaps there was already increasing confusion as to the intercessory powers of saints, which was only enhanced by iconoclasm and the mutilation of saintly imagery.[724] Recent studies of French literature also point towards greater religious pluralism in

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[724] At least in England, there was a marked decline in religious guild membership even before the Reformation, which may point towards a similar phenomenon.

sixteenth-century France than has traditionally been accepted. Against the absence of Catholic imagery on tombs, it may thus be worth contemplating that the iconographical changes in tomb sculpture may support that socio-religious change was perhaps occurring earlier and on a more widespread level than one might have expected.[725]

Although perhaps the Wars of Religion were not immediately influential on the construction of tomb sculpture in the last quarter of the sixteenth-century, it is striking that classical motifs and concepts were increasingly integrated into funerary sculpture during the Reformation. Creating a symbiosis of classical commemorative ideals with religious fundamentals such as the theory of salvation, classical imagery in funerary art retained its appeal and function until the 1580s. Bizarrely, it is only with the conversion of Henry of Navarre (Henri IV) to Catholicism and the restoration of a Catholic monarchy that effigies increasingly return to rigid and contemplative conformity, predominantly kneeling in prayer.[726] In this sense, it seems that the emergence of individuality and variety in funerary sculpture which emerged hand in hand with the proliferation of Protestantism in sixteenth-century France disappeared again with the restoration of an authoritative Catholic monarchy.

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[725] Timothy Watson, '"When is a Huguenot not a Huguenot?" Lyon 1525-1575', in Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass, and Penny Roberts (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France: Papers from the Exeter conference, April 1999* (Oxford, 2000), p. 161, has suggested that boundaries regarding 'true' or 'false' religion were not as straightforward as one might expect.

[726] Protestant Henry of Navarre converted to Catholicism in order to become Henri IV. See the effigies of Madeleine Marchand (d. 1625) at the Louvre, the gentleman at Bourges (early seventeenth century), Marie de Bourbon-Vendôme in Saint-Denis (after 1594), or the replacement monument for Louis XI at Cléry-Saint-André (1622) (Figs. 165-168).

<u>Conclusion</u>

Although this study has, to a great extent, relied on interpreting French tomb sculpture against its historical context to reduce the impact of the separation of art from its original environments and purposes, there are limitations to this approach. The most significant restrictions remain quantitative and qualitative issues, and the problem of the iconological representativeness of the findings. It is difficult to produce watertight conclusions based upon French tombs alone, which are at times as patchy as the damaged sources will allow. Due to frequent quantitative and/or qualitative shortcomings of the surviving material, tomb sculpture can and should thus only ever be used in addition to other sources, such as documents.

Yet even if viewed against their original settings rather than in the gallery context, it is often difficult to accurately assess the value of the object in question (its 'Wesenssinn').[727] Even in the best preserved cases, it is almost impossible to speak of 'original' monuments, as mutilations, destructions and subsequent reconstructions have often altered the sepulchres' appearance to the extent that it is no longer possible to speak of sixteenth-century objects. The most prominent examples here are the inclusion of non-royal tombs into the royal mausoleum at Saint-Denis or the tomb of du Bellay at Le Mans. Modern reconstructions on the basis of the Gaignières drawings, such as the tomb of Diane of Poitiers at Anet, are often closer to the originals than those reconstructed without them, yet how close they really are we may never know. Even outside the gallery context, this altered appearance makes it very difficult and at times treacherous to interpret French monuments as sixteenth-century products, as opposed to being the result of the ideas and alterations of subsequent generations of restorers, conservators and interpreters.

