PATRONAGE AS POWER, IDENTITY, AND SELF-LEGITIMIZATION IN MEDIEVAL
EUROPE

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INTRODUCTION

The Middle Ages (500-1500) encompassed a thousand-year period during which Christianity flourished in Western Europe and brought with it the belief that all people were united under Christian faith and practice. As God's earthly representative, the Church of Latin Christendom exerted an enormously strong and diverse hold over the thoughts and loyalty of the faithful up to the very moment of the Reformation.[1] Christianity was a profound element of human existence and throughout the daily trials of medieval life, the "Christian ideal continued to serve as a moral compass, even though in practice, its precepts were often abandoned in favor of personal or political gain."[2]

Not only did Church doctrine and liturgy give coherence and meaning to everyday life; more importantly, the Church offered the sole means by which the medieval Christian might achieve final victory over death. The promise of salvation was central to Christianity and taught that life was transient and depending on their beliefs and human conduct on earth, Christian souls would reap the reward of Heaven or the punishment in an eternal afterlife. Among scholastics, as among less learned Christians, matters concerning the eternal destiny of the soul were central to daily life and outlets for religious expression.[3]

Three glorious works of religious art from the Middle Ages — the Ebbo Gospels (c. 816-35), Gauriento di Arpo's panel paintings based on the celestial hierarchy of angels (c. 1347-50), and the tomb relief of Pierre de Bauffremont (c. 1453-72) — witness to a marvelously vibrant and creative civilization in which power, wealth, and faith served each other and offer insight

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[1] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580,* 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 4.
[2] John R. Shinners, ed., *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500: A Reader*, 2nd ed. Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), xvii.
[3] Gloria K. Fiero, *The Humanistic Tradition. Medieval Europe and Beyond* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 116.

into the link of these objects to piety and patronage.[4] The site and setting and the design and style of these three artworks speak volumes about the personal motives of the patrons who commissioned them, the society in which they were created, and the attitudes and mindset of the period.[5]

Although the subject matter is religious in nature, and the three works were completed during a period infused with Christianity, their commission should be understood primarily as an expression of a political agenda. The three noble dynasties associated with these works, the Carolingians, the Carrara, and the Valois, were faced with common political obstacles: establishing and managing authority over vast and expending domains, unifying the populace of their respectively realms politically and administratively, overcoming political dissention, and prevailing over family rivalry and betrayal. Patronage was the tool to overcome them and their artistic commissions aimed to proclaim authority, build identity, legitimize rule, and solidify power.[6]

Religious conviction, although sometimes driven by and secondary to political agendas, was not totally absent and the artworks reflect the "irrepressible religious vitality of an age of faith."[7] As patrons of religious works of art, the Carolingians, the Carrara, and the Valois aspired to be viewed as worshipping God or venerating the Virgin or the saints while at the same believing vehemently that by performing good works on earth they would benefit in Heaven.

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[4] Koert Van der Horst et al., eds., *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), 21.

[5] Colum Hourihane, ed., *Patronage: Power & Agency in Medieval Art* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2013), xxi.

[6] Sandra Cardarelli, Emily Jane Anderson, and John Richards, eds., *Art and Identity: Visual Culture, Politics and Religion in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), xx.

[7] Fiero, 117.

Noble patrons also commissioned images of moral and spiritual themes as a visual reminder of the ideals they should aspire to and the ultimate goal of salvation.[8]

The story of the medieval world is populated by remarkable leaders of their time. Through their actions and ambitions, whether for good or for bad, they carved out their roles in society. The role of art within the medieval political arena cannot be understood without knowing about the powerful institution of patronage, the common link behind the emergence of three powerful dynasties during the medieval period:[9] the Kingdom of the Franks, united by Charlemagne in the eighth and ninth centuries; the Carrara, the family that ruled Padua through most of the fourteenth century; and the Valois Dukes who created Burgundian state.

In order to place the Ebbo Gospels in its proper historical setting, it is necessary to examine the underlying forces of the early Middle Ages. Generally, the early medieval period was about managing various degrees of conflict around three factors: the recollection of the glorious history of ancient Rome in order to defend the concept of empire; the unification of all humanity under God with the guidance of the Christian Church; and the political unification and administration of the Germanic peoples under modernized and codified law.[10]

From the time he came to the throne in 768 until his death in 814, Charlemagne pursued the dream of restoring the Roman Empire under Christian leadership. Charlemagne's Frankish kingdom was an integration of spiritual and secular power into a new political structure — a "Christian Empire" — an *Imperium Christianum.* Alcuin writes expectantly in his letters of an "*Imperium Christianum*…wherein, 'just as the inhabitants of the [Roman Empire] had been

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[8] Corine Schleif, "Seeking Patronage: Patrons and Matrons," in *Patronage: Power & Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2013), 210.
[9] John M. Thompson, *The Medieval World: An Illustrated Atlas* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 2009), 155.
[10] Whitney S. Stoddard, *Art and Architecture in Medieval France* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), 4.

united by a common Roman citizenship,' presumably this new empire would be united by a common Christian faith."[11]

The increased prestige that came with the imperial title of "Emperor of the Romans," bestowed upon him by Pope Leo III, would support Charlemagne's power, as would the loyalty engendered by a strengthened connection with the Church. Of equal significance, Charlemagne's role in creating a Roman Christian or "Holy" Roman Empire cast him as the prototype of Christian kingship.[12] The artwork and the glorious illuminated pages of Christian manuscripts not only promulgate the image of the cultured emperor of ancient Rome, but also reflect some of the principal features of Charlemagne's new empire including the rising tide of Christian piety.[13]

The Ebbo Gospels (c. 816-35), considered to be one of the masterpieces of the art of the early ninth century, and its innovative "Rheims" style of illumination, was a direct result of Charlemagne's Carolingian Renaissance. Charlemagne's movement embraced an outright revival of the ancient Christian empire of the Roman Emperor Constantine; essentially, a reformed and edified Christian society based on moral and apostolic values, which was expressed in two ways: the alliance of church and state and the flowering of an artistic revival and cultural endeavor that required turning back to antique models as sources of innovation and emulation.[14]

Many scholars have offered a number of intriguing reasons behind the commission of Ebbo's Gospel book but there is no written documentation to prove them. Some authors contend that this new expressionistic style is essentially a representation of Ebbo's "charismatic"

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[11] Roger Collins, *The Basques*, Peoples of Europe (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 151.
[12] James Snyder, *Medieval Art: Painting-Sculpture-Architecture, 4-14th Century* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Publishers, 1989), 191.
[13] Fiero, 67.
[14] Snyder, 191.

personality as well as an expression and endorsement of his political ambitions and social agenda. The style of the Evangelists in their "sophisticated abstract" qualities mimic a life of turbulent events in which Ebbo's "fortunes fluctuate wildly"[15] and are symbolic of the "wandering lifestyle" of a monastic.[16] As such, Ebbo is likely seeking validation and wanted to be viewed as the "inspired seer" and "visionary[ies]" behind the "animated, energetic" Rheims style that is full of "spiritual fervor."[17]

First and foremost, the Ebbo Gospels is an object of patronage commissioned with intentional aims which speak to the religious, social, and political environment surrounding Charlemagne's reign. The flowering of Rheims under Ebbo in the second decade of the ninth century presented Ebbo with the opportunity to build an identity and to secure his position at court. During his first years as archbishop, Ebbo was dedicated to carrying out the reforms initiated by Charlemagne as well as continuing his interests as a scholar and missionary, which the written word was of key importance. His efforts are evident in his correspondence with other figures of the Carolingian Renaissance in which he requested verses, a compilation of a penitential, and books from the likes of Walafrid Strabo, Bishop Halitgar of Cambrai, and Archbishop Agobard of Lyons.[18]

Peter McKeon suggests that Ebbo commissioned the illuminated Gospel, perhaps for local use, but perhaps sponsored in some connection with Ebbo's missionary activities in the north as Ebbo served as the papal legate to propagate the faith in the neighboring Danish realm in the summer of 823. Similarly, highlighting the four Evangelist portraits in the Gospel book

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[15] Koert Van der Horst et al., 23.
[16] Fiero, 73.
[17] Ruth Berenson, "The Exhibition of Carolingian Art at Aachen," *The Art Journal* 26, no. 2 (Winter 1966-67): 163.
[18] Peter R. McKeon, "Archbishop Ebbo of Reims (816-835): A Study in the Carolingian Empire and Church," *Church History 43*, no. 4 (Dec. 1974): 438.

may have been an attempt by Ebbo to connect his passion for spreading the word of Christ to the

similar quest given to the Evangelists by Christ.[19]

Patronage is not a neutral act and is seen as a very "serious exchange, incalculably for

both parties"[20] such as gifting a luxury manuscript to a monastery in return for prayers for

salvation. Ebbo may have given the Gospel book to Louis the Pious as "a meaningful gift in

troubled times,"[21] or a token of his sorrow, in the hopes of regaining Louis's favor after he took

part in a rebellion against him in 833. It is likely that Ebbo was influenced by Ermoldus

Nigellus's composition of his work "In Honor of Louis the Pious" (c. 826-28) that he wrote as a

request for forgiveness after committing "foul deeds of [his] own fault" against Louis.[22]

Although there is no certainty about the inspiration that led to the commission of the

Ebbo Gospels, the fact remains that the illuminated manuscript made Rheims a center of

illusionistic painting and an eminent representative of the Carolingian Renaissance in the first

half of the ninth century. After Ebbo's departure in 841, the Rheims style continued to dominate

cultural productivity in Carolingian France and was seen by some scholars as "the fountainhead

of the dynamic linearism of later Romanesque art."[23] Through artwork, the Carolingians

imparted to future generations their philosophy of emulation and invention in all aspects of

culture and the conviction that the Romano-Christian tradition "not only mattered but was a

priceless hoard of treasure to be guarded, conserved, augmented, enriched and passed on." [24]

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[19] McKeon, 438.

[20] Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd ed. (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 46.

[21] Bart Jaski, "The Ruler with the Sword in the Utrecht Psalter," in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. Rob Meens, et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 91.

[22] Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 109.

[23] Snyder, 217.

[24] Rosamond McKitterick, "The Legacy of the Carolingians," in *Carolingian Culture, Emulation and Innovation,* ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 319.

