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Enlivening the Tomb: Sepulcher and Performance in Late-Medieval Burgundy and Beyond

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I was led to the subject of my lecture today by two references in the contemporary documentation on the erection of tombs in the Chartreuse de Champmol on the outskirts of Dijon, in which covers for the tombs of the Burgundian reigning family are mentioned: both for the tomb of Philip the Bold, and for the tomb of Philip the Good and his consort Isabella of Portugal. This documentary evidence for the covering and uncovering of tombs is not unique in late-medieval Europe. So the fundamental question is posed how far the presence of the dead in their funerary effigies was a permanent reality in the daily world of their time, or whether we are dealing with an idea of history and art history that does not possess validity in such an absolute way. I would like to investigate this question in further detail.

I will begin with the tombs in Champmol. In March 1381, almost twenty years before his death, Philip the Bold commissioned his tomb from the court sculptor Jean de Marville. Work on it began in October 1384 and continued slowly down to the spring of 1410. Jean de Marville had completed its framework [Arkatur] before he died in 1389. After his death Claus Sluter took over the running of the workshop and devoted himself to the completion of the parts of the funerary monument in black marble. In 1397 the sides of the *tumba* (tomb chest) and the ornamental architecture were brought to Champmol, where the foundations had already been laid. The tomb in its basic structure was installed in the autumn of 1403.¹ No sooner had the separate parts been assembled and installed than a massive leather cover to be placed over the effigy of Philip the Bold in Champmol was ordered for the tomb. Perrin Bourgoiz, the tanner from whom it was commissioned, received payment for this on 20 October 1403.²

¹ Renate Prochno, Das Grabmal Philipps des Kühnen (1363-1404) für Champmol, Innovationen und ihre Nachahmung, in: Wilhelm Maier, Wolfgang Schmid, Michael Victor Schwarz (eds.), Grabmäler. Tendenzen der Forschung an Beispielen aus Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, Berlin 2000, pp. 76-77, 95-97.

² Archives départementales de la Côte-d’Or, Dijon, B 11673 registre, Comptes de la chartreuse, 1398-1411, fol. 152r: “A P[er]rin Bourgoiz tanneur demour[ant] a Dijon pour la vendue e delivrance de XXVIII peaulx de moutons tannez,

A few months later, on 27 April 1404, Philip the Bold died. When the contract for the completion of the tomb was signed with Claus Sluter on 11 July 1404, significant parts of it were still lacking: including all the little angels that formerly adorned the tomb, while of the forty *pleurants* only two had been completed. More importantly, the painted alabaster effigy of the deceased was also missing, including the two angels at his head and the lion at his feet.³

Against this background, it might be assumed that the commission of the leather cover, made from 28 tanned sheepskins, could only have been a temporary protective measure for the already completed parts of the tomb, which would become redundant once the tomb had been completed. But such an assumption is belied by other tombs and epitaphs dating from the late eleventh to the sixteenth century that could be closed with shutters or covers. Only on the anniversary day of the deceased were the shutters opened or the covers removed. The oldest tomb, for which we have evidence of a protective cover for opening and closing, is the bronze effigy placed over the tomb of the anti-king Rudolph von Rheinfelden (Rudolf of Swabia) in Merseburg Cathedral. Rudolf died in 1080. Reports of a “wooden cover” that protected the effigy were known since the seventeenth century.⁴

The next report in order of date we have of such a practice comes from the Cistercian convent of Barbeau and concerns the tomb installed in the convent church for King Louis VII (who had died in 1180) between 1180 and 1206. According to the *Histoire de Louis VII* (1685) this was furnished with a lavishly carved wooden coffer adorned on the outside with gilt leather panels, just like the monument for Philip the Bold raised in Champmol some 200 years later: “*d’un*

pour faire une couv[er]ture pour couvrir la tumba de mons[eigneur] audit Champmol laquelle est polie pour ce q[ue] l’en n’y royast neant et aussi pour ce q[ue] les chiens ne montassent dessus afin qu’il n’y gastasse[n]t neant, et pour la façon de lad[i]te couv[er]ture, par m[ar]chié a lui fait par lesdiz maist[res] Jehan Bourgoiz et Regnaudot de Janley. Paié a lui par sa quittance en la fin de laq[ue]lle la c[er]tifficac[i]on d’iceulx maist[res] Bourgoiz et Regnaudot donnee le XX^e jour d’ottob[re] mil CCCC et III est contenue LXX s.t. [20.10.1403]”. Cited according to the transcript given in Renate Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol. Grablege der burgundischen Herzöge 1364-1477*, Berlin 2002 (Acta humaniora), p. 343.

³ After the tomb was finally completed, the metalworkers Yonet le Roy and Bertholomin le Gentil were paid on 22 March 1410 for the installation of four iron posts for the fixture of the protective railing that ran round the *tumba*; see Prochno 2002, cit. (note 2), p. 347.

⁴ Wolfgang Beckermann, *Das Grabmal Kaiser Heinrichs III.*, in: Goslar im Mittelalter. Vorträge beim Geschichtsverein, eds. Hansgeorg Engelke, Bielefeld 2003 (= Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Goslar. Goslarer Fundus. Herausgegeben vom Geschichtsverein Goslar e.V. und vom Stadtarchiv Goslar, Bd. 51), p. 100. My warm thanks to Christoph Gutmann, Goslar, for the reference to Wolfgang Beckermann’s contribution. Ernst Schubert / Peter Ramm, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Merseburg*, Berlin-Stuttgart 1968 (= Die Deutschen Inschriften, herausgegeben von den Akademien der Wissenschaften in Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Mainz und München und der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 11. Band, Berliner Reihe, 4. Band), p. 4, note 4: “... im 17. Jahrhundert durch einen hölzernen Deckel geschützt.” Philipp Anton Dethier, *Über das Grabmal des Königs Rudolf von Schwaben zu Merseburg*, in: *Neue Mitteilungen auf dem Gebiete historisch-antiquarischer Forschung*, I (1834), pp. 22-33, in particular p. 23 “... ein bretterner Deckel schützte unser Bild ehemem.” Alfred Schmekel, *Historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Hochstiftes Merseburg*, Halle 1858, p. 86.

*chassis de bois balustré en façon de coffre autour duquel estoient de petites lames de cuivre doré et ouvragé. Ce coffre estoit couvert d'un autre de fer élaboré et travaillé à jour d'une manière assez délicate ... Quelques-uns disent avoir vu des morceaux de verre coloré appliqués au bois en façon de pierreries ...”.*⁵

The next example in order of date is once again a royal or imperial funerary monument: the monument containing the entrails of Holy Roman Emperor Henry III in the former collegiate church of Saints Simon and Jude in Goslar. It was installed to his memory around 1250, so long after the emperor's death in 1056. Originally it stood in *medio ecclesiae*, in other words under the crossing in front of the bronze Krodo Altar. The Romanesque church, officiated by Benedictine canons, had a particular link with the emperor, for Henry had founded it as *capella regia*. That explains why his entrails were buried here, while his body rests in the cathedral in Speyer. The stucco *gisant* of the emperor has open eyes; he is wearing thirteenth-century dress, and holds scepter and a model of the church he had founded in his hands; a dog lies at his feet.⁶ This stucco tombstone was placed in a kind of wooden sarcophagus with a removable lid. Its original situation is shown by a drawing of the interior of Goslar Cathedral before its piecemeal demolition between 1819 and 1833. This lid was taken off on 5 October each year, the day on which the emperor had died, and a requiem mass in his honor was celebrated. The original lid was replaced by a new one in 1740 with an inscription saying it had been “resolved in devout veneration to renovate the sarcophagus for this imperial memorial”.⁷ The lid in question must be the one now preserved in the Lapidarium of the Kaiserpfalz, the imperial residence in Goslar.⁸

⁵ Melun, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 84 Histoire de Louis VII (1685), p. 130; cf. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, Geneva 1975 (= Bibliothèque de la société d'archéologie, 7), p. 161. Renate Kroos, *Grabbräuche – Grabbilder*, in: Karl Schmid/Joachim Wollasch (eds.), *Memoria, Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter. Bestandteil des Quellenwerkes societas et fraternitas*, München 1984 (= Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften), p. 340. Annegret Laabs, *Malerei und Plastik im Zisterzienserorden. Zum Bildgebrauch zwischen sakralem Zeremoniell und Stiftermemoria 1250-1430*, Petersberg 2000 (Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte 8), p. 150.