Nevertheless, the re-inclusion of patronage considerations and the expansion of the taxonomy have shown that the study of sepulchral monuments can provide useful in addition to other media. Rather than being conservative and characterised by 'tedious uniformity' as Zerner has argued, this study has shown that French noble tombs demonstrated a strong consciousness of, and engagement with, contemporary social and political themes.[728] From the tomb of Philippe Pot via the sepulchre of Bonnivet to the monument of Chabot, the individual patrons of funerary monuments consciously and

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[727] Erwin Panofsky, *Aufsätze zu Grundfragen der Kunstwissenschaft* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 92-95.
[728] Zerner, *Renaissance Art*, p. 372.

unconsciously reflected upon, and engaged with, the socio-political discourse, usually in a very personal manner. Chapter one suggested that politically-conscious patrons deliberately chose the 'modern' mode to critique the Franco-Burgundian conflict, alternately using traditional and innovative funerary elements as supported their case. Chapters two and three indicated that French royal, and increasingly also noble patrons, deliberately chose 'antique' over 'modern' sepulchres as permanent status symbols, monumentally supporting their real or alleged 'ancient' family claims to their contemporary territorial and political ambitions. With the increasing impact of humanism, the Reformation and the psychological impact of major military defeats, many patrons instead turned towards more 'classical' concepts of art, attempting to live up to ancient models and their legacy of immortal fame. Rather than sepulchral monuments emerging within a set framework of dominant artistic 'styles' replacing one another, the contemporary availability of sculptors and materials and the patrons' individual wishes were decisive in determining the design and commemorative socio-political message of their sepulchres, frequently leading to the co-existence of different modes on the same monument. Constantly evolving and incorporating contemporary idealistic, political and religious themes, late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century funerary sculpture reflects the vibrancy and individuality of its patrons' lives, their rivalries and ambitions in its form, design and content.

In terms of religious change also, tombs have proven invaluable in addressing, and expressing, their patron's religious tension and shifting cultural values. With the impact of the Reformation, saintly intercessors increasingly disappeared from tombs, instead being replaced with classical motifs. Simultaneously, the ancient concept of commemorating the individual through his legacy and his famous deeds during his lifetime successfully merged with shifting religious practices and values. Monuments from the late sixteenth century display their patrons' greater emphasis on the salvation of the soul and their individual piety rather than relying on the intercession of saints. Instead of asking the observer to pray for the soul of the deceased and to remember that he himself was a mortal, later sixteenth-century tombs increasingly celebrated the deeds of the deceased which would ensure his immortality. Rather than falling into oblivion once people failed to pray for their dead, the commemoration of their famous deeds would ensure them immortality in this world and the salvation of their soul in the next. In this sense, the emphasis on individual glory in funerary sculpture after the

Reformation allowed for the commemoration of the deceased to continue the pro-active and interactive relationship between the living and the dead.

However, there were also significant artistic innovations. From the perspective of portraiture, natural and recognisable features on effigies were becoming the norm by the 1520s. Rather than displaying types, high status sixteenth-century effigies were frequently modelled upon portraits, if not upon the real person, whenever finances allowed this luxury. The contract for Valentine Balbiani's sepulchre, for instance, specified that she was to be depicted as life-like as possible. For comparison, Imbert de Basternay and his family's tomb not only depicted their ages accurately, but also displayed their individual physiognomic characteristics. In the case of Guillaume du Bellay, his effigy was so similar to his well-preserved remains that it enabled archaeologists in the nineteenth-century to identify his tomb on the basis of the well-preserved facial features of the interred. These examples all suggest artistic skill among the sculptors to produce such likenesses, but more significantly, that patrons specifically wished to be recognisable by their physical features in addition to their heraldry and epitaphs. As each noble wished to be commemorated as an extraordinary individual, for his worldly deeds or for his pious actions, it seems that the patron and his personal wishes were more decisive for the outward appearance and message of his memorial than, for instance, the sculptor's heritage.

Nevertheless, despite these innovations, tomb sculpture from the sixteenth century through to the twenty-first century continues to communicate power relations to vertical and hierarchical audiences. As such, they effectively stipulate and reflect socio-political and religious change, if not of their own time, then of the subsequent generations. It can only be added that sepulchral monuments remain today what they were intended to be at their time of construction: political tools, status symbols, and, to a certain extent also, objects of personal piety and commemoration.