By the time the Paduan painter Guariento di Arpo had completed his brilliant panel series for the palatine chapel of the Reggia Carrarese, Padua was already well accustomed to seigneurial rule. In the early fourteenth century a powerful local family, the Carrara, rose to dominate the city's political and cultural life and spent lavishly on providing visual evidence of their wealth and status to strengthen the Carrara identity and claims as lords of Padua. Guariento's cycle of paintings, comprising both wall frescoes and panels, offers valuable insight into Carrara patronage in which "refined taste and religious sensibility" accompanied the dynasty's "resourceful and tenacious political worldview."[25]

Although the city of Padua, a great center of commerce and industry, was growing and flourishing and citizens were experiencing increased wealth and prosperity, "the Carrara *signoria* was never more than a buffer-state" between the neighboring dynasties of Verona and Milan to the west and the Venetians to the east.[26] For some seventy-five years the House of Carrara maintained a "precarious and intermittent independence,"[27] for they were engaged in a continuing process of territorial rivalry, either with each other or with more powerful neighbors, while the family's autocratic style had made them increasingly unpopular within Padua itself. After increasingly challenging Venice's dominance, the "hated Carrara house" finally succumbed to the Venetians in 1405.[28]

Margaret Plant's popular declaration that "In its period of domination in Padua from 1337 to 1405, the house of Carrara sustained a singular chapter in the history of patronage" gives

[25] Meredith J. Gill, "The Carrara among the Angels in Trecento Padua," in *Venice and the Veneto during the Renaissance: The Legacy of Benjamin Kohl*, ed. Michael Knapton, John E. Law, and Allison A. Smith (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2014), 367.
[26] J.K. Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante: A Social History of an Italian City State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), 282.
[27] Benjamin G. Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318-1405* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), xix.
[28] Ibid.

an indication of the power and wealth of the noble family.[29] Over the course of the seigniory, the Carrara's abundant artistic patronage enabled the Carrara to elevate their prominent social status within Padua, extend their political domination to the neighboring towns, and strengthen the family's tenuous hold on power. Although showcasing their wealth and political power was the main reason behind their efforts, the family's patronage would also serve to celebrate publicly the piety of the Carrara family and beginning with Marsilio da Carrara (d. 1338) the family "entombed themselves splendidly in a manner that became standard among the elite of Veneto."[30]

The earliest of three surviving fourteenth-century sculpted tombs of the Carrara *signori* is that of Marsilio da Carrara, the first member of the family to attain true seigneurial status, which is located within the abbey church of Carrara San Stefano. The tomb chest, embellished with figures carved in high-relief depicting the Virgin, the Archangel Gabriel and Saint Anthony, not only acts as an endorsement of the deceased's devotion but also expresses the hope that, through the intercession of Mary and the saints, Marsilio might attain eternal salvation.[31]

As with Marsilio, elaborate wall tombs had been prepared for his immediate successors, Ubertino (d. 1345) and Giacomo II (d. 1350) within the chancel of Sant'Agostino — a site which owing to its proximity to the altar held great prestige and honor worthy of their political status. The two funerary monuments incorporate full-scale effigies of the deceased which provide not only a physical presence but allow for detailed portrayal of the deceased's clothing. Significantly, the two Carrara are portrayed not in armor but in the long robes and distinctive

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[29] Margaret Plant, "Patronage in the Circle of the Carrara Family: Padua, 1337-1405," in *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. F.W. Kent and Patricia Simons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 377.
[30] Plant, 178.
[31] Norman, Diana, ed., *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400*. Volume I: Interpretive Essays (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 157.

head-dress of fourteenth-century merchants. They present, therefore, an image not of warrior-knights but of "citizens capable of administering fair and equitable government to the population and community of Padua."[32]

Beginning with Marsilio in 1337, the Carrara lords reconsolidated the city, rebuilt its walls, and initiated the building of the center of their ruling dynasty, the Reggia Carrarese. Over the course of the dynasty, artists decorated the large complex using various types of imagery including heraldry, figural portraits and narrative fresco cycles. Ubertino da Carrara, who saw "his role as city father reconsolidating Padua after its war with Verona,"[33] not only commenced the building of the palace but was the first *signore* to commission artwork to decorate the palace. John Richards argues that "Ubertino's rooms served a fairly obvious function in their relentless heraldic proclamation of family identity. The Carrara had emerged lords of Padua only after a period of prolonged, complex and often exasperating struggle."[34]

The choice by the Carrara to include their coats-of-arms in artwork shows that heraldry was not only a distinctive mark of individuality but also a visual display of power and prestige. It appears that Bartolino da Padova and Johannes Ciconia were commissioned to write ceremonial madrigals celebrating the Carrara family. The family crest is present in the margin of the manuscript page for *Inperial sedendo,* which is part of a larger fifteenth-century manuscript collection of texted polyphonic songs. The emblem consists of a gold-winged Saracen crest covering a helmet over the armorial emblem of a red *carro* (chariot), the wheels of which are guided by the personifications of the four cardinal virtues – Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance — that were formulated by Plato in the Republic as the virtues required of citizens

[32] Norman, 157.
[33] Ibid.
[34] John Richards, *Petrarch's Influence on the Iconography of the Carrara Palace in Padua: The Conflict between Ancestral and Antique Themes in the Fourteenth Century* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 25.

of the ideal city-state. In addition, the madrigal composed by the renowned Johannes Ciconia, *Per quella strada,* focuses on a description of the *carro* as if it were decorated for a Roman-style triumph.[35]

Giacomo II and Francesco il Vecchio (r. 1350-88) continued the commission of visual images for the halls of the Reggia based on ancient traditions designed for the "glorification of familial achievement."[36] The use of classical culture provided flattering models as inspiration for sovereigns and also provided them with precedents for power and to show them as worthy successors. Francesco il Vecchio may have been inspired by Petrarch, his friend as well as a scholar, poet, and humanist, to draw the subjects for his narrative frescoes from classical sources, which is confirmed by accounts of the lost decorations. In his mid-fifteenth-century description of the Reggia Carrarese, Michele Savonarola specifically noted, "Two spacious and most ornately painted rooms, the first of which is called the Thebarum and the other is named the Imperatorum: the first is both larger and more glorious, in which the Roman emperors are depicted marvelously with figures and with triumphs in the best gold and with color."[37]

The four frescoed walls located in the private chapel of the Reggia Carrerese were executed between 1347 and 1350 by the Paduan master, Guariento di Arpo, who worked as a court painter of the Carrara. Guariento, likely in consultation with his patrons and advisors, devised a theological scheme that "presages some of the grand pictorial ensembles of the Renaissance." [38] Members of the nine orders of angels that correspond to Pseudo-Dionysius's fifth-century codification surround the images of the Virgin and Child and the four Evangelists

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[35] Sarah M. Carleton, "Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2009), 115.
[36] Plant, 183.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Meredith J. Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 12.

creating a "fictive heaven" using light and extraordinary coloristic effect."[39] All angels, regardless of rank, portrayed enviable characteristics such as power and might, intelligence and wisdom, obedience, and piety, and also performed exemplary roles as protectors, healers, and helpers.

Guariento's heavenly vision of angels is joined to an extensive narrative cycle of frescoes based on biblical subjects from the Old Testament which emphasize angels interacting with humans in various ways. The Carrara were deliberate in the figures they chose from the Old Testament (including David, Judith, and Joseph, amongst others) who were deemed to embody human and moral virtue and to whom the Carrara could associate with a positive image.[40] David's role as the ideal king and man, his humble demeanor, and the fact that he founded a dynasty that lasted four-hundred years and created a sense of national identity for his people, assured his status as a role model for the Carrara *signori*.[41]

It appears that Guariento's iconographical scheme attempted connect the enviable attributes and the moral qualities of the angelic ranks to the Carrara in order to create a new identity for the supposedly reformed ruling dynasty. For example, Seraphim (love), Cherubim (knowledge), Thrones (divine presence), Dominions (benevolent rule), Principalities (manifest transcendent principles), Powers (courage), Virtues (strength), Archangels (divine enlightenment), and Angels (revelation).[42]

In addition, attributes assigned to the ranks are meant to be personifications of the Carrara such as the thrones, crowns, and scepters, and orbs of the Thrones symbolized the Carrara as representatives of Good Government and the theme is an "expression of civic pride of

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[39] Gill, "The Carrara among the Angels," 367.
[40] Norman, 165.
[41] Veronica Sekules, *Medieval Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 109.
[42] Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven*, 23.

the Italian city-states."[43] The Dominions are represented by the Archangel Michael who is

mentioned in the Book of Daniel as the first prince and custodian of the people of Israel (Dan.

10:13; 11:1) and in that likeness, the Carrara dispense justice and guard the citizens of Padua

against their neighboring enemies.[44] The name of the Principalities means their "divine strength

to command and lead" and as such, they are depicted as warrior-angels that watch over nations

and administer fair and equitable government to the citizens of Padua.[45]

      The circumstances surrounding the history of the reign of the Carrara as well as the

individuals they chose as associates provide some answers to their commitment to artistic

patronage. The early Carrara recognized that art and architecture could be used to enhance the

family's honor as well as that of the city, and the Reggia Carrarese made a striking display of

their power and wealth. The family's close friendship with Petrarch, who had a tremendous love

of the classics and the rich heritage of ancient Greece and Rome, likely had an influence on the

decorative scheme of both the Carrara Palace and its chapel. Petrarch passed on the idea of

"active and contemplative lives, the Stoic notion of virtue as greatness of soul, and a strong faith

in human rationality."[46]

      Benjamin Kohl's scholarship on the life of Paduan artists encapsulated the tensions in the

late medieval city between seigniorial government and Carrara wealth. This tension and its

impact on daily life in Padua "attain pictorial resolution in the Carrara household's place of

worship, and in the salvific acts of the angels in Guariento's biblical subjects, as also in his

angels' kindly almsgiving and decisive intervention in the afterlife."[47] Through the paintings of

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[43] David Keck, *Angels & Angelology in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 283.

[44] James A. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008), 215.

[45] Norman, 157.

[46] Jonathan W. Zophy, *A Short History of Renaissance and Reformation Europe: Dances over Fire and Water*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002), 73.

[47] Gill, "The Carrara among the Angels," 374.

the heavenly realm, the Carrara may have been evoking the "otherworldly and invisible through persuasive naturalistic means"[48] to intervene in their quest for salvation. Meredith Gill explains that "To conceive of heaven, the high dwelling place of the angels, the saints and the blessed, is to visualize a place. It is to recall, the tenets of belief in the potentially petrifying judgment preceding the human soul's entry."[49]

The fourteenth century was the age of popular devotion and Patricia Pongracz asserts that scenes of the angels, "whose protection or pious examples were quickly brought to mind by their comforting likenesses in private chapels…"[50] were important to devout medieval patrons. Like so, Richard Kieckhefer believes that art commissioned as an act of contemplative piety prompted "fundamentally private, unofficial, and unstructured time when the individual stands alone before God."[51] The panel paintings were in a space especially appropriate for reflection on the sins the Carrara committed on their rise and preservation of their seigneurial status; therefore, replicating Enrico Scrovegni's commission of the Arena Chapel as an act of expiation for his and his father's usurious loans.

In order to understand the inspiration behind the commission of Pierre de Bauffremont's (c. 1397-1472) tomb it is essential to consider the function of the monument in the late fifteenth century, the outward appearance of the monument in terms of its models and characteristics, and how the monument related to its contemporary context and "the local culture of remembrance."[52]

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[48] Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven*, 60.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ena Giurescu Heller and Patricia C. Pongracz, eds., *Perspectives on Medieval Art: Learning through Looking.* (London: D. Giles Limited, 2010), 90.
[51] Richard Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion," in *Christian Spirituality*: *High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Bernard McGinn, John Meyendorff, and Jill Raitt (New York: Crossroads, 1987), 77.
[52] Tanja Michalsky, "The Local Eye: Formal and Social Distinctions in Late Quattrocento Neapolitan Tombs." *Art History 31*, no. 4 (Sept. 2008): 492.

In addition, of particular importance is Pierre's intimate relationship with the Valois Dukes of Burgundy in which his association connected him to their status and sovereignly authority.