⁶ Carl Wolff, Anton v. Behr, Uvo Hölscher, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Hannover. II. Regierungsbezirk Hildesheim. 1 und 2. Stadt Goslar*, Hannover 1901, pp. 52, 54 and 55. Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), pp. 87-174, bes. pp. 97-99. Helga Wäß, *Form und Wahrnehmung mitteldeutscher Gedächtniskulptur im 14. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zu mittelalterlichen Grabmonumenten, Epitaphen und Kuriosa in Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen, Nord-Hessen, Ost-Westfalen und Südniedersachsen* (zugl. Diss. phil. Georg-August-Universität Göttingen), Bd. I, Berlin 2006 (= D 7 Göttinger philosophische Dissertationen), pp. 165-166; Bd. II., pp. 232-233.

⁷ Wäß, II, 2006, cit. (note 6), p. 234. Wolff/v. Behr/Hölscher 1901, cit. (note 6), pp. 46, 65: “DEBITA AC PIA REVERENTIA LIGNEA HUIUS CAESAREI MONUMENTI CISTAM LONG TEMPORIS ... CITATA CONSUMPTUM E DESTRUCTAM R.C. MDCCXL”; the whole question of the monument of Henry III in Goslar is best treated by Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), pp. 97-98.

⁸ For a review of the literature on the monument see Wäß, I, 2006, cit. (note 6), pp. 391-392.

Thanks to the research of Wolfgang Beckermann, we are now particularly well informed about the staging of the imperial tomb in Goslar and the liturgical celebrations for its annual commemoration. For the cathedral ordinary, the *Ordinarius de preparamentis, cappis, tapetibus ecclesie Goslariensis*, in which these celebrations are described, has been preserved in the Stadtarchiv in Hildesheim. Johann Oldewise, cathedral presbyter and vicarius, wrote it down in 1435. The celebrations began on the evening before the 5 October with a vigil and were continued on the following day, the day on which Henry died, with a Mass for the repose of his soul. The commemorative celebration *in festo anniversario Hinrici imperatoris et fundatoris huius ecclesiae* was introduced with the usual peal of bells, augmented on this day by the ringing of the imperial bell, the *campana imperatoris*. Then followed the liturgy at the grave itself: *Sepulcrum imperatoris aperietur et tapecibus / adornetur et quatuor formose candele circumpo= / nantur et incendantur ad vigilias et ad missam ... Et una parva candela / circa sepulcrum finitis vigiliis ponatur et incen= / datur et per noctem ardebit usque ad missam ... Et omnia tapecia in choro ponentur.*⁹

In examining the liturgical instructions we cannot but be struck by the fact that the *sepulcrum imperatoris* not only formed the focal point of the celebrations on Henry III's anniversary on 5 October, but was integrated into the processional liturgy on 53 of the total 90 feastsdays celebrated in the church. In the prescriptions of the *ordinarius* for each of these feasts, a particular sequence was maintained in the enumeration of the stations in the cathedral at which a halt was successively made: *sepulcrum imperatoris, altare aureum, sarchophagi* (reliquaries) and *tabula ante summum altare et eciam supra altare*.¹⁰ A different sequence was followed only on the following feastsdays: *In festo sancti Luthgeri episcopi, In festo beati Venancii martiris, In festo sancti Ambrosii episcopi, In vigilia pasche, In festo sancti Bernwardi episcopi hildensemensis* and *In festo omnium sanctorum* (All Saints).¹¹

In the same years in which Henry III was posthumously commemorated by the erection of a funerary monument in his honor in Goslar, another similar posthumous memorial was raised in the cathedral of Naumburg for the revered Bishop Hildeward (1002-1030), under whom the episcopal see had been translated from Zeitz to Naumburg in 1028.¹² The tomb was erected concurrently with the famous statues of the twelve cathedral founders of Naumburg (before

⁹ Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), pp. 133-134.

¹⁰ Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), pp. 131-132.

¹¹ Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), p. 131.

¹² For the best survey of opinions in the literature as to whether the bishop in question is Dietrich II (†1272) from the family of the Margraves of Meissen, or Hildeward, see Wäß, II, 2006, cit. (note 6), pp. 470-471.

1249) and, like these, was part of the *memoria* for the *fundatores*. This tomb too was contained in a wooden case, closed by two shutters. No medieval commemorative book of the dead has been preserved for Naumburg, but the liturgical commemoration of the founders of Naumburg Cathedral by bishop and chapter continued to be transmitted in medieval manuscripts right down to the early modern period. In his *Libellus continens Salae fluvii descriptionem*, printed in Leipzig in 1584, Gregor Groitzsch thus describes not only the figure and the tomb, but also the wooden coffer in which it was placed with its shutters and their painted program.¹³

The shutters bore the following inscription in honor of the emperor Conrad II and Pope John XIX, who had approved the translation of the episcopal see from Zeitz to Naumburg: “*Conradus imperator fundator sedis Naumburgensis and Joannis XX (XIX?) Translator*”.¹⁴ The portraits of Conrad II and John XIX were to be seen on the inner side of the shutters. Conrad had asked for the transfer of the episcopal see from the Pope and John had given his approval.¹⁵ The shutters are still found mentioned in the later revised edition of the *Libellus continens Salae fluvii descriptionem*, published by Schamelius in 1728.¹⁶

To the same period as Bishop Hildeward’s tomb in Naumburg dates the monument for Count Konrad Kurzbold in the cathedral at Limburg an der Lahn. In 1868 Karl Schwartz described not only the count’s tomb, but also its cover as follows: “The funerary monument of the builder of the second cathedral church in Limburg was erected concurrently with the present (third) cathedral church, and therefore dates to the first half of the thirteenth century. Until the year 1777 it stood in the choir of the church before the high altar over Konrad’s grave, but was then transferred to the choir of the Blessed Virgin in the middle of the north transept of the church, where it is still to be seen. The monument with the effigy of the deceased recumbent on a tomb slab, supported by six free-standing columns, is furnished with a

¹³ Gregor Groitzsch, *Libellus continens Salae fluvii descriptionem, eidemque adiacentium oppidorum, arcium, coenobiorum et episcopalium sedium, situs, fundationes & antiquitates, à Gregorio Groitzschio Grimmansi collectus*. Lipsiae, Typis haeredum Jacobi Beruualdi Anno MDLXXXIII. Recudi fecit & notis quibusdam auxit: Jo. Mart. Schamelius, Anno 1728, p. 24. Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), pp. 87-174, esp. p. 100.

¹⁴ Groitzsch, ed. Schamelius, 1728, cit. (note 13), p. 24.