Epilogue

Although this study has primarily focused on the crisis faced by French funerary monuments in the sixteenth century, the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century, it has become increasingly apparent during my research that the period of crisis is not yet over. Mérimée's admonition to address the shocking state of repair of the extent monuments in the nineteenth century is now more relevant than ever.[729] In a time of increasing disinterest in organised religion and communal pious activities which could help preserve churches and their interior; in times when the virtual (mass) media have taken precedence over the family day out; and finally in times of economic crisis and financial hardship especially in increasingly abandoned rural communities, the survival of tomb monuments is crucially linked not only to the fate of its communities, but also to its handling of these new challenges.

On my research trip to France in the summer of 2011, particularly in the rural communities a high percentage of the monuments listed by the French Ministry of Culture as 'propriété de la commune' (open to the public), were inaccessible at the time. The reasons were multifold: fear of theft or mutilation of church property, the church wardens and priests embarked on their summer holidays, or even more devastatingly, the potentially dangerous state of repair of the church in question. Even in churches which were accessible, mould and damp on the walls and floors were a daily sight, not to mention bat and mouse droppings damaging the monuments (Figs. 169-171).

Fortunately, not all tombs are currently in harmful environments. Some sepulchres, such as the Estouteville tombs at Valmont, are now well-looked after by the sisters of the abbey. Others, such as the alabaster tombs at Eu, are safely locked away from the public in an inaccessible crypt to be viewed from above through iron bars across gaps underneath the altar. Some monuments, on the other hand, are even deemed national treasures, such as the royal tombs at Saint-Denis or those at the Louvre. The latter are presented to hundreds of spectators daily, while they are closely guarded and safely preserved for the future. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that even the royal tombs were partially inaccessible on one visit due to the threat of rocks falling from the ceiling (Fig. 172).

Yet while the royal sepulchres are, quite rightly, protected by the *Centre des monuments nationaux*, what of those in churches barely safe for human visitors, let

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[729] Mérimée, *Ouest*, pp. 436-438.

alone suited to creating an environment for the preservation of artefacts (Figs. 173-174)? Only time will tell whether funerary sculpture can face, and succeed, in this perhaps final test to its existence in human memory. One thing, however, is certain: the longer we wait to take action, the more difficult it will be to preserve what little remains of France's already heavily scourged sepulchral heritage (Fig. 175).

Appendix A:

List of Monuments

Location	Name of deceased	Date of tomb	Sculptor
Amiens	Ferry de Beauvoir	c. 1495	unknown
Amiens	Pierre Bury (d. 1504)	First quarter sixteenth century	unknown
Amiens	Adrien de Henoncourt	c. 1530	unknown
Amiens	Charles Hémard de Denonville (1493-1540)	1543	Matthieu Laignel
Anet	Diane of Poitiers (1499-1566)	1566-1575	unknown
Assier	Jacques Ricard Gourdon (Galiot) de Genouillac (1465-1546)	1549	unknown
Assier	Anne de Genouillac	c. 1600	unknown
Beaune	Claude Loysel (d. 1571)	1567	unknown
Bersaillin	Adrien de Vaudrey and Anne de Vuillafans	c. 1545	unknown
Brou	Margaret of Bourbon (1438-1483)	1516-1532	Conrad Meit, Pietro Torrigiano, Jan van Roome, Michel Colombe and Jean Perréal
Brou	Philibert of Savoy (d. 1504)	1516-1532	Conrad Meit, Pietro Torrigiano, Jan van Roome, Michel Colombe and Jean Perréal
Brou	Margaret of Austria (1480-1530)	1516-1532	Conrad Meit, Pietro Torrigiano, Jan van Roome, Michel Colombe and Jean Perréal