Throughout history, funerary monuments have offered valuable insights into the aspirations and self-representations of individuals within society. "Patrons' incentives to document their impact on the world, and even to aggrandize their lives and careers, were a powerful force in the artistic culture" of the late Middle Ages.[53] Tombs served not only personal functions such as securing their place in the memories of their family and associates, but also political ones such as praising publicly their status and accomplishments.[54]

The Dukes of Burgundy commanded vast financial resources and their collective reigns (from 1363 to 1477) recount the escalation and decline of one of the most sophisticated courts in Europe. Although their political power, vast wealth, and sophistication were enviable, their reputation was tainted by their blatant and relentless ambition and lack of patriotism. John Harthan explains that the Dukes of Burgundy "lacked French patriotism; of Burgundian patriotism in the sense of dynastic presumption they had plenty, showing little hesitation in forming alliances with England, France's traditional enemy, to advance their family power."[55]

John the Fearless, not only adopted ruthless methods in his ambition to the aggrandizement of himself and Burgundy, but also a sinister reputation. Described as "A small, tight-lipped, cunning, touchy man without scruples," he arranged the murder of his rival, the Duke of Orleans. His son, Philip the Good, was also considered an aggressive opportunist who

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[53] Carmen Marie Hamel, "The Funerary Monuments of the Carafa Family: Self-commemoration and Ecclesiastic Influence in Early-Renaissance Naples" (master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 2014), 1.
[54] Paul Cockerham, "Lineage, Liturgy and Locus: The Changing Role of English Funeral Monuments," in *One Thousand Years of English Church Monuments*, ed. Sally Badham (London: Ecclesiastical Society, 2010), 13.
[55] John P. Harthan, *The Book of Hours: With a Historical Survey and Commentary* (New York: Park Lane, 1982), 97.

was absorbed with conquering neighboring territories and establishing permanent control by dynastic rule.[56]

As discrimination patrons of the arts, the Valois of Burgundy had created the reputation of flamboyancy and "unmatched aesthetic refinement" as "Their honor demanded no less of them."[57] This display of materialistic ostentation, their fondness for luxury, and the major artistic developments that occurred during their reigns; notably, in Dijon under Philip the Bold and in Flanders under Philip the Good, served a political purpose in providing proof of the Dukes' power, status, and wealth both to their subjects and to the rest of the world.[58]

Philip the Bold was concerned with the dynastic, political, and religious implications of a suitable ducal resting place and founded the Chartreuse de Champmol in 1383 to serve as the Valois family mausoleum. Philip also understood the symbolic value of an imposing funerary monument and commissioned the construction of "a highly specific and carefully tailored commemorative identity balanced by the overarching concepts of commemoration and salvation."[59] Philip's lavishly decorated, free-standing, floor-tomb ensemble was to be placed, like a shrine, in the very center of the monk's choir of the Abbey-Church of the Chartreuse de Champmol. The magnificence of its display was no doubt a way of advertising their power and wealth, and intentionally geared towards encouraging admiration as much as piety.[60]

Although a tomb for Philip the Good was planned but not completed, his painted ducal portrait (1435-36) for the church of the Chartreuse de Champmol served as a reminder of a

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[56] Harthan, 101.
[57] Zophy, 24.
[58] Harthan, 105.
[59] Matthew Reeves, "Nostre Sépulture et Derrenière Maison: A Reconsideration of the Tomb of John, Duke of Berry, for the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges, Its Inception, Revision, and Reconstruction," in *Revisiting the Monument: Fifty Years since Panofsky's Tomb Sculpture*, ed. Ann Adams and Jessica Barker (London: Courtauld Books Online, 2016), 218.
[60] Sekules, 81.

distinguished patron in the same way as the weepers on the funeral monuments. The painting, when viewed in conjunction with the painted portraits of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, as well as the ducal tombs, makes a statement about the continuity of the Valois family rule of Burgundy. The dual message of Philip's portrait "implicitly announces to the viewer that Philip is the perfect chivalrous ruler and heir to the greatness of Alexander the Great and Charlemagne" and "projects Philip the Good as the defender of his family honor and the most illustrious of all the Valois Burgundian Dukes."[61]

The Charterhouse embodied the Dukes' piety; yet, their motivations stemmed deeper than the creation of a commemorative space as a display of religious conviction. As the Capetian dukes were traditionally buried at Citeaux, establishing the burial place of the Dukes of Burgundy at Champmol signified the advent of a new regime and the arrival of the new dynasty in Dijon. The performative aspect of the Valois founding the Chartreuse de Champmol should be understood within the context of a declaration by the ducal dynasty – that is, an eloquent statement about social position, an expression of lay power, a display of legitimacy, and the communication of a political agenda backed by a vast network of papal, monastic and royal relationships.[62]

Pierre de Bauffremont (c. 1397-1472) was from an ancient and illustrious noble family from Upper Lorraine, married to Marie of Burgundy, the legitimate daughter of Philip the Good, and one of the first knights inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece. Passages based of the study of the last will and testament that Pierre had written in 1453 offer a glimpse into the life

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[61] J. Chipps Smith, "Jean de Maisoncelles' Portrait of Philippe Le Bon for the Chartreuse de Champmol. A Study in Burgundian Political Symbolism," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts 99* (2002): 11.
[62] Sophie Jugie, *The Mourners: Tomb Sculpture from the Court of Burgundy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 21.

and qualities of a man with an exceptional destiny.[63] Pierre was a successful noble in his own right; however, the ducal court had a role in promoting his career. Pierre entered military service where a chance encounter with the duke led to a number of official missions, for which Pierre was amply rewarded.[64]

The late medieval tomb relief of Pierre de Bauffremont (c. 1453-72), carved as one of the short sides of the tomb, was remarkably simple compared to the precursory tombs of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless. Although believed to have been commissioned based on the distinct Valois style, the four weepers on Pierre's tomb fragment characterize a stylistically changed version of the emotionally individualized and freely moving mourning figures that appear on the tombs of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Pierre's tomb figures are more indicative of the "idealized calm" and simplistic style of the late-thirteenth century but with one major difference; the bare faces of the mourners are conspicuously "veiled" by a hood so an observer must actively imagine, rather than directly "see" their emotional responses.[65]

Tanya Michalsky explains that visual modes of representation and artistic styles functioned as codes indicating regional and social affiliations. In order to make distinctions between monument styles, it is not the time period in which the fine distinctions came to be made, but within local society. An instance of aristocratic or gentry patronage of religious art is normally understood in terms of its commemorative benefits.[66] Pierre de Bauffremont's tomb, created in the Tournaisian tradition, is a clear representation of that statement. This tomb

[63] Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, review of *La noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne, 1315-1477*, *Monumental Bulletin 147*, no. 1 (1989): 91.

[64] Theodore Evergates, review of *La Noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne, 1315-1477*, *Speculum 65*, no. 1 (Jan. 1990): 136.

[65] John F. Moffitt, "Sluter's 'Pleurants' and Timanthes' 'Tristitia Velata': Evolution of, and Sources for a Humanist Topos of Mourning," *Artibus et Historiae 26*, no. 51 (2005): 77.

[66] Julian Luxford, "The Construction of English Monastic Patronage," in *Patronage: Power & Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2013), 46.

exemplifies how a local monument type might be adapted in an artistically splendid yet iconographically modest manner to signify proper social status.[67]

Erwin Panofsky attempted to reconstruct what he saw as a distinctive "Northern" temperament, which shaped the fashions and conventions of medieval funerary sculpture in France and the Low Countries. Panofsky suggested that gothic tombs carved in these regions were "literal and prospective, placing the identity and personage of the deceased in the center of a more or less complex narrative" concerning their quest for personal salvation. His study also touched upon the artistic and patronal decisions that informed the design of the tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy and other stylistically-related monuments, which were "carved for a patron[s] fully conversant with themes of life and death" and carefully structured conduits for the Dukes' "spiritual, social and cultural ambitions."[68]

The spirit of emulation found in medieval acts of patronage can be "approached in light of the extent to which the act was contingent on social, political and monetary considerations or simply compounded on pure admiration."[69] Pierre's tomb was commissioned during his appointment as chancellor to Philip the Good as well as his marriage to Marie of Burgundy, Philip's daughter. As such, Pierre would not need to commission a funerary monument based on political or monetary considerations in order to connect himself to the Dukes of Burgundy. That said, by following the style of the Burgundian tombs, Pierre's act was one of admiration as he was likely venerating the noble family for whom and his family had worked for many years.

It is likely that Pierre, in choosing his burial site, wished to emulate the Dukes of Burgundy and possibly Philip the Good in particular, who had commissioned their tombs to be

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[67] Michalsky, 488.
[68] Reeves, 202.
[69] Luxford, 52.

placed in the Chartreuse de Champmol. In fact, just a few months before Pierre announced his desire to be buried and found a chapel at Saint-Bénigne, Philip the Good, met with Jean de la Huerta for the execution of the tomb of John the Fearless.[70] Pierre's emulation could also be seen as an act or honoring Philip the Good for his elevation within Burgundian society.

The performative aspect of patronage must be noted, with noble and royal patrons displaying legitimacy, piety, and power through the foundation of a holy site.[71] Individuals with the monetary ability endowed memorial masses for perpetual prayer for one's soul as well as in honor of one's family. Such memorials often necessitated the addition of a chapel to an existing church or the foundation of a monastery, which is the case here. Pierre de Bauffremont ordered the foundation of a Chapel of the Twelve Apostles at Saint-Bénigne and in the case of the Philip the Bold, Valois Duke of Burgundy, the foundation of the Chartreuse de Champmol. In addition, the commissioning of the chapel at Saint-Bénigne as well as the foundation of the Carthusian monastery at Champmol could be seen as a form of ancestor veneration as well as dynastic commemoration which was crucial in demonstrating a continuity of lineage.[72]

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[70] Pierre Quarré, "Le Tombeau de Pierre de Bauffremont, Chambellan de Philippe le Bon," *Bulletin Monumental 113*, no. 2 (1955): 109.

[71] Shiela Bonde and Clark Maines, "The Heart of the Matter: Valois Patronage of the Charterhouse at Bourgfontaine," In *Patronage: Power & Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2013), 79.

[72] Cockerham, 7.

CHAPTER ONE: THE EBBO GOSPELS – PATRONAGE OF ILLUMINATED
MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE CAROLINGIAN PERIOD

A persistent and prominent theme of this essay is the significance of the Romano-Christian tradition inherited by the Franks and the strength of their attachment to Rome and elements of Roman culture. Carolingian rulers accorded tremendous weight to classical tradition, Roman imperial ideas, and the Roman papacy as the primary source of religious authority and leadership. To the extent which the post-Charlemagne Franks exploited Romano-Christian techniques of art and scholarship, they were truly considered "Rome's rightful heirs."[73] This escalation both in part led to and was directly connected to Charlemagne's acquisition of the title Homan Roman Emperor in 800. In this the role of the Christian Church was central not only for the provision of the spiritual and moral framework but the liturgical and educational needs required for much of the Carolingian achievement.[74]

The Carolingian Renaissance of 750-900 was a cultural renewal typically associated with an increase in the production and patronage of Christian art; in effect, the development of distinctively Carolingian art was simply one manifestation of this revival. This period is more accurately described as a focused movement to revive learning and to better the moral conduct of society, through educational and liturgical reforms, of both the institutions of the Church and the Christian peoples living under Carolingian rule. A central aspect of Carolingian artistic achievements includes the inheritance of invaluable resources and artists from early Christian Rome, the site considered the source of inspiration in the drive for widespread reform and innovation. Pepin and Charlemagne took full advantage of their close ties with Rome to acquire authentic works of classical antiquity, which was construed by contemporaries as an integral and

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[73] McKitterick, ed. "The Legacy of the Carolingians," 318.
[74] Ibid., 318.

"vital part of the notion that Christian Rome had reborn or revived in Francia."[75]

The main centers for intellectual and artistic activity were the principal monasteries and episcopal cities of the Frankish kingdom including Tours, Rheims, and Corbie. These centers benefited considerably from royal, episcopal, and abbatial patronage and became so renowned for their book illustrations that manuscripts produced in these centers were commissioned from all over the Carolingian Empire.[76] The most innovative developments in the style of manuscript illumination stemmed from Rheims and were initiated by Archbishop Ebbo who commissioned the Ebbo Gospels (c.816-835) for the monastery of Hautvillers. Since a number of other exceptional manuscripts, including the Utrecht Psalter, are stylistically and symbolically related to the Ebbo Gospels, the book is key to understanding the development of Carolingian art in the first half of the ninth century.[77]

The development of relations between the Franks and the papacy was immensely important and a key component in securing their position in the face of powerful opposition. At the beginning of the eighth century these relations were negligible with the bishops of Rome within the Roman Empire ruling from Byzantium. Up until the death of Pepin in 768, shifting allegiances and regional conflict, quite apart from internal strife and rivalry between the brothers within the family itself, all threatened the success of Carolingian political advancements. At the end of the eighth century, however, the outlook could not have been more optimistic with Charlemagne about to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome by Pope Leo III.[78]

From his father, Pepin III, Charlemagne inherited a bond which modern historians refer

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[75] Giles Brown, "Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 14.

[76] Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians*, *751-987* (New York: Longman Publishers, 1983), 224.