¹⁵ Willibald Sauerländer, *Die Naumburger Stifterfiguren, Rückblick und Fragen*, in: Reiner Haussherr/Christian Väterlein (eds.), *Die Zeit der Staufer. Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur. Katalog der Ausstellung im Württembergischen Landesmuseum Stuttgart 1977*. Bd. V, Supplement: Vorträge und Forschungen, Stuttgart 1979, pp. 220-221. Willibald Sauerländer/Joachim Wollasch, *Stiftergedenken und Stifterfiguren in Naumburg*, in: Schmid/Wollasch, *Memoria*, 1984, cit. (note 5), pp. 354-383.

¹⁶ Groitzsch, ed. Schamelius, 1728, cit. (note 13), p. 24.

wooden cover [...]”. Schwartz also cites the inscription on the cover: “*Clauditur hoc tumulo, per quem nunc servitus isto / fit celebris templo; virtus, laus, gloria Christol!*”.¹⁷

The next in date in this series of tombs closed with wooden shutters are the funerary effigies in the Cistercian convent church of the Baltic coast-town of Doberan (Mecklenburg): first, that of Margaret Sambiria († 1282), queen consort of Christopher I of Denmark, whose effigy is contained in a wooden coffer with only one hinged shutter¹⁸; and, second, the effigies over the tomb erected around 1400 for Albert III, King of Sweden († 1412), and his consort Richardis of Schwerin (who died in 1377). Both sculptures lie under baldachins and are contained in a case with two hinged shutters. The hinges and wood joints show that both funerary cabinets in Doberan belong to the original furniture of the royal tombs in the church.¹⁹

Also in Mecklenburg, the wooden *gisant* of Prince Barnim VI of Wolgast († 1405) is found in the pilgrimage church of Kens (south of Barth). His effigy lies in a wooden chest with a saddle roof, its corners and ridge decorated with crockets. The pitched slopes of the roof can be opened, to reveal the recumbent figure of the church’s founder inside.²⁰

In a similar manner the stucco tomb slab (late eleventh century) of the Saxon leader Widukind († 807?) in Enger was protected by a wooden chest with a saddle roof at least since 1377.²¹ In that year the Emperor Charles IV, during his visit to Enger, found the tomb in such ruinous condition that he ordered its renovation: “*Cumque ibi inaudivisset ... superesse Widekind Magni, Saxonum regis quondam celeberrima, antiqui operis sepulchrum, visendi gratia eo divertit. Erat tum temporis vetustate nonnihil deformata quod non ferens Caesar interpolari renovarique eam mandavit.*” That at any rate is how Meibom puts it in his chronicle published

17 Marie-Luise Crone, Konrad Kurzbold. Lebensbeschreibung des Gründers des St. Georgsstiftes in Limburg an der Lahn. In: Nassauische Annalen. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung, 99, 1987, pp. 40-41. Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), p. 100. Karl Schwartz, Das Grabmonument Konrad Kurzbold’s im Dome zu Limburg, in: Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Alterthums- und Geschichtsforschung, 9, 1868, pp. 366-367: “Das Grabmonument des Erbauers der zweiten Limburger Domkirche, welches gleichzeitig mit der gegenwärtigen (dritten) Domkirche errichtet wurde, mithin der ersten Hälfte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts angehört, wurde im Jahre 1777, bis zu welchem es im Chore der Kirche vor dem Hochaltare über dem Grabe Konrad's stand, in den Chor der hl. Jungfrau in der Mitte des nördlichen Kreuzarmes der Kirche versetzt, wo es noch jetzt zu sehen ist. Das Monument mit der Gestalt des Verstorbenen auf einer Steinplatte, die von sechs freistehenden Säulen getragen wird, ist mit einem hölzernen Deckel versehen ...”.

¹⁸ Laabs 2000, cit. (note 5), pp. 25-26, 28 with fig. 11, 148-149.

¹⁹ Ibidem, pp. 148-150 with fig. 120.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 150 with fig. 121. Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), p. 99. Walter Paatz, Die Lübeckische Steinskultur der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, Lübeck 1929, Kat. Nr. 5a, pp. 59-60.

²¹ Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), pp. 87-174, bes. p. 100. Gabriele Böhm, Mittelalterliche figürliche Grabmäler in Westfalen von den Anfängen bis 1400, Münster-Hamburg 1993 (= Kunstgeschichte; 19), pp. 20, 32-34.

in 1688.²² A century earlier Reinerius Reineccius, in 1579, had described the tomb together with its protective chest with two shutters as follows: “*Ipsam imaginem tegunt valvae duae, quas sustinent imaginem Widechindi tabulae*”.²³

A similar solution is shown by the wooden founder’s monument for Duke Ludolf of Saxony (who died in 866) in the former collegiate church of Saints Anastasius and Innocentius at Gandersheim. The monument was erected in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.²⁴ Admittedly the wooden case itself is later: it dates to the second half of the eighteenth century, but the evidence for the group of monuments presented in my lecture suggests that this was a replacement for an older and by now dilapidated cabinet. Around 1300 the funerary monument of abbess Helmburgis († 973), foundress of the convent of Fischbeck (Lower Saxony), was commemorated with a figure that now stands on a console in the choir of the church. Originally, however, it was placed in a wooden case with hinged shutters, just like the tomb of Ludolf of Saxony in Gandersheim.²⁵ The same goes for the tomb of Otto I, Duke of Braunschweig Lüneburg, who died in 1394; it is situated in the Cistercian monastery of Wiebrechtshausen, which had presumably been founded as a daughter-house of Gandersheim.²⁶

When such wooden cabinets with hinged shutters were opened for the liturgy of the dead can be deduced from the testament of Conrad III of Daun, Archbishop and Electoral Prince of Mainz. Shortly before his death in 1434 he gave instructions in his last will and testament about how and where he should be buried: what his tomb should look like; and how he should be commemorated. He instructed that a tomb be raised for him “in the middle of our Cathedral” before the high altar, that it be sunk into the floor, that a sarcophagus be installed over the grave

²² H. Meibom, *Notae ad chronicon comitatus Schaumburgensis in Rerum Germanicarum*, Bd. I, Helmstedt 1688, p. 546. Böhm 1993, cit. (note 21), p. 208, n. 71.

²³ Reinerius Reineccius, in: *Opuscula varia de Westphalia eiusque doctis aliquot viris a Johannes Goes*, Helmstedt 1668, Appendix de Angrivaria, Angaria oppido et ibidem Widekindi Magni monumento, p. 204 ff. P. Pieper, *Wittekind’s Grabmal*. In: G. Engel, *Enger – Ein Heimatbuch zur 1000 Jahr-Feier*, Gütersloh 1984, pp. 266 ff. Böhm 1993, cit. (note 21), pp. 34, 197, 208, n. 72.

²⁴ Wolfgang Kleiminger, *Figur und Raum – zur Wesensbestimmung der deutschen Plastik des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Arbeiten des kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Kiel I), Kiel 1948, p. 117. Rainer Kahsnitz, *Die Gründer von Laach und Sayn. Fürstenbildnisse des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Nürnberg 1992, p. 88; Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), pp. 87-174, esp. p. 99. Wäß, II, 2006, cit. (note 6), pp. 222, 224. Wäß further assumes that the founders’ effigies of Walo of Anhalt in Walsrode, Agnes of Meissen in Wienhausen, and Dietzmann in the Universitätsmuseum in Leipzig must originally have had a similar context; see Wäß, I, 2006, cit. (note 6), pp. 391-392; Wäß, II, 2006, cit. (note 6), pp. 167, 589.