Location	Name of deceased	Date of tomb	Sculptor
Bourges	John of France, Duke of Berry (1340-1416)	c. 1404-1416	Jean de Cambrai
Bourges	kneeling man	c. 1600	unknown
Bruges	Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482)	1488-1502	Renier van Thienen and Jan de Hervy
Champeaux	Guy d'Espinay (d. 1551) and Louise de Goulaine	1553	Jean Juste
Champeaux	Claude d'Espinay (d. 1554)	c. 1550s	Jean de Lespin
Châteaudun	female of Longueville family	c. 1520s	unknown
Chazelet	Guillaume d'Aubusson	Mid-sixteenth century, 1638	unknown
Cléry-Saint-André	Louis XI	1622	Michel Bourdin
Dol-de-Bretagne	Bishop Thomas James (d. 1504)	1507	Antoine and Jean Juste
Étoges	René d'Anglure (d. 1529) and Catherine Dabouzey (d. 1527)	c. 1520s-1530s	unknown
Étoges	Marie de Veres (d.1554), Suzanne (d. 1530) d'Anglure, and son (d. 1530)	Mid-sixteenth century	unknown
Eu	Helene de Melun (d. 1472)	c. 1470s	unknown
Eu	Henri de Guise (1550-1588)	Late sixteenth century	unknown
Ferrières-en-Gâtinais	Louis de Blanchefort (d. 1505)	First quarter sixteenth century	unknown
Folleville	Raoul de Lannoy (d. 1513) and Jeanne de Poix (d. 1524)	1507-1524	Antonio della Porta, Pace Gaggini and others

Location	Name of deceased	Date of tomb	Sculptor
Folleville	François de Lannoy (d. 1548) and Marie de Hangest-Genlis	1542	Matthieu Laignel
Joinville	Claude de Lorraine (1496-1550)	1552	Francesco Primaticcio
Joursac	Louis de Foix	c. 1520s	unknown
La Celle	Saint Sylvain	c. 1500	unknown
La-Croix-Hellean	Herbaud family, Quelen du Broutay	First quarter sixteenth century	unknown
Le Mans	Charles IV d'Anjou (d. 1472)	Late fifteenth century	Francesco Laurana
Le Mans	Guillaume du Bellay (d. 1544)	1557	Noël Huet
Loches	Agnes Sorel (1425-1450)	After 1450	Jacques Morel
Locronan	Saint-Ronan	c. 1500	unknown
Louvre	Philippe Pot (d. 1493)	1477-1483/4	Antoine de Moiturier
Louvre	Jeanne de Commynes	1514	unknown
Louvre	Renée d'Orléans-Longueville (1508-1515)	c. 1515-1524	unknown
Louvre	Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendome (d. 1521)	c. 1520	unknown
Louvre	Louis de Poncher (d. 1521) and Robine Legendre (d. 1520)	1521-23	Guillaume Regnault and Guillaume Chaleveau
Louvre	François II de la Rochefaucoult (d. 1533)	c. 1530	unknown
Louvre	Jean de Humières (d. 1550)	c. 1550s	Pierre Bontemps
Louvre	Charles de Maigny	1557	Pierre Bontemps
Louvre	Admiral Chabot (d. 1543)	c. 1565	Jean Cousin (?) and Pierre Bontemps

Location	Name of deceased	Date of tomb	Sculptor
Louvre	Valentine Balbiani (1518-1572)	1573-74	Germain Pilon
Louvre	Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567) and Madeleine de Savoie (1510-1586)	1576-1582	Barthélemy Prieur
Louvre	René de Birague (c. 1507-1583)	c. 1584	Germain Pilon
Montbrison	Claude de Saint-Marcel	First quarter sixteenth century	unknown
Montmort	Seigneurs de Montmort	after 1499	unknown
Montrésor	Imbert de Basternay (d. 1523), Georgette de Manchenu (d. 1511), François de Basternay (d. 1513)	1520s-1530s	unknown
Nancy	Isabeau de Beavau	Mid-sixteenth-century	unknown
Nancy	René II de Lorraine (1473-1508)	1511	Mansuy Gauvain
Nancy	René de Beauvau (d. 1549) and Claude Baudoche (d. 1541)	1541-1549	Ligier Richier
Nancy	Cardinal Charles de Vaudemont (d. 1587)	1588	Etienne Duperac, Florent Drouin
Nantes	Francis II of Brittany and Marguerite de Foix (both d. 1488)	1502-1507	Michel Colombe
Nantes	Guillaume Guéguen (d. 1506)	1508-11	Michel Colombe
Oiron	Philippe de Montmorency (d. 1516)	1510-1539	Jean Juste