[77] Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra: 800-1200*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 27.

[78] Lynette Olson, *The Early Middle Ages: The Birth of Europe* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 82.

to as the "Franco-Papal alliance,"[79] a collaboration usually viewed as politically symbiotic in which the papacy gained a strong protector and the new dynasty of Frankish kings official papal recognition of their legitimacy. The success of the Carolingian solidification of power started with the royal anointments of Pepin III (Pepin the Short) as King of the Franks in 751 and 754. In the early spring of 754, Pope Stephen II anointed Pepin and his two sons (Charlemagne and Carloman) "by the Christ's grace kings of the Franks,"[80] an act that papally sanctioned the new dynasty of Frankish kings and conveyed that "Carolingian kingship is a kingdom by God's grace."[81] In addition, when Stephen consecrated Pepin as King of the Franks the second time at Saint-Denis in 754, he bestowed upon him the additional title "Patrician of the Romans."[82] With this new title came a new bond between the Frankish rulers and the papacy. The oil of unction with which Pepin was anointed symbolized the sacramental power of the Carolingians and demonstrated the strengthening of the union between the papacy and the Frankish king.[83]

The link forged between the Frankish kings and the idealized legacy of western Rome was given a potent new form when Charlemagne (r.800-814) was raised to the exalted rank of Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Leo III on Christmas Day of the year 800 in the old Saint Peter's Basilica, Rome; a title not used in the West since the Roman emperor Romulus Augustus was deposed over 300 years before. During the coronation, while placing a crown on Charlemagne's head, Pope Leo hailed Charlemagne with the words: "To Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and peace-bringing Emperor of the Romans, life and victory."[84] An account in the Royal Frankish Annals reveals that Charlemagne "was adored by the apostolic one in the way the

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[79] Mayke de Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," in *Charlemagne Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 111.
[80] de Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," 111.
[81] de Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," 117.
[82] Olson, 86.
[83] Koert Van der Horst, et al. *The Utrecht Psalter*, 2.
[84] John M. Riddle, *A History of the Middle Ages, 300-1500* (Lanham, MD: Bowman & Littlefield, 2008), 202.

emperors of old were" and the contemporary Byzantine chronicler Theophanes wrote: "From that moment on Rome has stood under the power of the Franks."[85] This political unity enabled Charlemagne not only to establish the greatest empire in Western Europe since the collapse of the Roman Empire, but also to lay the foundations of a cultural renaissance that was to be a decisive factor in European history.

When in 794 Bishop Paulinus of Aquileia compared Charlemagne to a "king and priest" (*rex et sacerdos*), he did not mean that the priesthood and kingship were one and the same; his intention was to ascribe episcopal qualities to the anointed ruler, for the most common meaning of *sacerdos* at the time was "bishop."[86] Based on Paulinus' comparison of *rex et sacerdos*, the Carolingians developed a political theology of sacral kingship, and when formalized through the combination of anointing and crowning, established the monarch's dual identity as blessed by God and chosen by his people. This "divine right" not only overturned the position of the Carolingian rulers as "oath-breakers and usurpers"[87] but solved their main problem of how best to consolidate and legitimize their newly acquired royal authority. For political reasons, it benefited the Carolingians to emphasize that their kingship "which was neither hallowed by blood nor grounded in tradition, derived its authority from God and the Church."[88]

The Carolingians based their theology of sacral kingship upon the Old Testament kings David and Solomon, who, as God's chosen rulers, were enduring examples of the "ideal kings and models of proper kingly behavior."[89] Comparisons of the Frankish king with Moses, David, and Solomon can be found in papal letters to Pepin III; Charlemagne's close friend and advisor,

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[85] Olson, 97.
[86] de Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," 111.
[87] Brown, "Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance," 18.
[88] Ibid., 18.
[89] de Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," 112.

Alcuin, addressed him in letters as David; and even Charlemagne's courtiers nicknamed him David. These references implied that Pepin and Charlemagne were associated with the biblical David, the archetypical king of Israel "beloved by God with whom the emperors liked to be identified."[90] Mayke de Jong even proposes that this association could possibly, although more indirectly, associate Charlemagne with "Christ himself."[91]

Unction symbolically united the Carolingian dynasty with their Old Testament forefathers but the notion of the Franks as a chosen people, a *gens sancta*, was inherently fostered by the idea that God's destiny for the Carolingians was to "construct, with papal backing, a unified Christian society held together by Christian virtues."[92] To those in the post-Roman kingdoms, the Old Testament was perceived as sacred history and as evidence for God's first covenant with His chosen people, a people led by warriors, kings, prophets, and priests. Alcuin called the Franks a "blessed people," which is in essence a reference to the Franks as the new Elect (chosen ones), just as the Israelites had once been, and served to further advance the Franks' "new political [identity]."[93]

Charlemagne established the new imperial court at Aachen as the "second Rome," and "the Rome of the north."[94] The design of the Palatine Chapel, under construction by 786, was based on the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, which was built by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian in the sixth century. In his *Vita Karoli Magni*, Einhard discloses that Charlemagne ordered the marble columns and the carved Corinthian capitals, which were used in the upper gallery of the palace chapel, to be imported from Ravenna and Rome. The theme of the famous

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[90] Ibid., 113.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Brown, "Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance," 18.
[93] de Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," 113.
[94] Lasko, 9.

mosaic of a haloed Justinian flanked by members of the clergy and his court, located in the sanctuary of San Vitale in Ravenna (c. 547), was used to decorate the Palatine Chapel dome. The mosaic visually acknowledges the Emperor Charlemagne as the central position between the power of the church and the power of imperial administration and reinforces the analogy of divine kingship and Christ.[95]

Charlemagne appears to have attempted to emphasize the legitimacy of his rule and its continuity from earlier imperial times by emulating qualities of Constantine's reign as well as drawing links with Theodoric the Great, Roman Patricius and Viceroy of the emperor in Constantinople. In 801 Charlemagne transported the life-size bronze equestrian statue, then thought to be the Emperor Theodoric, from Ravenna to Aachen, which would be placed between the audience hall and the palace chapel. Charlemagne admired Theodoric, who represented not only the first Germanic emperor to have ruled the Roman Empire but also may have been an indication of how Charlemagne saw himself: "as a Germanic king with Roman trappings."[96]

The identification of victorious "Romanesque equestrians" as a "manifestation of the early Christian Emperor, Constantine" has been applied to images for quite some time.[97] The selected use of monumental Constantinian architectural forms at Charlemagne's Aachen palace had already visually expressed this long-standing notion of Charlemagne as Constantine's successor or the New Constantine[98] With the importation of Theodoric's statue as well as building materials from Rome and Ravenna, Charlemagne intended to place himself in the midst of the Roman imperial succession. In Aachen, therefore, the objects were to bring to mind and to

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[95] Lasko, 9.
[96] Olson, 95.
[97] Linda Seidel, "Constantine 'and' Charlemagne," in "Essays in Honor of Sumner McKnight Crosby," *Gesta 15*, no. 1/2 (1976): 238.
[98] Seidel, "Constantine 'and' Charlemagne," 238.

"exhibit publicly the guarantors of early Christian Roman-imperial tradition."[99]

Little is known or visible now of the imperial palace at Ingelheim (near Mainz), which was built around 785 by Charlemagne and used as the imperial residence of Louis the Pious. The large Carolingian building with its *aula regia* (assembly hall) and *exedra* (portico) was modeled on the architecture of Roman Emperor Constantine's basilica at Trier.[100] In a poem written to Louis the Pious, the Carolingian court poet Ermold Nigellus described a series of ruler portraits in the great hall depicting the conquering kings and great rulers of Greece, Rome, and the Franks as he observed it in 825-826. These pictures acted as doctrinal support for sovereignty and enhanced the palace's symbolic connection with Rome. Ermold also recorded the actions of these Roman rulers who served as inspiration for the Franks: "The Franks and their wondrous deeds continue the acts of the Caesars,"[101] driving home the all-important link between the Franks and Rome.

Ermold's most famous work, *Carmina in honorem Hludowici Caesaris*, was composed for Louis the Pious sometime between 826 and February of 828 during his exile at Saint-Mary's church in Strasbourg for committing "foul deeds of [his] own fault" against Louis.[102] Ermold confesses his culpability in the poem and explains that his actions were not serious but rather he was at fault for keeping unsuitable company at court, conceivably, according to Dolores Carey Fleiner, followers of Emperor Louis' rebellious sons. The poem's primary aims were to praise the successful exploits of Emperor Louis, to secure pardon from Louis and Pepin for his crimes against them, and most importantly, to gain release from exile and return to the excitement and

[99] Beat Brenk, "Spoila from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology," in "Studies on Art and Archaeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers 41* (1987): 109.
[100] Olson, 96.
[101] Rosamond McKitterick. *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 164.
[102] Godman, 109.

prominence of Pepin's court.[103]

Charlemagne devoted his almost 40-year reign to blending the Roman past, the Germanic way of life, and Christianity into one kingdom that would establish the foundation upon which European society would develop. Charlemagne worked to unify people under the Church, attempted to raise the level of culture neglected during the centuries of disorder, to preserve and build on the literary and artistic heritage of the classical and Christian traditions through extensive patronage, and to raise the intellectual standards of his realm.[104] Charlemagne's mission statement *renovation Romani imperii* (the revival of the Roman Empire) was carved into his imperial seal and apart from his political aspirations, Charlemagne generated a renewed respect for art and learning to such an extent that the period is often referred to as the Carolingian Renaissance. The title given to this era of remarkable intellectual and artistic blossoming is reinforced in a letter to Charlemagne in 799 whereby Alcuin states "but your noble efforts have now brought about a re-birth of civilized standards in every kind of knowledge and of useful erudition."[105]

The clearest picture of the art of the Carolingian Renaissance, at once literary, religious, and artistic, emerges from the illustration and decoration of illuminated manuscripts. As the quantity and quality of decorated manuscripts demonstrate, book illumination was conceived as being vital to the success of the Carolingian renewal of intellectual and artistic life. Charlemagne's extensive patronage was purposefully structured on the promotion and endowment of learning and culture, and the production of illuminated manuscripts was greatly expanded to keep pace with the demand for religious texts. As key instruments of this intellectual

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[103] Godman, 109.
[104] Berenson, 164.
[105] Olson, 95.

and artistic renewal, both liturgical and secular manuscripts had been "written and decorated – *bene emendari* (well amended) and *cum omni diligentia* (with all diligence) – to represent and transmit text and imagery adequate to the demands of the reforms which Charlemagne had proclaimed."[106]

What these manuscripts reveal is not just the creativity and remarkable skill of the Frankish artists, but the creative ways in which they adopted and adapted elements of an "inherited cultural tradition" to attend to the changing "needs of a particular society."[107] It also witnesses the way the power and material, intellectual, and spiritual wealth of the Carolingian rulers, nobility, and clergy manifested the material resources, expertise, and scholarship devoted to manuscript illumination in the courts of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. In Charlemagne's reign, we see an "organized and determined assembly and deployment of resources to carry out specific aims"[108] and one intention of this patronage was to create a new image for a "barbarian"[109] ruler, an image to rival the former Roman Empire. Artists were influenced by the classical, early Christian, and late antique models from which they derived the images and techniques to create brilliant works that would serve to enhance the ruler's prestige and power by associating him with Roman imperial traditions.