²⁵ Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), pp. 87-174, esp. p. 99. Gustav André, *Stift Fischbeck (Große Baudenkmäler 211)*, München/Berlin⁴ 1981.

²⁶ Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), pp. 87-174, esp. p. 99. Hans-Günther Griep, *Harzer Rechtsdenkmäler. Vom Adlerwappen bis zum Zeremonialschwert*, Goslar 1993, pp. 53, 127.

and a lid placed over it, which was to be opened on his anniversary day, and that four candles be placed round it as they were round “other archbishops, our blessed forefathers”.²⁷

The magnificent stone funerary monument of the Electoral Prince has survived, though now converted into a wall-monument. Only in 1804 was it removed from its original position set into the floor and transferred to its existing site against the second pillar of the nave on the north side.²⁸ It shows the funeral effigy of the Archbishop in full vestments and regalia, together with his coat of arms, surrounding inscription and two censing angels by his head. If we did not know from the excellent source material that the tomb had been formerly sunk into the floor of the cathedral, we would be unlikely to come up with any such conclusion. Moreover, there is nothing in the existing monument that would lead us to infer the former existence of a cover or lid, as instructed in the archbishop’s testament: no trace of it survives.

The sinking of a tombstone into the floor and its closing with a lid, with *eynem Deckel* as the testament of Archbishop Conrad III instructs, has a long-standing and extensive tradition that extends far beyond the Cathedral in Mainz. Numerous examples of such a practice could be cited. Thus the double tomb installed for Count Dedo von Wettin († 1190) and his wife Mechthildis († 1189) before the high altar of the Augustinian collegiate church at Wechselburg in the years 1235-40, was also sunk into the floor and furnished with a wooden lid.²⁹

The same goes for the tombstone of Adolph II of Nassau, Archbishop of Mainz. He died in 1475. He had instructed that he be buried in front of the high altar of the Cistercian convent church of Eberbach. The magnificent tombstone was originally sunk one and a half *Schuh* (roughly half a meter) into the floor of the church and was furnished with a wooden lid. Not until 1707 was the tombstone lifted out of the floor of the church and converted into a wall-monument.³⁰ Eberhard Nikitsch has further pointed out that the chapter house in the same convent of Eberbach was

²⁷ “[...] ein grab bestellen mitten in unsrem Dume vor dem Capelchin und Elter, do wir unser begrebde hain gekoren; und sal eynen redelichen Sarcke uf das grabe lassen hawen, und den in die Erde versencken, und eynen deckel daruff, den man unser ijarzyt, siebenden und dreissigsten begeet, sal uff thun, und vier kertzen daby setzen, als andern Erzbischoffen unsern Forfarn seligen.”; cf. Fritz Victor Arens, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Mainz von frühmittelalterlicher Zeit bis 1650*, gesammelt und bearbeitet von Fritz Victor Arens auf Grund der Vorarbeiten von Konrad F. Bauer, Stuttgart 1958 (= *Die Deutschen Inschriften*, 2. Band, Heidelberger Reihe, Zweiter Band), pp. 85-86. Verena Kessel, *Memorialfunktionen Mainzer Erzbischofsgräber von 1249-1434*, in: *Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein* 34, 1994, p. 24. Hans Körner, *Grabmonumente des Mittelalters*, Darmstadt 1997, p. 185 and fig. 131. Laabs 2000, cit. (note 5), p. 150.

²⁸ Gisela Kniffler, *Die Grabdenkmäler der Mainzer Erzbischöfe vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, zur Plastik und zur Ornamentik*, Köln-Wien 1978, p. 147. Körner 1997, cit. (note 27), p. 185.

²⁹ Richard Hamann-Mac Lean, *Das Freigrab*, in: *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXII-1/4, 1978, p. 97. Körner 1997, cit. (note 27), p. 186, fig. 106. Wäß, II, 2006, cit. (note 6), p. 591

³⁰ Wolfgang Beeh, *Zum Typus des Grabmals von Erzbischof Adolf II. von Nassau in Kloster Eberbach*, in: *Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein*, 10, 1970, p. 19. Körner 1997, cit. (note 27), p. 186.

originally furnished with 28 relief-decorated, but not relocated, tombstones, which would imply a corresponding number of wooden covers for them.³¹

The next in this chronological series is the tomb of Bernhard von Breydenbach, canon of Mainz Cathedral, who died in 1497, author of the first illustrated travel book to be printed, the *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486). Bernhard had himself portrayed as a *gisant*, his mouth slightly opened, his arms crossed over his stomach and a chalice resting on his breast. The tombstone was originally located in the Marian Chapel of Mainz Cathedral; it was sunk into the floor there and closed with a wooden cover.³² Bernhard's monument, however, is no exceptional case: our knowledge of the monuments in Mainz Cathedral is exceptionally good thanks to Jacob Christoph Bourdon's collection of the cathedral's epitaphs (*Epitaphia in ecclesia metropolitana Moguntina*, 1727), for Bourdon mentions a whole group of tombs that were concealed below wooden boards (*unter Brettern*): the tomb slab of Heinrich Bayer von Boppard (dean; † 29. IX. 1377), of Rorich von Sternberg (canon and treasurer; † 16. X. 1380), of Johann von Wartenberg (canon; † 13. II. 1391), of Ewald Faulhaber (cantor, doctor of canon law and protonotary of the Apostolic See; † 11.XI.1486), and of Gerhard von Ehrenberg (scholasticus and canonicus; † 10. I. 1498).³³

No medieval tomb sunk into the floor of a church that is still *in situ* and still protected with a wooden case with hinged shutters, has – to my knowledge – survived. Yet there are two tombs that show that this form of funerary monument survived well into modern age. The first is the tomb slab with funerary effigy of Jan Zrinský († 1617) in the Cistercian monastery of Hohenfurt. It is sunk some 70 cm deep into the floor of the north choir chapel and closed with a lid.³⁴

The second is a monument from the early neoclassical period: the tomb of Maria Magdalena

³¹ Eberhard J. Nikitsch, *Zur Sepulkralkultur mittelrheinischer Zisterzienserklöster*, in: Walter Koch (ed.), *Epigraphik 1988, Fachtagung für mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Epigraphik*, Graz, 10.-14. Mai 1988 (= Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Bd. 213), Wien 1990, p. 192.

³² Beeh 1970, cit. (note 30), p. 20. Körner 1997, cit. (note 27), pp. 187-188 with fig. 140.

³³ Jacob Christoph Bourdon, *Epitaphia in ecclesia metropolitana Moguntina sive liber mortuorum. Anno 1727*. Handschriften in München, Staatsbibliothek (Ms. cod. Lat. 10447); Mainz Seminar 2 Stück; Mainz, Bischöfliches Ordinariat; Eltville, Gräflich Eltz'sches Archiv; Mainz, Stadtarchiv (Abschrift des 19. Jahrhunderts); all monuments cited above according to the transcripts given in Arens 1958, cit. (note 27), pp. 15, 49, 54, 121, 130.

³⁴ Andreas Zajic, "Zu ewiger gedächtnis aufgericht". Grabdenkmäler als Quelle für Memoria und Repräsentation von Adel und Bürgertum im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Das Beispiel Niederösterreichs, Wien-München 2004 (= Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 45), p. 161, note 40. Jan Zrinský was the nephew and heir of the last Rosenberger, Peter Wok. On this tomb, and its possible attribution to the Linz sculptor Johann Baptist Spazio see Milan Hlinomaz, *Das Zisterzienserstift in Hohenfurth, sine loco, sine anno (c.2000)*, unpaginated with ill.