Location	Name of deceased	Date of tomb	Sculptor
Oiron	Artus Gouffier (1474-1519)	1510-1539	Jean Juste
Oiron	Guillaume Gouffier (d. 1525)	c. 1539-1550s	Jean II Juste
Oiron	Claude Gouffier (d. 1570)	1558-1559	Jean II Juste
Ploërmel	Philippe de Montauban (d. 1514) and Anne de Chatellier (d. 1516)	1510s-1520s	unknown
Quimper	Troïlus de Mondragon	c. 1540	unknown
Rouen	Pierre de Brézé (d. 1465) and Jeanne de Bec-Crispin	1488-1492	unknown
Rouen	Cardinals George I (1494-1510) and George II of Amboise (1511-1550)	1516-1525	Roland le Roux and Pierre des Aubeaux
Rouen	Louis de Brézé (d. 1531)	1540s-1550s	Jean Goujon
Rouen	Barbe Gouffard (d. 1599)	c. 1600	unknown
Saint -Denis	Dukes of Orléans (1394-1465, 1372-1407, 1366-1408 and 1396-1420)	1502-1504	Girolamo Viscardi, Michele d'Aria, Donato di Battista Benti and Benedetto da Rovezzano
Saint -Denis	Louis XII (1462-1515) and Anne of Brittany (1477-1514)	1512-1531	Jean and Antoine Juste
Saint -Denis	Francis I (1515-1547) and Claude of France (1499-1524)	1558	Philibert Delorme, Pierre Bontemps and François Marchand
Saint -Denis	Henri II (1547-1559) and Catherine de Medici (1519-1589)	1573	Germain Pilon and Francesco Primaticcio
Saint -Denis	Henri II (1547-1559) and Catherine de Medici (1519-1589)	1583	Germain Pilon

Location	Name of deceased	Date of tomb	Sculptor
Saint-Jeanvrin	François de Blançhefort (d. 1540)	Mid-sixteenth century	unknown
Saint-Pol-de-Leon	Jean le Scaff and Anne du Bois de Kergoat	c. 1510	unknown
Saint-Pol-de-Leon	Olivier Richard (d. 1539)	After 1539	unknown
Sens	Jean de Salazar and Marguerite de la Trémoîlle	First quarter sixteenth century	unknown
Souvigny	Charles I of Bourbon (d. 1456) and Agnes of Burgundy (d. 1476)	c. 1448-1453	Jacques Morel
Souvigny	Louis II of Bourbon (d. 1410) and Anne of Auvergne (d. 1416)	before 1438	Jean de Cambrai
Tours	Charles Orland (d. 1495) and Charles de France (d. 1496)	1500-1506	Jerome de Fiesole, Michel Colombe and Guillaume Regnault
Tréguier	Louis and Alaine de Penmarch	c. 1500	unknown
Tréguier	Guy de Lyonnais (1477-1517)	c. 1500	unknown
Valmont	Jacques d'Estouteville (1448-1489) and Louise d'Albret (d. 1494)	c. 1490-1518	unknown
Valmont	Nicolas d'Estouteville (d. twelfth century)	1524	unknown

Chapter 1

1. Surviving fragments of the tomb of Duke of Berry Jean de France (1340-1416), Bourges. Jean de Cambrai, c. 1404-1416.[730]

2. Tomb of Charles I of Bourbon (d. 1456) and Agnes of Burgundy (d. 1476), Souvigny. Jacques Morel, c. 1448-1453.

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[730] Unless indicated otherwise, all photographs are by the author.