The classicism of Carolingian art was not universal and was most prominent in works of art associated with the Court School of Charlemagne. In other contexts, works were still, if not more, indebted to the visual vernacular of the Germanic/Frankish tribes, rather than to classical Roman models. The innovative works of the provincial schools, such as Rheims, tend to become

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[106] Florentine Mütherich, "Book Illumination at the Court of Louis the Pious," in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, eds. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 593.
[107] Rosamond McKitterick, "The Carolingian Renaissance of Culture," in *Charlemagne Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 151.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.

a scholarly focus; however, the artistic evidence indicates that the contribution of the Hiberno-Saxon style to Charlemagne's Court School was highly significant. This influence is illustrated in the Godescalc Evangelistary (see fig. 1-1), which was commissioned by Charlemagne in 781 and the earliest known manuscript produced at the scriptorium in his Court School. The gospel book belongs to a group of closely related ceremonial manuscripts usually known as the "Ada" group, which includes the Dagulf Psalter and the Lorsch Gospels. The manuscripts are characterized by a fusion of late Classical, Anglo-Saxon, and Byzantine styles and the ornamental motifs rely heavily on the interlace of Hiberno-Saxon origin.[110]

Of great importance to the understanding of the Carolingian Renaissance is the emergence of a new and influential style of manuscript painting which seems to have developed in the scriptorium at Charlemagne's court in Aachen in the last years of the emperor's life. This Late Antique "illusionistic"[111] style is at work in a small distinctive group named after its most famous representative, the Coronation Gospels (c.800) (see fig. 1-5). The collection, which includes the Aachen Gospels (c.800-810) (see fig. 1-2) as well as the Xanten Gospels (c. 810) (see fig. 1-3, 1-4), is united by not only the script of their texts, but also the style of their miniatures. The evangelists in the Coronation Gospels are "modelled with colour, not with line…using this colour, the artists created an illusionistic space in which well-modelled bodies function in atmospheric landscapes."[112]

The element that sets the Coronation Gospels apart from the others, according to Peter Lasko, is the "clear distinction…between the influence of models – often models of considerable age when they were imitated – and the influence of the living tradition of Late Antique art."[113]

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[110] de Hamel, 46.
[111] Van der Horst, et al., *The Utrecht Psalter,* 178.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Lasko, 25.

The artists of the Coronation group did not merely copy models carefully, but were "trained in the tradition of Late Antique illusionistic or almost 'impressionistic' painting."[114] The difference in style between the Coronation Gospels group on the one hand, and other works from the early Court School of Charlemagne on the other, was likely due to the artists' "intimate knowledge of the technical tradition of Antique painting,"[115] which indicates that artists from other centers came to work for Charlemagne's court.

Lasko explains that it is probable that "this kind of continuity from the fifth to the ninth centuries could only have been available at the imperial court of Constantinople, the eastern Roman capital."[116] Koert Van der Horst, William Noel, and Wilhelmina Wüstefeld propose that the introduction of this style at Charlemagne's court was made by someone with the name *Demetrius presbyter*, which was written in the margin in gold script in the Coronation Gospels. The name itself suggests that a Greek illuminator may have contributed to its making, but Van der Horst also offers that "Hellenistic traditions of illusionism also persisted in Italy, and perhaps artists, possibly even Greek artists, came from this recently conquered part of Charlemagne's empire."[117]

With the death of the Emperor Charlemagne, the ease of the centralization of the most creative and influential artists of the entire Frankish Empire within one school at Aachen came to an end. During Charlemagne's reign, new artistic forces fronted by the painters of the Coronation Gospels had already emerged. However, their impact was to be felt in the next generation, when new styles and schools were fostered under the patronage of Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious. These novel artistic features would turn out to be the precursor to the fluid and expressive style

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[114] Lasko, 25.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Van der Horst, et al., 178.

that would be executed under Archbishop Ebbo at Rheims, which became the most important center of Carolingian art in the second quarter of the ninth century.[118]

The artistic and intellectual life of the Empire was significantly impacted by Louis the Pious who succeeded his father in 814 and ruled the Empire until his death in 840. Louis the Pious was not considered *studiosus in arte librorum* (a student in books of art) as Charlemagne was by Godescalc, his famous scribe. Louis's appreciation of learning was far more profound than that of Charlemagne and his love of books was more for the learning they contained than for the external splendor they displayed.[119] The major achievements of Louis's reign centered on his program of Church reform and the expansion of the Carolingian intellectual revival initiated during his father's reign. Louis did not seek to enhance the material splendor of his imperial court by commissioning extravagant works. Conversely, in line with his character, the books produced by the scriptoria under his patronage gave the impression of greater austerity and restraint and were less elaborate; however, they were still considered a luxury item and Louis's patronage was as much a testament to his wealth and privilege as those made for Charlemagne. The provincial centers of manuscript illumination such as Rheims, not the court of Louis the Pious, determined the development of Carolingian art in the second quarter of the ninth century.[120]

Rheims manuscript illumination constitutes one of the most splendid chapters in the history of early medieval art. In c.820, a surge of artistic creativity in and around Rheims inspired a new age of books that not only preserved the Roman heritage but subsequently transformed it in order to create a fresh, powerful, and enduring artistic style. The classicism of

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[118] Lasko, 25.
[119] Mütherich, "Book Illumination," 596.
[120] Matthew Innes and Rosamond McKitterick, "The Writing of History," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 209.

the Coronation Gospel group of manuscripts made at the Court School in Aachen may have

provided the basis for the expressive new development in Rheims. Bred by the urge for renewal,

this new spirit led Carolingian artists to turn away from reproducing antique models and to

express spiritual themes through a new "anti-classical emotionalism."[121] With superior and

notable works, this new "Rheims" style continued the development and dissemination of an

artistic language that had become the trademark of Carolingian art.[122]

     Historians believe that the charismatic personality of Archbishop Ebbo may well have

been largely responsible for the extraordinary artistic flowering that occurred in the scriptoria of

monastic houses in and around Rheims. Ebbo, who was raised under the auspices of

Charlemagne's court, understood the message of the great renewal and not only gathered

together the books from which inspiration could be drawn, but also collected around him the

designers and artists who could shape this renewal. In fact, Ebbo commissioned a Gospel book

that would take his name, the Ebbo Gospels, one of the greatest creations of medieval manuscript

illumination and the highlight of a group of works by which Rheims superseded the imperial

court at Aachen as the center of Carolingian painting in the second quarter of the ninth

century.[123]

     Ebbo's career provides a special insight into the politics of the Carolingian empire in the

middle of the ninth century. Ebbo was of low birth but he grew up as a childhood companion and

foster brother to Louis the Pious. Having been educated at the court of Charlemagne, Ebbo

served as Louis's librarian and counselor, and won high favor from his royal patron. After Louis'

accession to the throne in 814, Ebbo was called to Aachen, and two years later, in 816, Louis

[121] Berenson, 165.
[122] David Diringer, *The Illuminated Book: Its History and Production*, Rev. ed. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), 198.
[123] Van der Horst, et al., 184.

named him Archbishop of Rheims. In 835, Ebbo had to flee Rheims after supporting Lothair's

failed revolt against his father, Louis. As a defender of the unity of the empire Ebbo was opposed

to Louis's plan to divide it up between his sons, and in 833 he turned against his friend and

benefactor and joined the faction around Lothair, who wished to become heir of the undivided

empire. Ebbo was banished from Rheims when Lothair's party failed the following year, and was

officially deposed at the Council of Thionville in 835. Although he returned to Rheims in his

former dignity after Louis's death in 840, Ebbo was driven out again the following year by

Charles the Bald, Louis's fourth son and successor as King of the Franks. He fled to the eastern

part of the empire to seek the protection of Louis the German, the third son of Louis the Pious,

who made him bishop of Hildesheim, where Ebbo died in 851.[124]

A dedicatory poem in the Ebbo Gospels is key evidence for its date and localization and

reveals that it was written and illuminated in the abbey of Hautvillers under the watchful eye of

Abbot Peter. The poem also reveals that the book was dedicated to the Archbishop and was a gift

for the monastery itself. The Ebbo Gospels can be dated to between 816 and 835; however, there

is doubt concerning the exact date of the Ebbo Gospels, and scholars have come to different

conclusions on the basis of their analyses of the poem. It has been suggested that the *terminus*

ante quem for the Gospels should be 823 because the dedicatory poem lacks any reference to

Ebbo's missionary activities in Denmark, which were successfully concluded in that year. The

poetic verses call Ebbo *praecelsi regis amicus* (friend of the very high king), which suggests that

it must certainly have been written before Ebbo's expulsion from the see of Rheims in 834 for his

part in Lothair's rebellion against Louis the Pious.[125]

The freshness of the Ebbo Gospels appears in the superb full-page portraits of the four

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[124] Van der Horst, et al., 184.
[125] Lasko, 27.

Evangelists prefacing their respective Gospel texts, which open with impressive incipit pages (see fig. 1-6). The custom of depicting the author at the beginning of his Gospel seems to have developed from the classical and late Roman author portraits, which depicted the authors holding or writing their books and were placed at the beginning of their works before the text began.[126] The four Evangelist portraits in the Ebbo Gospels follow the conventional iconography by showing the authors surrounded by writing tools and in the act of composing their texts on scrolls or into bound codices using a lectern or a desk. In most Gospel miniatures, the Evangelists are often accompanied by the winged creature traditionally associated with him: the eagle for John, the ox for Luke, the angel for Matthew, and the lion for Mark. Notably, Carolingian artists tended to not always include the Evangelists' identifying emblem in the miniatures of their Gospel books.

The "animated, energetic and impressionistic" style full of "inner movement and spiritual fervor" [127] brilliantly invented by the Rheims artists is clearly reflected in the four Evangelist portraits of the Ebbo Gospels (see fig. 1-7, 1-8, 1-9, 1-10). Authors describe the form of expression of the Ebbo Evangelists in similar terms as having replaced the "calm dignity and contained forms" of the Court School with "inspired seers" and "visionaries" with an "excited, at times almost frenzied intensity."[128] The Ebbo Evangelists are now filled with an inner movement and expression "permeating the outer forms and blending body and drapery into a dynamic unity."[129] Lasko explains that the antique illusionism or "impressionism" of the soft colors in the landscapes of the Coronation Gospels have been transformed into the "expressionism" of the

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[126] McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms,* 218.
[127] Berenson, 163.
[128] Van der Horst, et al., *The Utrecht Psalter*, 108.
[129] Ibid.

Rheims style by "agitated brush strokes that add a wholly new fervor to the scenes."[130]

Florentine Mütherich and Joachim Gaehde describe the four Evangelist pictures as filled with a "similar vibrant energy that appears to set everything, including landscape, into motion." Using the Saint Matthew portrait as an example, Mütherich and Gaehde explain that the Ebbo painter "wielded his brush with a vehement, nervous energy that transcends the original purpose of modelling light and shade for the rendering of firm bodies in atmospheric space (see fig. 1-7). The turbulent massing of gray shades and scintillating golden highlights agitate Saint Matthew's white robe more than model it"[131] and the Evangelist "seems seized by an unaccountable force, a force here neither sanctified by a halo around his head or ostensibly inspired by his symbol, the winged man, who is sketchily drawn as a small figure in the upper right-hand corner." [132]

The inspiration behind Ebbo's act of patronage is not proven and no one knows for sure for whom or why the Gospel book was constructed. The unique style, format, and content of the works prompts one to contemplate about the important person for whom, at whose request, or by what motivation they were made. Ebbo may have chosen to commission the book for use in his missionary activities or in commemoration of his rise to archbishop of Rheims. In addition, there were many events over the course of Ebbo's career in which the commission of a Gospel book would have served as an act of gratitude, celebration, or affection such as the birth of Louis's son Charles. The Ebbo Gospels is one particular work of art that appears to be in line with that thought.[133]

Documentary evidence supports that similar Gospel books were simply produced in

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[130] Lasko, 27.