Langhans in the church of Hindelbank near Bern. Maria Magdalena was the wife of the parish priest of Hindelbank, Georg Langhans. She died in childbirth on the night of Easter Saturday, 10 April 1751, together with her newborn child. Johann August Nahl the Elder created her tomb shortly after her death. Until the great fire that gutted the church of Hindelbank on 21 July 1911 the monument sunk into the floor of the choir of the church still retained its shutters, as is strikingly documented by a photo taken before the fire. The monument is no longer set into the floor; it too has been converted into a wall-monument and is without its shutters; it now stands in the von Erlach family chapel.³⁵

What a medieval church interior with many tombstones with wooden shutters set into its floor might have looked like is shown by a drawing by Gustav van Geldern of the interior of Goslar Cathedral in c.1819, when the gradual demolition of the cathedral began.³⁶ We see in this drawing numerous tombstones with wooden shutters in part open, in part closed.

A particular position in this series is occupied by the tomb of Markgraf Wilhelm II († 1425) in the Schlosskirche at Altenburg (Thuringia). It was originally the lid of a tomb chest that stood before the choir over the crypt in which the markgrave was buried. Recumbent on top of it was the sculpted effigy of the duke. When it was decided that the Kurfürstin Margaretha should be buried on the same site in 1486, Wilhelm II's *tumba* was removed and his life-size stone *gisant* was set up vertically against the north-east wall of the choir. Although the formerly recumbent figure was thus converted into a standing figure, the custom of concealing it in a wooden case was evidently retained, since the sculpted effigy of the markgrave could be closed behind a wooden shutter. The outer side of the shutter repeated in painting the portrait of Wilhelm in full armor concealed behind it.³⁷

In a quite similar way the funerary monument with recumbent effigy of empress Eleonor of Portugal († 3 September 1467) in the Neuklosterkirche at Wiener Neustadt was protected at least since the baroque period in a wooden coffer that could be closed with shutters. Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III had commissioned the tomb of his deceased consort from the

³⁵ The shutters are reported to have been installed over the tomb in 1782 as a protective measure. On the creation and conservational history of the tomb see Babette Stadie-Lindner, *Zimmerkenotaphe. Ein Beitrag zur Sepulkralkultur des 18., 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, PhD Thesis Freie Universität Berlin 1991, pp. 315-321 with ill.

³⁶ Wolff/v. Behr/Hölscher 1901, cit. (note 6), pp. 52, 54 and 55. The drawing itself was probably not made until 1834/35, i.e. some 15 years after the demolition of the church in 1819-1822; siehe Beckermann 2003, cit. (note 4), p. 91.

³⁷ Paul Lehfeldt, *Die Bau- und Kunst-Denkmäler Thüringens. Herzogtum Sachsen-Altenburg*, Amtsgericht Altenburg, Jena 1895, p. 104-105. Enno Bünz/Tom Graber, *Die Gründungsdokumente der Universität Leipzig (1409). Edition – Übersetzung – Kommentar*, Dresden, 2010, p. 37 with ill. 13a-b. I would like to thank Enno Bünz for the reference to this example.

Netherlandish sculptor Nicolaus Gerhaert. The tomb's original site in the church remains in doubt; already by the baroque period the tomb slab was laid sloping against the wall. The wooden coffer in which it was placed dates to 1730 but disappeared in 1841. A transcription of the funerary epitaph was placed in the upper half of both shutters that closed the wooden coffer, while in the lower half the following inscription could be read: "*Portugalensis princeps et filia regis / imperii consors romani denique digna / hoc nunc exanimis claudor Leonora sepulcro, Chara fui bonitate bonis optabor in aevum*". Below this was a crowned eagle with the words "*Post fata superstes*".³⁸ If placed in the context of the series of examples adduced here, it is plausible to assume that the wooden coffer of 1730 replaced an older, no doubt late-gothic one.

Finally let me cite the last of the cases known to me, though in this case it is a wall-monument: it is the tomb with hinged wooden shutters over an epitaph of red Salzburg marble of the wealthy Nuremberg ironmonger Kunz Horn and his wife Barbara, née Krell. It stands on the west exterior wall of the sacristy of the Lorenzkirche in Nuremberg and shows the scene of the *Last Judgment* with God under a baldachin, surrounded by angels. Husband and wife kneel before Him, significantly smaller in size. This imported monument, sculpted by the Austrian sculptor Hans Valkenauer, measures 3.3 by 2.4 meters and dates to 1502, so fifteen years before the death of Kunz Horn. It cost the considerable sum of 200 *gulden*. Jakob Heller paid the same sum for the altarpiece [of the *Assumption of the Virgin*] he commissioned from Albrecht Dürer for the Dominican church in Frankfurt in 1509.³⁹

The intention had been to install this monument over the altar of St. Roch in St. Lorenz, but this led to a dispute between the Town Council of Nuremberg and Kunz Horn in 1503, for Kunz had commissioned the sculptor to carve into the monument both his coat of arms and that of his wife Barbara Krell and the Council was of the opinion that Kunz was *nit von den erbaren* ("not one of the patricians") and consequently was not entitled to so lavish a monument inside the church. So finally it was installed only on the exterior of the church, on the west wall of the sacristy situated on the south side of St. Lorenz.⁴⁰ It is clear that the monument was initially housed in a wooden

³⁸ Zajic 2004, cit. (note 34), p. 161. Renate Kohn, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Wiener Neustadt*, Wien 1998 (= *Die Inschriften des Bundeslandes Niederösterreich Teil 2 = Die Deutschen Inschriften 48*, Wiener Reihe 3), pp. 59-61 with note 2, cat. no. 98.

³⁹ Wolfgang Schmid, *Zwischen Tod und Auferstehung. Zur Selbstdarstellung städtischer Eliten des ausgehenden Mittelalters im Spiegel von Stifterbildern*, in: *Himmel-Hölle-Fegefeuer. Ausstellungskatalog des Schweizerischen Landesmuseums Zürich in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Schnütgen-Museum und der Mittelalterabteilung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums der Stadt Köln*. Katalog von Peter Jezler, herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für das Schweizerische Landesmuseum, Zürich 1994, pp. 106-107.

⁴⁰ Corine Schleif, *Donatio et memoria. Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg*, München 1990 (= *Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien*, vol. 58), pp. 84-86.

cabinet with shutters. For it is preserved in exceptional state; the existing canopy over it dates to 1934. Moreover, both Johann Alexander Boener's print of 1688 and Christoph Melchior Roth's engraving of 1756 show the epitaph enclosed in a cabinet with shutters that could be opened and shut. A description of the patrician families of Nuremberg dating no earlier than 1620 reports that the epitaph was only to be seen on feast days.⁴¹ Michael Truckenbrodt's historical study of the town of Nuremberg, *Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* (1785), also states that the epitaph was protected in a wooden cabinet and that this cabinet was only opened on feast days.⁴²

Yet, funerary monuments were covered and uncovered not only with wooden shutters, but also with cloth drapes. A magnificent example is the tomb of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick († 1439). This monument still stands, like that of his forebears, in the church of St. Mary in Warwick, where a family chapel on the south side of the choir was built to house it in the decade after his death. A freestanding monument with a tomb chest of Purbeck stone and figures in gilt latten, it seems a later version of the tomb of Edward III at Westminster, on which it must have been deliberately modeled. The effigy of the earl is in full armor, his head resting on a tilting helmet and crest and his feet on a muzzled bear and griffin. He lies over a latten plate fitted over the tomb chest, with his hands raised in a gesture of supplication. He is sheltered by a latten hearse that formerly served as the armature for a velvet pall. The sides of the tomb chest are carved with niches for family members identified by shields, alternating with angels.⁴³ Apparently begun as the chapel was nearing completion in the late 1440s, and probably finished by 1456-57, the tomb is problematically documented, because the original contracts and accounts have been lost. However, notes made for Sir Simon Archer in the seventeenth century furnish the names of eight artisans involved in its manufacture and allow us hypothetically to plot the progress of its separate components in a process of remarkable specialization.⁴⁴ Four documents are concerned with the effigy, described as "an image of a man armed", beginning with the payment of eight pounds to a painter named Clare in 1448-49, for a "picture" of it, and ending with a contract with a Dutch goldsmith of London named Lambespring for its final

⁴¹ Schleif 1990, cit. (note 40), pp. 76-89 with ill. 71; p. 249, appendix VII.