3. Monument of Louis II of Bourbon (d. 1410) and Anne of Auvergne (d. 1416), Souvigny. Jean de Cambrai, before 1438.

4. Tomb of Agnes Sorel (1425-1450), Loches, Jacques Morel.

5. Sepulchre of Philippe Pot (d. 1493), formerly abbey of Cîteaux, today at the Louvre. Antoine de Moiturier, 1477-1483/4.

6. Side view.

7. Effigy.

8. Mourners.

9. Mourner (detail).

10. Dog at Philippe's feet.

11. Tomb of Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482), Bruges. Renier van Thienen and Jan de Hervy, c. 1488. North-east view.

12. South-west view.

13. Mary's married coat-of-arms.

14. Effigy and territorial escutcheons.

15. Evangelist John.

16. Evangelist Luke.

17. Monument of Jacques d'Estouteville (1448-1489) and Louise d'Albret (d.1494), Valmont. Unattributed.

18. Tomb of Jacques d'Estouteville and Louise d'Albret, abbey church of Valmont, Est., Rés., Pe 8, fol. 48 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

19. Effigy of Jacques d'Estouteville.

20. Effigy of Louise d'Albret.

21. *Tumba* with saints, south face.

22. West-face saints.

23. Saints Catherine and Louis, blank east wall.

24. Lamb and lion at the effigies' feet.

25. Tomb of the Dukes of Orléans, formerly at the Célestins, today at Saint-Denis, Paris. Girolamo Viscardi, Michele d'Aria, Donato di Battista Benti and Benedetto da Rovezzano, 1502-1504.

26. Dukes of Orléans, north view.

27. Effigy of Philippe, Count of Vertus.

28. West side.

29. South side with the effigy of Charles d'Orléans.

30. Apostles.

31. Monument of Raoul de Lannoy (d. 1513) and his wife Jehanne de Poix (d. 1524), Folleville. Antonio della Porta, Pace Gaggini and others, c. 1507-1524.

32. Canopy.

33. Effigy of Raoul de Lannoy.

34. Effigy of Jeanne de Poix.

35. Vault and effigies.

36. *Tumba*.

37. Tomb of Bishop Thomas James (d. 1504), Dol-de-Bretagne. Antoine and Jean Juste, 1507.

38. Tympanum.

39. Inner tympanum.

40. West-side inner column.

41. Fragments of angels.

42. Bust and sculptor's note on the west column.

43. Sculptor's note at the foot of the monument.

44. Western pillar.

45. Eastern pillar.

46. West outside column, bottom.

47. East outside column, bottom.

48. *Tumba*, western pillar.

49. *Tumba*, left-side figure.

50. *Tumba*, right-side figure.

51. *Tumba*, eastern pillar.

52. Space between wall and *tumba*.

53. Bust within wreath, west side.

54. Bust within wreath, east side.

55. Sepulchre of Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), Brou. Conrad Meit, Pietro Torrigiani, Jan van Roome, Michel Colombe and Jean Perréal, c. 1516-1532.

56. *Transi* of Margaret of Austria.

57. Tombs of Margaret of Bourbon (1438-1483) and Philibert of Savoy (d. 1504), Brou. Conrad Meit, Pietro Torrigiani, Jan van Roome, Michel Colombe and Jean Perréal, c. 1516-1532.

58. Tomb of Imbert de Basternay (1438-1523), Montrésor. Unattributed, c. 1520-1530.

59. Effigy of Imbert de Basternay.

60. Effigy of Georgette de Monchenu (d. 1511).

61. Effigy of François de Basternay (d. 1513).

62. Greyhound at François' feet.

63. Coat-of-arms at Georgette's feet.

64. South-west angel.

65. North-west angel.

66. North-east angel.

67. South-east angel.

68. Simon the Zealot.

69. James the Great.

70. Matthew.

71. James the Less.

72. Church portal, Montrésor.

73. Prophets above the church portal, Montrésor.

74. Renée d'Orléans-Longueville (1508-1515), formerly in the Orléans chapel at the Célestins in Paris, today at the Louvre. Unattributed, c. 1515-1524.