[131] Joachim E. Gaehde and Florentine Mütherich, *Carolingian Painting* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1977), 184.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Lawrence Nees, "Carolingian Art and Politics," in *The Gentle Voices of Teachers: Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age*, ed. Richard E. Sullivan (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1995), 189.

honor of rulers and their imperial family. One could make the case that the Ebbo Gospels was commissioned by Ebbo as a private book for Emperor Louis the Pious as Louis took an uncommon interest in religious matters. The ninth century texts mentioning Louis the Pious expressly state that the emperor devoted a great deal of time to his religious and ecclesiastic obligations. It has been suggested that the Ebbo Gospels was made for the Empress Judith, who is praised for her wisdom and scholarship in divine as well as liberal studies. Judith also enjoyed a special friendship and close bond with Ebbo, to whom she sent a ring shortly after the birth of her son Charles in 823. The gift was sent with a request imploring Ebbo to pray for her and her child; however, other than serving as an endowment, it could have been a token of perpetual friendship and a promise to support Ebbo at court. In return, Ebbo may have ordered the book for her or for the young Charles.[134]

The Rheims style dominated cultural productivity and had an unrivalled impact on Western manuscript illumination for centuries. In this style, Western Europe seems to have found the satisfactory synthesis of classical art and northern expressive intention, sought ever since the first works of art in the Mediterranean classical tradition reached the north during the seventh century. The essence of Rheims manuscript production can be understood in the surviving works found throughout Europe, particularly those which contain precise replications of distinctive styles that clearly establish their succession from a Rheims manuscript. The artists of Rheims continued their work in later scriptoria in both the Carolingian and Ottonian period and carried the culture of the Carolingian court to the periphery of the Carolingian Empire, whose artists absorbed it into their own artistic traditions.[135]

With the death of Charles the Bald in 877, the Carolingian dynasty lost its last great

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[134] Koert Van der Horst, et al., 82.
[135] Ibid., 118.

patron of the arts and production of richly decorated books seems to have decreased and no further schools of book painting have been identified until the Ottonian schools of the late tenth century. After the decline of the Carolingian Empire, the Holy Roman Empire was re-established under the Saxon Ottonian dynasty which ruled German and northern Italy between 919 and 1024. The Ottonian succession sparked a renewed faith in the idea of Empire and a reformed Church, creating a period of heightened cultural and artistic fervor. It was in this atmosphere that Ottonian artists would create their masterpieces which were inspired by models that fused Late Antique, Carolingian and Byzantine traditions. [136]

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[136] McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, 224.

Illustrations
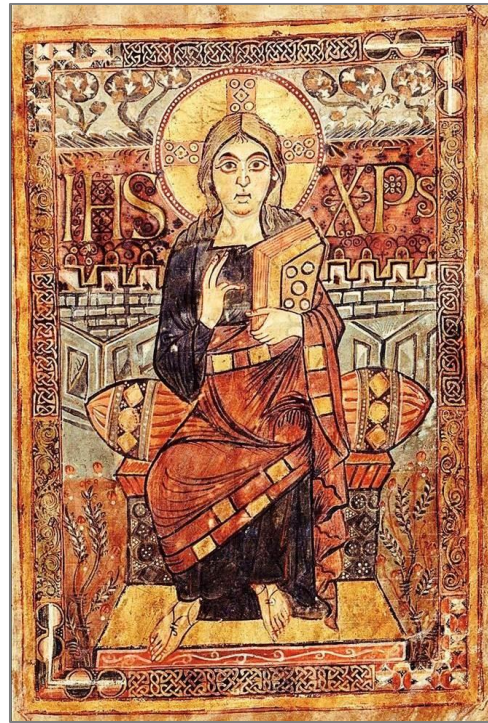
Figure 1-1. Christ Enthroned, Godescalc Evangelistary, c. 781-783. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Figure 1-2. Aachen Gospels, c. 800-810.

Figure 1-3. Majestas Domini, Xanten Gospels, c. 810.

Figure 1-4. St. Matthew, Xanten Gospels, c.810.

Figure 1-5. Saint Matthew, Coronation Gospels, c.800, Vienna.

Figure 1-6. Incipit Page, Saint Matthew, Ebbo Gospels, c. 816-835, Hautvillers, France. (Bibliothèque Municipale, Épernay)

Figure 1-7. Saint Matthew, Ebbo Gospels, c. 816-835, Hautvillers, France. (Bibliothèque Municipale, Épernay

Figure 1-8. Saint John, Ebbo Gospels, c. 816-835, Hautvillers, France. (Bibliothèque Municipale, Épernay

Figure 1-9. Saint Luke, Ebbo Gospels, c. 816-835, Hautvillers, France. (Bibliothèque Municipale, Épernay

Figure 1-10. Saint Mark, Ebbo Gospels, c. 816-835, Hautvillers, France. (Bibliothèque Municipale, Épernay

CHAPTER TWO: GUARIENTO'S DEPICTION OF THE CELESTIAL HIERARCHY IN THE CHAPEL OF THE CARRARA PALACE

During the Renaissance, works of art were made to serve the particular purposes of those who commissioned them; as such, the form as well as the content was directly dependent on its function and the location into which it was to be placed. Whether for devotional practice or family propaganda, artistic works visually endorsed the ambitions and agenda of the patron, in this case, the powerful Paduan family, the Carrara.[137] This essay will explore the Carrara's patronage of art as a means to advertise their wealth and prominent political status and to validate their dynastic claims over Padua and its surrounding territory.

Religion was an important element in the daily life of people living during the Renaissance and it was a driving factor behind artistic production; religion provided visual arrangements for the patterns that governed not only earthly life, but life in the hereafter as well.[138] However, religion underwent a significant change — rather than vesting religious power and influence largely in isolated, monastic communities, as had been the case earlier in the Middle Ages, the Church found an important and enlivened home in cities where religious and secular leaders, such as the Carrara, saw themselves partners in promoting civil order and town pride.[139]

The city of Padua, a major northern Italian center of artistic innovation, provides a compelling and suggestive focus for the study of Trecento art. Despite social and economic factors such as the Black Death, art production in Padua appears to have accelerated in the second half of the century, a development at least partly due to the increasing self-confidence

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[137] John T. Paoletti and Gary M. Radke, *Art, Power, and Patronage in Renaissance Italy*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 12.
[138] Paoletti and Radke, 16.
[139] Ibid., 48.

and political power of the Carrara regime.[140] Similarly, aspects of current religious practice resulted in the presence of newly founded religious orders; the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Augustinians provided vital avenues of patronage for artists which can be seen in the basilicas of Sant'Antonio and Sant'Augustino. In addition, Padua was home to the second oldest university in Italy founded in 1222, second to Bologna (1119); as such, contemporary learning and scholarship were highly formative influences upon the art of Padua.[141]

Patronage was an integral part of fourteenth-century Italian society and a highly influential factor in the production of Italian Renaissance art. According to John Paoletti and Gary Radke, "whether specifically ordered or produced for an unspecified purchaser, art during this time was not made as art but because someone had a particular need for an image."[142] Commissioned works of art, whether generated by the state, the church, monastic communities, civic groups, or private individuals, were conceived with specific goals in mind and were meant to convey publicly specific messages that were not immediately apparent or easily understood from just appearances.[143]

In a hierarchically structured and patriarchal society such as that of Renaissance Italy it was clearly the patron, not the artist, who was perceived, until late in the period, as the dominating figure in the "collaboration" behind artistic creation. Art was expensive and therefore was initiated from the ranks of the social elite who could command enough financial resources to support such ventures. As such, these patrons expected to play a more dominant part in defining the content of the works commissioned than in later centuries.[144] It was this sense of patronage

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[140] Norman, 22.
[141] Norman, 4.
[142] Paoletti and Radke, 16.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Norman, 4.

that the fifteenth-century Florentine Renaissance sculptor and architect Filarete referred to when, "in a provocative gendered simile, he referred to the patron as the father and the artist as the mother of the work of art."[145] As they were in control, the Carrara could mold the artwork to convey a carefully derived message.

It is clear that the Carrara had a number of clearly defined aspirations for the art that they spent the tremendous time and effort of commissioning. The Carrara commissioned work from a variety of artists, thus promoting an image of themselves as "politically powerful, lavish in their generosity, and knowledgeable in the breadth of their cultural interests."[146] According to Diana Norman, "Indeed, on the basis of such commissions, one scholar [Margaret Plant] argued 'In its period of domination in Padua from 1337 to 1405, the house of Carrara sustained a singular chapter in the history of patronage'."[147] Of particular interest is the series of panels painted for the private chapel of the "Reggia Carrarese" (Carrara Palace) by the Paduan artist Guariento di Arpo (d. 1367-70), a leading painter of his time and first recorded in Padua as a master in 1338, and are dated from 1347 to 1350.

During most of the fourteenth century Padua was ruled, in fact or by name, by lords of the House of Carrara, who rose to power through the struggles against the Italian feudal lord Ezzelino, maintained themselves for a time with varying success against the Scaligeri (also known as the Della Scala family) of Verona, and finally succumbed to Venice. Their rise and fall occupied less than one hundred years for Giacomo I became Captain of the People in 1318 (r. 1318-24) and Francesco il Novello (r. 1388, 1390-1405) died in a Venetian dungeon in 1406 after Padua came under the rule of the Republic of Venice in 1405. In the 1330s a succession of

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[145] Paoletti and Radke, 16.
[146] Norman, 155.
[147] Ibid.

Carrara ruled Padua, which was in a constant state of uncertainty: Ubertino (r. 1338-45),

Giacomo II (r. 1345-50), and Francesco il Vecchio (r. 1350-88).[148]

The history of the Carrara family before 1337, when the *seigniory* established their rule

more soundly, is complex and involves a host of shifting alliances and betrayals. In spite of

spending an enormous amount of time fighting their powerful neighbors, the Carrara family

found time to also fight amongst themselves, especially after the death in 1324 of the family's

leader, Giacomo I, without an heir.[149] The chronicle written by the poet, historian, and political

opponent of the Carrara, Albertino Mussato (1261-1329), confirmed the family's factional

divides and described its unruliness. Mussato especially complained of the intimidation, assaults,

and murders committed by Ubertino da Carrara before he became *signore* in 1338. Mussato's

account of the early Carrara is strikingly different from the presentation of the family and their

history found in the art and literature commissioned by the Carrara after they assumed leadership

of Padua.[150]

The patronage strategies used by the Carrara *signori* sought to redefine the family's

history according to a different vision, one that aggrandized them and supported their inspiration

for power. After their reinstatement as rulers of Padua in 1337, the Carrara family and members

of their circle formed a close-knit elite, which sought to emulate, in terms of their way of life and

social aspirations, the powerful courts of both northern Europe and southern Italy. Norman states

that the success of the Carrara in their mission can be measured "in the scale of their

wealth…and their sheer political prominence" within Paduan civic life.[151] The artistic patronage

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[148] Sarah R. Kyle, *Medicine and Humanism in Late Medieval Italy: The Carrara Herbal in Padua* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 119.
[149] Ibid., 119.
[150] Ibid., 117.
[151] Norman, 155.

of the Carrara was "highly dynastic in its nature and impact. It was intended to celebrate the magnificence and piety of the Carrara family…not that of the corporate citizenry of Padua."[152]

The Carrara's artistic patronage occurred both in the public and private sphere and would serve as a means of advertising their wealth, solidifying their political power, elevating their standing, and showcasing their religious devotion. Galeazzo Gatari and his son Bartolommeo's fourteenth-century account of life in Padua under Carrara rule intimately documented the very public funeral rituals of the Carrara lords. Their detailed description of the painted and sculpted embellishment of several Carrara tombs confirms the "importance that the Carrara attached to commemorating their dead and the potential they saw in art for the public endorsement and validation of their political status and dynastic power."[153]

The tomb monuments of Ubertino (d. 1345) (see fig. 2-7) and Giacomo II (d. 1350) (see fig. 2-4, 2-5) are evidence of Carrara familial patronage within the public sphere of the city's churches – sites which were relatively accessible to the entire city. The tomb monument of Giacomo II once included a painting attributed to Guariento, *Coronation of the Virgin,* above the effigy of the deceased (see fig. 2-6). By their very location, the Carrara tombs made an impressive and public statement of the worth and reputation of the family dynasty. However, the exclusive location of the family's private residence, the Reggia Carrarese, was yet another channel where members of the family could exercise their patronage of art.[154]