⁴² Michael Truckenbrodt, *Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, Bd. I, Nürnberg 1785, S. 393. Schleif 1990, cit. (note 40), p. 76.

⁴³ Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England*. With an Appendix on the Heraldry of the Crouchback Tomb in Westminster Abbey by John Goodall, FSA, FRNS, University Park Pennsylvania 2000, pp. 133-140.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

polishing and gilding in 1454. A contract of 23 May 1449, involved not only the founder, William Austen, but also Roger Webb, barber, John Massingham, carver and again Lambspring, the goldsmith, in its production.⁴⁵ A separate contract of 14 March 1452 provided for the statuettes of family members, described as “images embossed of lords and ladies in divers vestures, called weepers”. Only when the effigy was near completion, and the tomb chest finished, was provision made for the latten plate that covers the chest. The founder, William Austen, the coppersmith Thomas Stevyns, and the marbler John Essex agreed to make the plate, as well as the hearse attached to its upper edge in a contract of June 13, 1454. This contract must have been fulfilled by 1456-57, when the same three artisans were paid four pounds “*in parte convencu ad hoc insolutione per operibus suis circa tumulum*”.⁴⁶

The Beauchamp tomb was restored and extremely richly gilded under the direction of Sir William Dugdale in the later seventeenth century. Among the many payments associated with this restoration there are two concerning the cloth cover “[1683, 7 Junii] To Lionel Wells for Callico to cover that Monument 15.li. 00. 00.” and “17 Jun. To John Lewelyn for making the sayd Cover 00.01.06 “. ⁴⁷ In 1687 the gunsmith Nicholas Paris of Warwick received £141. 13s. 9d (1687. June 14th) “for work done in and about cleaning and gilding of Beauchamp’s tomb” and £102.19s.2.d “for work done in and about the cleaning and gilding of the cradle & and about the tomb since the said award”.⁴⁸ At the end of March 1698 payment was made for the creation of a new “covering of [the] Beauchamps monument”.⁴⁹ Between January 1710/11 and July 1711 Henry Rogers was paid £49.2s.6d. for gilding the hearse over the Beauchamp monument; he was also defrayed for the considerable expenses incurred in taking the hearse to London.⁵⁰

The hearse was restored in the spring of 1714,⁵¹ and in 1722/23 Thomas Paris and Thomas Freeman received £2.15.6d “For gilding forty pins and putting the cradle together belonging to Beauchamps monument ... For making fourteen pully frames and boxing the pullys with Brass

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 134 and 224 with note 4.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 134-135.

⁴⁷ William Dugdale (ed.), *The Restoration of the Beauchamp Chapel at St. Mary’s Collegiate Church Warwick 1674-1742*, Oxford 1956, p. 36.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 67.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 58.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 64.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 70.

and Iron work for the Roll”.⁵² Thomas Freemann further received a payment of 12s.4d. “For Stuff to line the cradle over the monument for 14 new Pullys and a roll crose the cradle to carry the lines to draw up the curtains For 3 days work putting samue up”.⁵³

And this cradle-like cover of the Beauchamp monument takes us back to our starting point: the appearance of the protective cover placed over the tomb of Duke Philip the Bold in Champmol. The sources merely tell us, as explained above, that a leather cover was ordered for it, and that it was made from 28 tanned sheepskins. Unfortunately the sources say nothing about the form of the cover. One tomb however has survived which was closely modeled on that of Philip the Bold and the form of whose cover is known: this is the monument that Jean de Cambrai designed for Duke Jean de Berry and that stood in the Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges until its demolition in 1756-57.⁵⁴ The famous wooden model, in which Pierre Gabard documented in minute detail the appearance of the Sainte-Chapelle in 1766, only a few years after it had been torn down, shows in the choir of the chapel not only the tomb for Jean de Berry but also its cradle-like cover.⁵⁵ Its barrel-vaulted form and cage-like construction closely agree with those of the latten hearse of the tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick († 1439), and thus give us a good idea of the lost situation in the Charterhouse of Champmol.

In Italy something similar must also have existed, even if I have so far been unable to find any written sources on the covering and uncovering of tombs. However, in three Florentine funerary monuments of the Renaissance the motif of uncovering, or in this case uncurtaining, the entire complex becomes the leitmotiv for the whole composition; it is so heavily emphasized that only ceremonies for the commemoration of the dead could have supplied their inspiration. The first is the funerary monument for Baldassare Coscia in the Florentine Baptistery, sculpted by Donatello and Michelozzo;⁵⁶ the second that for Cardinal Giacomo di Lusitania in San Miniato al Monte, sculpted by Antonio Rosellino; and the third that for Carlo Marsuppini in Santa Croce, sculpted

⁵² Ibid., p. 70.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 70.

⁵⁴ Philippe Goldmann, *La Sainte-Chapelle à l'épreuve de l'histoire: dégâts, travaux et destruction (XVe – XVIIIe siècles)*. In : *Une fondation disparue de Jean de France, duc de Berry. La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, ed. by Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot and Clémence Raynaud, Paris – Bourges 2004, pp. 56-58.

⁵⁵ Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot, *Le tombeau du duc Jean*. In : *Une fondation disparue de Jean de France, duc de Berry. La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, ed. by Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot and Clémence Raynaud, Paris – Bourges 2004, pp. 126-139, 196-204, and plate on p. 61.

⁵⁶ Antonio Paolucci, *Monumento funerario (1422-1428) dell'antipapa Giovanni XXIII (Baldassare Coscia)*, in: *Il Battistero di San Giovanni a Firenze / The Baptistery of Florence, Text*, ed. by Antonio Paolucci, Modena 1994 (= *Mirabilia Italiae*, II, General editor of the series Salvatore Settis), pp. 429-432.

by Desiderio da Settignano.

What is striking in the tomb of Carlo Marsuppini († 1453), humanist and Chancellor of the Republic of Florence, which Desiderio da Settignano created between 1453-1455,⁵⁷ is that it originally stood parallel to the north side of the choirstalls for the Franciscan community in Santa Croce. The monument's siting immediately poses the following question: Are the curtains of the monument represented in this way, drawn back to either side of the entire complex, to create the impression that the deceased was actively participating in the liturgy, that he was hearing the Brothers' prayer of the hours day after day?