75. Left side of the tomb, showing the Virgin Mary, St Catherine and St Barbara above.
Below: St Apollonia (missing), St Martha and the unidentified saint.

76. Right side of the tomb, showing St Genevieve, St Agnes and St Margaret above.
Below: the unidentified saint and St Agatha.

77. Effigy.

78. Detail of the effigy.

79. Unicorn at Renée's feet.

80. Coat-of-arms of Claude of France.

81. Roger de Gaignières, drawing of the tomb of Renée d'Orléans-Longueville, B. N., Mss. Français 20077, fol. 56 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

82. Left-side unicorn.

83. Right-side unicorn.

84. Remains of the *enfeu* at Châteaudun.

85. Tomb of Artus Gouffier (1474-1519), Oiron. Jean Juste, c. 1510-1539.

86. Effigy.

87. Unbuckled sword beside
the effigy.

88. Tomb of Artus Gouffier, north-east view.

89. Bonnivet.

90. An abbot.

91. Artus Gouffier, south face.   92. North face.

93. Tomb of Philippe de Montmorency (d. 1516), Oiron. Jean Juste, c. 1510-1539. West view.

94. Philippe de Montmorency, south-east view.

95. Female figure.

96. Decapitated female figure.

97. North face of Philippe's tomb.

98. South face.

99. Effigy.

100. Decapitated dog.

101. Tomb of Guillaume Gouffier (1482-1525), Lord of Bonnivet, Oiron. Jean II Juste, c. 1539-1550s.

102. Bonnivet's effigy.

103. Anchor and dolphin motif adjacent to the effigy.

104. Lion on Bonnivet's tomb.

105. Roger de Gaignières, tomb of Guillaume Gouffier, Chapelle du Rosaire, Saint-Maurice, Oiron. B. N., Est., Rés., Pe 7, fol. 11 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

106. Tomb chest, south side.

107. West end.

108. East end.

109. Tomb of René d'Anglure (d. 1529) and Catherine Dabouzey (d. 1527), Étoges. Unknown sculptor.

110. *Gisant* of Catherine Dabouzey.

111. Fragments of the effigy of René d'Anglure.

112. Surcoat of René d'Anglure with armorial bearings.

113. Lions and part of the epitaph (description of the battles).

114. Effigy of Marie de Veres (d. 1544) and her daughter, Étoges. Unknown sculptor.

115. Louis de Poncher (d. 1521) and Robine Legendre (d. 1520), Louvre. Guillaume Regnault and Guillaume Chaleveau, c. 1521-1523.

116. Tomb of Jacques (Galiot) de Genouillac (1465-1546), Assier. Unattributed, c. 1549.

117. Coat-of-arms and figures.

118. Siege panel.

119. Galiot on the siege panel.

120. Cannonballs and other equipment of war.

121. Effigy.

122. Lion.

123. Frieze surrounding the church.

124. Salamander attacks a fallen enemy (underneath the wheels of the cannon). Weathered south side of the church wall.

125. Salamander hiding underneath a drape.

126. Salamander above Galiot's coat-of-arms.

127. Salamanders on the staircase at Blois (detail).

128. Tomb of Francis I (1515-1547) and Claude of France (1499-1524), Saint-Denis. Philibert Delorme, Pierre Bontemps and François Marchand, 1558.