The Reggia Carrarese, built in stages over the course of Ubertino's seven-year rule, was a complex of buildings that occupied an extensive site within the center of the oldest part of the city and served as a private residence and seat of government throughout its "65-year history as

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[152] Norman, 155.
[153] Ibid., 156.
[154] Ibid., 158.

the home of Carrarese power."[155] The Carrara palace was strategically positioned and built on a

site that was originally chosen for the residence of the first elected Carrara lord of Padua and by

the Scaligeri rulers of Verona. This choice signified two important things for Ubertino: his

connection to Giacomo I and the continuity of the Carrara dynasty, and his opposition to the

Scaligeri occupation and advocacy of a Padua free from foreign domination.[156]

The scale and magnificence of the Reggia and the program of painting executed for its

rooms were designed not only for the private enjoyment of the Carrara, but also to accommodate

the public ceremonial life of the lords and impress visiting dignitaries as to the worth and valor

of the Carrara dynasty. The sheer amount of work commissioned and the extent of the lavish

adornment was a testament in itself to the family's commitment to artistic patronage. Only the

royal palaces of Italy could be considered comparable to the "scope and ambition of the Reggia,"

according to Norman, and that the Reggia "attained a scale and degree of magnificence that

challenged even the city's civic monuments."[157]

The decoration of the halls began almost immediately after construction of the Reggia in

the early 1340s, which suggests the important role ornamentation played in establishing the

complex as the seat of Carrara governance. Ubertino, Giacomo II, and Francesco il Vecchio,

commissioned monumental fresco cycles for the Reggia's numerous ceremonial and private

rooms and each used the palace as the site for important court business and events. Although

nothing of these painted rooms survives today, a review of their subjects provides some insight

into the motivation of the Carrara in choosing to have their palace embellished in this manner.

To legitimize their rule, the Carrara identified key figures of classical antiquity that embodied

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[155] Richards, 15.
[156] Kyle, 119.
[157] Norman, 172.

certain moral virtues or events, which celebrated valor and achievement as subjects to adorn the walls. Other rooms used heraldry as a choice of decoration to promote a message of family strength and stability and to cultivate an image of the family as liberators of Padua.[158]

Francesco il Vecchio became a close friend and avid correspondent of the internationally renowned Italian poet and scholar Francesco Petrarch (1304-74) who had settled at Francesco's court in Padua in 1367. Petrarch was also a leading spirit in the Renaissance movement to revive the cultural and moral values of ancient Greece and Rome. Petrarch's correspondence from his time in Padua shows that he admired the Carrara lords and considered his role at court as that of a teacher and mentor. Petrarch wrote an enormous and captivating communication with many of the leading figures of his day and one of his letters was addressed to the "magnificent lord of Padua, Francesco de Carrara, the sort of man one should be to govern a state."[159]

Francesco's correspondence with Petrarch probably encouraged him to join other north Italian rulers in exploiting aspects of Roman art and history to support his regime. It has been suggested that Francesco may have asked Petrarch to act as a learned collaborator in the design of the Reggia's great hall, the Sala Virorum Illustrium (see fig. 2-8, 2-9), in the late 1360s.[160] Francesco il Vecchio commissioned frescoes that depicted famous Romans heroes mentioned in Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* (On Famous Men). According to Petrarch, the heroes of primarily Roman history, the *viri illustres* (illustrious men), provided examples of the "good and modern ruler" and their personal and professional characters were the foundation for "returning good government to a corrupted Italy."[161]

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[158] Norman, 165.

[159] Francesco Petrarca. *Selected Letters, Francesco Petrarca*, Vol. 2. Trans. Elaine Fantham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), ii.

[160] Meredith J. Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance: Art and Philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 52.

[161] Kyle, 10.

Petrarch's progress on the text took many years and was not continuous; consequently, when the poet died in 1374, his work that was started as early as 1337 was left unfinished. While Petrarch was on a later visit to Padua, Francesco il Vecchio requested a second, condensed version of *De viris illustribus* to be used possibly as a guide or gloss to emphasize the connection of the text to the artistic program of the Sala Virorum Illustrium. The version meant for Francesco was finished after Petrarch's death by Petrarch's secretary, the notary poet Lombardo della Seta in 1379.[162] The following passage from Lombardo della Seta's dedication of the *De viris* to Francesco il Vecchio explains the frescoes:

> An ardent lover of the virtues, you have extended hospitality to these *viri illustres*, not only in your heart and mind, but also very magnificently in the most beautiful part of your place…To the inward conception of your keen mind you have given outward expression in the form of most excellent pictures, so that you may always keep in sight these men whom you are eager to love because of the greatness of their deeds.[163]

Guariento's work in the Carrara family chapel confidently post-dates the completion of the palace in Padua (1345) and is usually assigned to the period between 1347 and 1350. In the absence of any known documentation regarding the terms of Guariento's commission, the intentions of the Carrara for their private chapel scheme are open to speculation. However, it is possible to reconstruct a sense of how "elaborate the chapel interior must have been, both in terms of its complex mural paintings and its paneled sequence of brightly gilded and colored figures."[164] The painted panels provide evidence of Guariento adopting, "on the one hand, an almost Byzantine-like formality of figural representation and, on the other, the use of lively and well-observed naturalistic detail."[165]

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[162] Anne Dunlop, *Painted Palaces: The Rise of Secular Art in Early Renaissance Italy* (University Park: PA, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 115.
[163] Dunlop, 116.
[164] Norman, 164.
[165] Ibid.

Davide Banzato, in his work on Guariento and the Reggia, contends that the paintings were most likely carried out by 1354, the year the Carrara hosted the future Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg when he visited Padua.[166] Guariento used the expanse of wall in the chapel for an extraordinary two-tiered extended fresco scheme of popular Biblical stories. Along with the frescoes, in a sequence of over thirty various shaped panels, which likely once formed an integrated ensemble, Guariento portrayed a celestial vision: The Virgin and Child accompanied by Four Evangelists, surrounded by the hierarchies of angels "in which the angels, both singly and in groups, were individuated with shimmering coloristic effect."[167]

In many of the biblical scenes found on the chapel wall, Guariento emphasized angelic witness and angelic intervention. He also selected incidents in which heroic individual action (Abraham, Joseph, David, and Judith) would ensure the salvation of a chosen people. Guariento's inclusion of the Book of Daniel is interesting since in Daniel's visions, archangels play key roles as intermediaries, counselors, and saviors — Daniel's fourth vision ends with a statement as to how Michael, guardian angel of Israel, will save the people. Daniel's book, especially chapters 7-12, are an account of the activities of and visions of Daniel; its message being that just as the God of Israel saved Daniel and his friends from their enemies, so He would save all of Israel from their present oppression.[168] By using these scenes, the Carrara lords might have claimed that their rule of the Paduan territories was permitted by divine agency and divine right.[169]

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[166] Davide Banzato, Francesca Flores d'Arcais, and Anna Maria Spiazzi, eds., *Guariento e la Padova Carrarese: Guariento* (Venice: Marsilio, 2011), 131.

[167] Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance,* 52.

[168] Marc Zvi Brettler, *How to Read the Bible* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 2005), 218.

[169] Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven,* 69.

Guariento's heavenly assembly of angels is a pictorial homily of the nine divisions of

angels as they were formulated most notably by Pseudo-Dionysius in his early sixth-century (c.

500) work, the *Celestial Hierarchy*. As a treatise, the *Celestial Hierarchy* was "extremely

influential and the openly acknowledged authority on the angels in the Middle Ages"[170] and

influenced the history of Christian thought by proposing an overall framework for understanding

the angelic beings. For Guariento and for the Carrara, these orders of being had become a staple

of Paduan art as well as a topic in Augustinian theology and university teaching. Within the

walls of their residence, the Carrara "claimed the protection of the angels in this life and the next,

linking their right of rule to that of the Bible's kings and heroes who had been rescued in

desperate and dangerous circumstances by God's elite emissaries."[171]

Pseudo-Dionysius divided the angelic host into three hierarchies (or tiers), and each of

these in turn was divided into three choirs (in descending order): the First Hierarchy consisted of

the Seraphim (see fig. 2-13), Cherubim (see fig. 2-14), and Thrones (see fig. 2-15), which

derived their names from their relationship with God; the Second Hierarchy consisted of the

Dominions (see fig. 2-16), Virtues (see fig. 2-17), and Powers (see fig. 2-18), which names all

suggest a common administration or disposition for ordering the universe or "ordained

power";[172] and the Third Hierarchy consisted of the Principalities (see fig. 2-19, 2-20),

Archangels, and Angels (see fig. 2-21), which derived their names from the performance of their

duties. Pseudo-Dionysius' doctrine also explains that "each higher order of angels transmits

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[170] Paul Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 74.

[171] Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven*, 74.

[172] Keck, 57.

knowledge and instruction through the next lower angels, and only the lowest rank of angels, the

Angels, interacts with the mundane world directly."[173]

The angels, who were considered the most active in human affairs, appear in Hebrew

Scripture and the New Testament. The angels interact with humans in a myriad of meaningful

ways: they are intently concerned with the salvation of humankind, act as guides and advisors,

combat evil powers, comfort the distressed, and mediate between humanity and God. Readings

from Matthew 18:10 and Psalm 91:11 clearly indicate that God has ordained a guardian angel to

watch over the welfare of each individual soul.[174] The Christian's most significant encounter

with angels is the presence of the angels at the moment of death and the transportation of the soul

to its destined place in the afterlife, which became one of the most common angelic motifs in

medieval Christianity.[175] Accordingly, Guariento's Angels (see fig. 2-21) are represented holding

little praying souls gently in their cloth-covered hands and offering the souls to God.

It is likely that the Carrara were inspired by the patronage of Enrico Scrovegni, a very

wealthy citizen from one of the leading banking families in Padua. In 1302, Enrico began to erect

the Scrovegni family chapel (often called the Arena Chapel for its original proximity to the ruins

of a Roman arena) "in honour of the cult of the Virgin Mother of God and to honour and adorn

the good city-state and commune of Padua."[176] Enrico commissioned the chapel as an act of

expiation for his involvement in less-than-reputable dealings as well as those of his father,

Reginaldo, the most notorious perpetrator of usury in *Dante's Inferno*. Comparable to the events

behind the building of the Scrovegni Chapel, the Carrara could have been strongly "advised" by

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[173] Keck, 58.

[174] Steven Chase, *Angelic Spirituality: Medieval Perspectives on the Ways of Angels* (New York: Paulist Press, 2002), 12.

[175] Keck, 204.