Just this purpose can be demonstrated in the case of the siting of the tomb of Cardinal Giacomo di Lusitania; it too shows curtains drawn back on either side of the niche to reveal the entire monument. Antonio Rosellino created it for the Cappella di San Giacomo in San Miniato al Monte in Florence. The cardinal died on 27 August 1459. His body was transferred to the chapel in October 1466.⁵⁸ The choice of the location was clearly inspired by the idea of the commemoration of the dead at morning mass, for the humanist Vespasiano da Bisticci, the cardinal's contemporary, in his short biography of him, reports that Cardinal Giacomo di Lusitania (or Jacopo di Portogallo), being afflicted by a fatal illness, "settled his Will in apostolic form, providing that he should be buried in the church of San Miniato in Florence, of the Order of Monte Oliveto. He directed that a chapel should be endowed for daily mass, and also provided everything necessary for the services".⁵⁹

The custom of draping entire funerary monuments of this kind with cloths or curtains survived well into the baroque period. Thus in 1786 the Superintendent Christian Gottlieb Schmidt travelled through the Bernese Oberland and visited the church of Hindelbank near Bern, to visit the tomb of Maria Magdalena Langhans which I have already mentioned. He described in his

⁵⁷ Maria Rosa Lanfranchi, *Il restauro della decorazione pittorica*, in: Cristina Danti, Annamaria Giusti, Maria Rosa Lanfranchi, Christopher Weeks, *Scultura e affresco: Novità del restauro del monumento Marsuppini*, in *OPD Restauro, Rivista dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure e Laboratori di Restauro di Firenze*, 10, 1998, pp. 40-47, figs. I (entire), XII (lower cheek), XIII (detail of trabeation).

⁵⁸ The archival documents pertaining to the erection of the tomb and the cardinal's funerary monument are published in Manuel Cardoso Mendes Atanázio, *A arte em Florença no séc. XV e a Capela do Cardeal de Portugal*, Lisboa 1983, pp. 183-272.

⁵⁹ "... ordinò il suo testamento per autoritate apostolica, che fù di essere seppellito alla chiesa di San Miniato al Monte di Firenze, dell'ordine di Monte Oliveto; e volle che vi si facessi una cappella dotata dove s'avessi ogni mattina a dire messa..."; cf. Giovanni Matteo Guidetti, *La Cappella del Cardinale del Portogallo a San Miniato al Monte*, in: *Cappelle del Rinascimento a Firenze*, premessa di Mario Carniani, presentazione di Antonio Paolucci, Firenze 1998, pp. 59-68. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, ediz. cons. a cura di A. Creco, Firenze 1970, I, pp. 193-199. For the English translation: *Renaissance Princes, Popes and Prelates. The Vespasiano Memoirs. Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*. Translated by William George and Emily Waters. Introduction by Myron P. Gilmore. New York: Harper Torchbooks [1963], p. 145. Curiously, however, in the Cardinal's will no mention is made of the erection of any such chapel; see Eric C. Apfelstadt, *The later sculpture of Antonio Rosellino*, Princeton 1987, pp. 413-423.

diary not only this tomb but also the imposing baroque funerary monument for the Mayor of Bern, Hieronymus von Erlach, sculpted by Johann August Nahl in 1751; it was, he explains, installed right opposite the church door in a large niche hung with black curtains.⁶⁰

Let us now return to the starting point of our reflections: namely, to the monuments in the charterhouse of Champmol. A transcript of the charterhouse's necrology reads as follows: "*XVII decembris Obiit Illustrissima D[omi]na D[omi]na Elisabeth ducissa uxor Philippi ducis secundi quae sepulta est cum viro suo ad gradus altaris ... dedit ... domui huic Nostrae, quae p[rese]ns item elenchus demonstrabit ... Item illud elegans tapetum aureum, quo operitur sepulchrum ejus, quingentis nummis aureis emptum*".⁶¹ The passage refers to the tomb of Isabella of Portugal who died in 1471, but whose remains were not transferred to Champmol and buried together with her husband Philip the Good until 1474. On the instructions of Charles the Bold, a tombstone was simply sunk into the floor of the choir of the convent church and over it was raised a simple wooden scaffold in the form of a *tumba*, over which a precious cloth was draped.⁶²

A black velvet drape was ordered to be hung over the tomb during requiem masses for Isabella and Philip the Good.⁶³

Charles the Bold had lost interest in Champmol, and so he had dummy effigies of his parents made for their obsequies. He profited here from the custom, attested throughout Europe, of covering the recumbent effigy of the deceased on his/her anniversary day with a pall and placing large and small candles round the tomb, in order to commemorate the burial ceremony in this way, *in effigie*. In 1984 Renate Kroos assembled a whole series of examples of such a practice from all over Europe, to which I would here like to add a recently published example: that of the anniversary mass endowed by Hüglin von Schöneegg in the church of St. Leonhard in Basel. This

⁶⁰ Cited after the transcription of the diary in Stadie-Lindner 1991, cit. (note 35), p. 559. I would like to thank Melida Steinke, Leipzig, for drawing my attention to this case.

⁶¹ Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, Dijon, Ms 1F-16 (formerly Ms 138), excerpts from the necrology in a transcript made in 1713, pp. 184-189. Cited after the transcription published in Prochno 2002, cit. (note 2), p. 355.

⁶² Prochno 2002, cit. (note 2), p. 108, n. 127, 117-122. Cyprien Monget, *La Chartreus de Dijon d'après les documents des Archives de Bourgognes*, 3 vols., Montreuil-sur-Mer 1898-1905, II, 1901, 65. Illustrated in Otto Cartellieri, *English translation by M. Letts, The Court of Burgundy*, London 1970, reprint of the 1927 edition, p. 25, plate 2.

⁶³ Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, Dijon, Liasse, 1361-1467: "... Item apres ladicte messe celebree fut mise ladicte fierte ou estoit ledit corps en une fosse estant devant le grant autel de ladicte eglise bien faicte et maçonee taout autour, repuosant sur deux tresteaux et la fut mis en garde jusques a ce que mondit seigneur [fol. 71] son fils eust temps propice de le faire porter e conduire ez charteux de Dijon selon la voulenté dudit seigneur tr[es]passé, et dessus lad[icte] fosse est seulement couverte de grosses aiz [planks/boards] et dessus led[icte]s aiz y a esté mis ung tabernacle en la façon d'un grant coffre quarrée du grant e du large d'icelle fousse qui repousse la continuelment, et y sera jusque a ce que l'on oste ledit corps de la pour le porter en Bourg[oin]ne avec un beaul grant drap de velours noir dess[us] pend[ant] jusque a terre". Cited after the transcription in Prochno 2002, cit. (note 2), pp. 258-259.

mass was to be celebrated during each of the quarterly periods of fasting. Hüglin, by his endowment, thus pledged the prior, canons and the whole chapter to gather to celebrate commemorative masses in his honor four times each year.⁶⁴

Such *palla funeraria* were extremely sumptuous, often adorned with elaborately woven and embroidered cloths, often in red and gold, adorned with embroidered trees, elephants, griffins, hounds, lions, human figures, peacocks, knights on horseback, birds, coats of arms, dwarfs, dragons and so forth. Their lavishness was intended to call to mind the former position of the deceased on his or her anniversary day. The inventories of the cathedrals of St. Veit in Prague or St. Paul's in London cite large numbers of such *palla funeraria*; for St. Paul's alone the inventory speaks of "*Quadraginta fuerunt vetustissimi ... item XXXI mediocres ...*".⁶⁵