129. Fragments of the tomb of Admiral Chabot (d. 1543), Louvre. Jean Cousin (?) and Pierre Bontemps, c. 1565.

130. Detail of Admiral Chabot's tabard with *chabots* and collar of the Order of Saint-Michel.

131. Figure of Fortune.

132. Left-side *genius*.

133. Right-side *genius*.

134. Roger de Gaignières, sepulchre of Admiral Chabot in the Orléans chapel of the Célestins. B. N., Est., Rés., Pe 11, fol. 14 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

135. Effigy of Admiral Chabot.

136. Tomb of Jean de Humières (d. 1550), originally in Monchy-Humières, today at the Louvre. Pierre Bontemps, c. 1550s.

137. Tomb of Guillaume du Bellay (1491-1543), Le Mans cathedral. Attributed to Noël Huet, 1557.

138. Effigy of Guillaume du Bellay, *Atlantae* and tomb chest.

139. Lower section of the tomb.

140. Roger de Gaignières, tomb of Guillaume du Bellay in the Lady Chapel of the
Cathedral Saint-Julien, Le Mans. B. N., Est., Rés., Pe 1, fol. 207 © Bibliothèque
nationale de France.

141. Tomb of François de Lannoy (d. 1548) and Marie de Hangest-Genlis, Folleville.
Matthieu Laignel, c. 1542.

142. Epitaph, coats-of-arms and kneeling effigies.

143. Kneeling effigy of François de Lannoy.

144. Kneeling effigy of Marie de Hangest-Genlis.

145. Cardinal virtues on the tomb of François de Lannoy, Folleville.

146. Cardinal virtues on the tomb of Cardinal Charles Hémard de Denonville (1493-1540), Amiens cathedral. Matthieu Laignel, 1543.

147. Tomb of Cardinal Denonville.

148. Top section.

149. Kneeling effigy.

150. Double-decker tomb of Henri II (1547-1559) and Catherine de Medici (1519-1589), Saint-Denis. Germain Pilon and Francesco Primaticcio, 1573.

151. Monument of Henri II and Catherine de Medici, Saint-Denis. Germain Pilon, 1583.

152. Fragments of the tomb of René de Birague (c. 1507-1583), formerly at Saint-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers in Paris, today at the Louvre. Germain Pilon, c. 1584.

153. Fragments of the tomb of Valentine Balbiani (1518-1572), formerly at Saint-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers in Paris, today at the Louvre. Germain Pilon, 1573-1574.

154. Left-side putto, detail.

155. Right-side putto.

156. Effigy of Valentine Balbiani and her dog.

157. *Transi* bas-relief of Valentine Balbiani.

158. Roger de Gaignières, sepulchre of Valentine Balbiani in the Birague chapel of Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers, B. N., Est., Rés. Pe 11, fol. 87 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

TOMBEAU *de marbre blanc & noir dans le milieu du chœur de la chapelle de Diane joignant le Chasteau d'Anet. Il est de Diane de* **Poitiers** *Duchesse de Valentinois.*

oxford collect. Gaignières
... de l'Isle de France F.° 85.

(collationné conforme à l'original)
B. Bandinel, Bodl. Lib. Oxford

159. Roger de Gaignières, tomb of Diane of Poitiers (1499-1566) in the chapel of the château of Anet, B. N., Est., Rés. Pe 1b, fol. 85 © Bibliothêque nationale de France.

160. Modern reconstruction of the tomb of Diane of Poitiers, Anet, south view.

161. Tomb of Claude Gouffier (d. 1570), Oiron. Jean II Juste, 1558-1559.

162. *Transi* of Claude Gouffier.

163. East end.

164. West end.

165. Effigy of Madeleine Marchand
(d. 1625), Louvre. Thomas Boudin,
1628.

166. Marie de Bourbon-Vendôme, Saint-
Denis. Unknown sculptor, after 1594.

167. Effigy of a gentleman at Bourges, early seventeenth century.

168. Tomb of Louis XI, Cléry-Saint-André. Michel Bourdin, 1622.

Epilogue

169. L'Huître, Aube.

170. Saint-Jeanvrin, Cher.

171. La Celle, Cher.

172. Saint-Denis (the sign reads: 'DANGER Falling stones').

173. Tomb of Saint-Ronan, c. 1500, La Celle, Cher. Unknown sculptor.

174. Ferrières-en-Gâtinais, Loiret.

175. Tomb slab with the remains of an effigy in a churchyard, Indre-et-Loire.

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