The covering of tombs with precious cloths on anniversary days is also attested by the cathedral ordinaries for the tomb of Henry II in Bamberg and the graves of Edith and Otto in Magdeburg; in both cases the tomb was not only covered with a precious or damascened cloth, a "*pano precioso*" or "*panno saraceno*", but crosses or reliquaries were placed on top of it.⁶⁶ The oldest surviving example for such a crucifix is the one that Gisela, former Queen of Hungary and later abbess of Passau-Niedernburg, donated to the tomb of her mother in the convent of Niedermünster in Regensburg. It is now part of the Schatzkammer in the Residenz in Munich.⁶⁷ In Magdeburg most of the cathedral's treasury of relics – monstrances, reliquary cases, *plenaria*, arm and bust reliquaries – were acquired for *memoria*, for the commemoration of the consecration of the church and for the feast of St. Maurice over and before the tomb of Emperor Otto I. The reliquary bust of St. Maurice with the crown of Otto the Great was placed on the tomb slab directly over the emperor's head: so the crown of the imperial founder is now the crown of victory and of martyrdom of the patron saint. At the foot of the sarcophagus stood the golden tablet [Tafel] that was normally placed before the high altar.⁶⁸

The anniversary of the Emperor Henry IV in Speyer Cathedral was distinguished from

⁶⁴ Kroos 1984, cit. (note 5), pp. 300-304, 310-313. Ylva Meyer, Memoria und Repräsentation im 14. Jahrhundert. Die Grabkapelle des Hüglin von Schöneegg in der Basler St. Leonhardskirche, in: Georges-Bloch-Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Universität Zürich, 6, 1999, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁵ Franz Bock, Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters oder Entstehung und Entwicklung der kirchlichen Ornate und Paramente in Rücksicht auf Stoff, Gewebe, Farbe, Zeichnung, Schnitt und rituelle Bedeutung nachgewiesen, vol. III, Graz 1970 (reprint of the Bonn 1871 edition), pp. 172-174; Kroos 1984, cit. (note 5), pp. 300-304, 310-313.

⁶⁶ Bock, III, 1871, cit. (note 65), p. 170. Kroos 1984, cit. (note 5), pp. 334-336; eadem, Liturgische Quellen zum Bamberger Dom, in: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 39, 1976, pp. 130-132, 134.

⁶⁷ Kroos 1984, cit. (note 5), pp. 305-306.

⁶⁸ Kroos 1984, cit. (note 5), pp. 334-335.

the other royal and imperial obsequies held there as follows: “*quod sepulchrum Regum tapetibus coopertis ... sanctuarium altaris maioris collocatur super sepulchrum Heinrici*” (1569); in the same manuscript the term “*sanctuarium*” clearly denotes relics. In other imperial monuments the Sanctissimum was used instead of relics, as in the cathedral of Utrecht, where it was placed on the entrail-tombs of Conrad II and Henry V.⁶⁹

The tomb of St. Gottfried in the abbey church of Cappenberg cannot be left out of this series. Installed long after the death of the Westphalian saint in 1127, it dates to the early years of the fourteenth century and focused, according to Horst Appuhn, precisely on the display of a long venerated reliquary: the famous relic of the head of Frederick Barbarossa, which concealed within it a relic of John the Baptist and thus doubled as a reliquary bust of the Baptist. The *gisant* of St. Gottfried holds a Greek cross-shaped socle in his right hand, on which – Appuhn argues – the reliquary was placed.⁷⁰ This thesis has met with little support in the literature. While some scholars have continued to maintain that the Greek cross in question is the cross-shaped base of a model of the church that was formerly present and described by Geisberg in 1851,⁷¹ here I would like to draw attention to a suggestion made by Renate Kroos: namely, that the curious Greek-cross-shaped attribute that Gottfried holds in his hand could represent the reliquary for the relic of the True Cross that Gottfried himself had obtained.⁷²

* * *

In conclusion, let me sum up my argument:

“Here I lie buried, and yet one of the living” reads the inscription on a tombstone with the coat of arms of the von Herbsleben family in the Cistercian church of Volkenroda (diocese of Mainz).⁷³

⁶⁹ “[...] faciet custos poni tapeta super sepulchrum Imperatorum in medio Choro et ponet eiam duos calices super sedem et unum corporale et omphanonem et 3 oblatas et vinum. Et dum epistola legitur, acolitus deferet corporale in chorum et explicabit super sepulchrum, et postea apportabit calicem unum copertum comphanone, et intus vinum et desuper tres oblatas et ponet super corporale”. For this source see Renate Kroos, *Quellen zur liturgischen Benutzung des Domes und seiner Ausstattung*, in: *Der Magdeburger Dom, Ottonische Neugründung und staufischer Neubau*, ed. Ernst Ullmann, Leipzig 1989, p. 91. Kroos 1984, cit. (note 5), pp. 334-335.

⁷⁰ Horst Appuhn, *Beobachtungen zum Bildnis Kaiser Friedrichs I. Barbarossa in Cappenberg*, in: *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44, 1974, pp. 157-165.

⁷¹ Böhm 1993, cit. (note 21), pp. 141-146, esp. p. 142

⁷² Kroos 1984, cit. (note 5), p. 335, note 443. Böhm 1993, cit. (note 21), pp. 142, 239, note 527. Caroline Horch, *Der Memorialgedanke und das Spektrum seiner Funktion in der Bildenden Kunst des Mittelalters*, Diss. phil. Nijmegen 2001, Königstein im Taunus 2001, pp. 103-148, figs. 31-33. Klaus Hardering, *Rheinische Reliquientumben*, in: *Kölner Domblatt, Jahrbuch des Zentral-Dombau-Vereins* 64, 1999, p. 78.

⁷³ “Hier liege ich begraben, dennoch einer der Lebenden”: Laabs 2000, cit. (note 5), pp. 142-143, 208-209, note 976.

On the basis of sentences like this, the disciplines of history and art history have felt themselves justified in speaking of the presence of the dead among the living that remained valid throughout the Middle Ages. And this idea of the dead as a living presence is also claimed to be of crucial importance for the creation of funerary monuments with effigies of the deceased: so the basic idea expressed in the figural tomb was not (this argument goes) the mere memory and commemoration of the deceased, but rather the real presence of the physically absent among those who commemorated them: the effigy of the deceased should thus be primarily understood as the portrayal of the ever-present dead among the living.⁷⁴

There is however a problem here. For, among the tombs I have presented in this lecture, the effigies of the deceased were *not* permanently visible: they could only be seen during the mass celebrated on their anniversary day. Otherwise they were covered over by a wooden cabinet or chest and invisible. What in my view has been too little considered is the ceremony, in other words the ephemeral character of the liturgical commemoration on the anniversary day. The visibility of the figure or effigy on a tomb should never in my view be detached, or considered separately from the ceremonies in the service of the *memoria* of the deceased, for the figure is always the central feature of these rites. Once the rites had been completed, the effigy was covered over again, and long remained invisible, until the next ceremony for the commemoration of the dead.⁷⁵ The focal point for the image of the dead consequently consisted, I suggest, not in the permanence of the deceased in their effigies, but the performance of the anniversary rites in their honor. So a presence of the dead among the living as expressed in the permanent visibility of funerary effigies must be limited, at least in the late Middle Ages. Such omnipresence of the dead is now suggested to us by the uncluttered interiors of gothic churches. But this is only because their funerary effigies have now been removed from their wooden cases; they have been shorn of their covers and are thus permanently visible.

⁷⁴ Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Die Gegenwart der Toten*, in: *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Hermann Braet, Leuven 1983, pp. 19-26.

⁷⁵ This problem has already been recognized and discussed by Annegret Laabs 2000, cit. (note 5), pp. 142-150.