[176] Hugh Honour and John Fleming, *The Visual Arts: A History*, 7th ed. (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education, 2005), 405.

the local clergy. Honour and Fleming suggest that in keeping with the tenets of Catholicism (and asking forgiveness), Giotto's series of frescoes emphasized salvation and "answer to the demands of the Bishop Sicardo, who wrote in a treatise that 'images…should serve to remind the laity of things past (stories and visions) and direct their minds to those of the present (virtues and vices) and the future (punishments and rewards)'."[177]

Scholars have repeatedly emphasized the similarities between Guariento's angels and the angelic hosts of the Church of the Eremitani in Padua (see fig. 2-2), Giotto's paintings in the Scrovegni Chapel (see fig. 2-1), and the mosaics in the Dome of the Angels in the Baptistery of San Marco in Venice (see fig. 2-10, 2-11) and in the cloister vault of the Baptistery of Florence (see fig. 2-12). As illustrated in Guariento's *Coronation* that appeared over the tomb monument of Giacomo II da Carrara (see fig. 2-6), David Piper suggests Guariento's angels were influenced by Paulo Veneziano's *Coronation of the Virgin* (see fig. 2-3), the Venetian artist who has been called "the most important Venetian painter of the 14th century."[178] By associating himself with other notable artists, Guariento linked the Carrara with Padua's powerful Augustinian mendicant presence and with the Venetian republic's long line of doges. In 1365, the Venetian Senate turned to Guariento to decorate the Great Council Chamber of the Doge's palace.[179]

Regardless of the source of inspiration behind Guariento's work, Guariento's angels show the development of a highly distinctive style. Anne Fitzgerald asserts that Guariento "Attempted to free himself from the restraints of a worn-out tradition and he was out of the main current of development…That he utilized such resources and evolved an individual style of his

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[177] Honour and Fleming, 405.
[178] David Piper, *The Random House Library of Painting and Sculpture: Dictionary of Artists and Art Terms*, Vol 4 (New York: Random House, 1981), 157.
[179] Paoletti and Radke, 148.

own is all the more credible."[180] Guariento offered, according to Chase, an imaginative

representation of the individual hierarchies, "each illuminating different hues, shapes, and colors

of holiness."[181] Gill affirms that Guariento's angels reveal a "newfound and expressive maturity

evocative of the gothic tenor of contemporary Venetian sculpture, and they are prophetic of the

artist's celebrated Paradise for the Palazzo Ducale in Venice of 1365-1368."[182]

Guariento's commission to adorn the chapel of the Reggia Carrarese with a series of

paintings depicting the hierarchy of angels is an indication of the value placed upon art by the

Carrara as a "means of celebrating their political power and their princely magnificence."[183] The

governing and social elite could beautify their cities as manifestations of their legitimacy, power,

and generosity with the expectation that their subjects would support their continued supremacy.

In addition to the series of rooms that were painted with images that attempted to "draw parallels

between the exploits of the Carrara dynasty and those of the ancient world,"[184] the chapel was

full of imagery that the rulers used to align themselves visually with the religious figures who

were seen as protectors of their communal well-being and doers of goodwill toward their

citizens.

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[180] Anne Fitzgerald, "Guariento di Arpo," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 9* (1931): 190.
[181] Chase, 2.
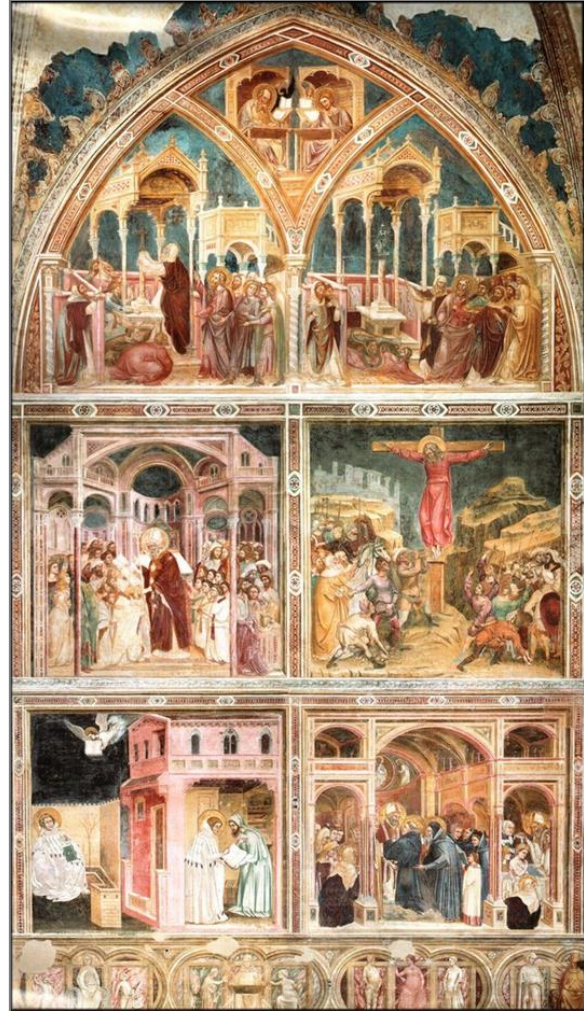[182] Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven,* 66.
[183] Norman, 27.
[184] Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven,* 66.

Illustrations

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Figure 2-21. Guariento, *Angel Holding a Soul (Angels)*, c.1347-50, Musei Civici, Padua (formerly chapel of the Reggia Carrara).

CHAPTER THREE: THE TOMB RELIEF OF PIERRE DE BAUFFREMONT – A NOBLE TOMB MONUMENT CONNECTED TO THE VALOIS DYNASTY OF LATE MEDIEVAL FRANCE

The common modern perception is that the people of the Late Middle Ages were obsessed with death; a Christian society resolutely and actively orientated towards seeking and reaching salvation. Whether obsessed or apprehensive is the more accurate term, it is very likely that sources for late medieval religion in Europe will contain some reference to the overwhelming preoccupation of clergy and laity alike with the safe transition of their souls from this world to the next. In his classic treatment of the *mentalité* of late medieval Europe, Johan Huizinga claimed that "no other epoch has laid so much stress as the expiring Middle Ages on the thought of death. An everlasting call of *momento mori* sounds through life."[185]

The idea of Purgatory, the Black Death, and numerous wars resulted in a widespread social anxiety and an increasing resignation to the inevitability and finality of death. Although the formal doctrine of Purgatory was not established until 1245 at the First Council of Lyon, and not fully elaborated until the Council of Florence (1438-45), the idea of Purgatory has roots that date back into antiquity and had long influenced the practices of ordinary Christians.[186] The belief that that the living could shorten the suffering of the dead in Purgatory with dedicated prayers constituted a significant shift in thinking about death, and about the relationship of the living and the dead.[187]

The ever-growing apprehension over one's posthumous destiny prompted Christians to erect before God a permanent witness to their piety and charity. Commemoration took varied

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[185] Duffy, 301.
[186] Sekules, 106.
[187] Peter Jupp and Clare Gittings, eds., *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 90.

forms including incised slabs, monumental brasses, wall tombs, sculpted effigies, and

freestanding tomb chests. The popularity amongst the citizenry of these forms of

commemoration stimulated the elite to want a different, more-prominent display in order to

differentiate themselves and to impart a sense of status and authority.[188] This was accomplished

through the incorporation of mourners or "weepers" carved into the sides or placed around the

base of the tomb monument, which represented the clergy, family, ancestors, and peers of the

deceased.

The inclusion of mourners not only allowed for the inclusion of family members in the

tomb program, but more importantly, contributed visually to the elicitation of perpetual prayer

for the soul of the deceased.[189] The incorporation of "weepers" as decorative features was

developed in France in the mid-thirteenth century and became popular in the fourteenth and

fifteenth centuries under the influence of Burgundian art as illustrated by a series of tombs

created for and the Valois Dukes of Burgundy and the chamberlain of Philip the Good, Pierre de

Bauffremont.

The object of interest and an example of mourner iconography is the late medieval panel

carved as one of the short sides of the tomb of Pierre de Bauffremont. Pierre de Bauffremont (c.

1397-1472), Count of Charny and Lord of Molinot, was the fourth son of a ducal chamberlain

who headed the cadet branch of the Bauffremont family, which originated in Barrois, part of the

Duchy of Bar, then bordering the Duchy of Lorraine. Pierre, whose family had been in the

Dukes' service since the early fourteenth century, was an advisor and chamberlain to the third

Valois Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good (r. 1419-1467). Pierre was chosen by Philip the Good

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[188] Henk Van Os, Hans Nieuwdorp, Bernhard Ridderbos, and Eugène Honée, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 54.
[189] Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000), 7.

to be among the first twenty-four Knights of the Golden Fleece during the foundation of the

Order in 1430, and married his third wife, Marie of Burgundy, the daughter of Philip the Good in

1447. Pierre's coat of arms (see fig. 3-17) have appeared since 1433 on one of the stalls in the

choir of Sainte-Chapelle of Dijon, the meeting place of the third chapter of the Golden Fleece.

During the medieval period, the idea of surrounding the tomb with mourners most likely

derived from an early thirteenth-century custom of attaching tokens of sorrowful remembrance

of the deceased to the sarcophagus.[190] Mourning figures, also called weepers, mourners, or the

French *pleurants* reflected liturgical, processional, and burial customs and were thought to have

represented those who would traditionally accompany a tomb to its final resting place.[191]

Depicted in states of mourning, such processions would have echoed the character and solemnity

of the cortège of carved *pleurants* that served as a reminder of what was required from the

chapel's religious congregation, to whom they would have been in full view during services. The

monument's intended message was clear, "mourn my death and pray for my soul in perpetuity as

though my salvation were always in the balance."[192]

By the mid-thirteenth century, in the circle of Louis IX ("Saint Louis"), the idea of

depicting the funeral procession in all its components and emotion had clearly become an

established feature of tomb iconography within France. The earliest known tombs incorporating

a small number of figures represented around the tomb chest in grief are those of Philippe

Dagobert, Louis IX's brother (d. 1234), and of his eldest son, Louis de France (d. 1260), who

were buried in the Cistercian abbey of Royaumont (see fig. 3-1, 3-2). Erwin Panofsky suggests

that these tombs can be grouped loosely alongside others from tombs of a similar format under a

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[190] Jugie, 52.

[191] Jane Turner, ed., *The Grove Dictionary of Art*. Vols. 12 and 33. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 28.

[192] Reeves, 213.

sub-genre, traced from the end of the twelfth century, of "tombeaux de grande cérémonie, comprising a fully three-dimensional effigy lying atop a flat surface raised from the ground by a micro-architectural gallery, in which mourning figures (*pleurants)* stand, interact, or appear in states of arrested movement."[193]

The figures on the tomb of Philip the Bold were directly influenced by the funeral procession from Hal in Brabant, where the Duke died, to his burial-place in the Charterhouse of Champmol in Dijon. The archives of the dukes' accounts tell us about the dukes' funerals in minute detail. The cortège included 60 torch-bearing mourners, the family of the Duke, the court, clerics, and – once at Dijon – townspeople. A most intriguing feature was the distribution of hooded black cloaks to all the participating laypersons, from the members of the duke's family, knights and chamberlains, to pages and grooms, while the members of the secular and regular clergy wore the garments of their position. Class distinctions normally expressed through dress became suspended temporarily, the black of mourning reminding all present that death was an experience shared by everyone.[194]

The best examples of these processions are that of Philip the Bold and his son, John the Fearless, who served as Dukes of Burgundy. The Valois Dukes of Burgundy were princes born of the French royal family; more specifically, the Valois dynasty, which succeeded the Capetians and reigned over the Duchy of Burgundy for more than a century. Four dukes followed in succession: Philippe le Hardi (the Bold), duke from 1363 to 1404, Jean sans Peur (the Fearless) from 1404 to 1419, Philippe le Bon (the Good) from 1419 to 1467, and Charles le Téméraire (the Bold) from 1467 to 1477. The history of the Duchy of Burgundy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is one of the most fascinating episodes in the history of France, and of Europe in

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[193] Reeves, 206.
[194] Jugie, 52.

general. Indeed, the Dukes of Burgundy were among the most powerful princes in the Western world: the breadth and economic vigor of their estates provided the wherewithal to support their political ambitions.[195]

The surnames of Philip the Bold's son, John the Fearless, and of his great-grandson, Charles the Bold, strongly hint to the role that battle occupied in the Dukes' lives. The late Middle Ages were troubled by the Hundred Years War and by a myriad of other conflicts between kingdoms, principalities, and even amongst the noble family itself. Philip the Bold wielded great political power in the kingdom and it was in seeking to maintain this primacy that Philip's son, John the Fearless, came into conflict with Louis d'Orléans, brother of Charles VI. The rivalry between the two princes forced the kingdom into civil war and ultimately each other's death.[196]

Philip the Good, who reigned as Philip III, was the most important of the Valois dukes of Burgundy and the true founder of the Burgundian state that rivaled France in the fifteenth century. Although his moniker suggests a prince with a propensity for justice and administration, even Philip the Good could not avoid political dissention.[197] When he became duke of Burgundy at the age of twenty-three, Philip the Good's first aim was to extricate himself as expeditiously as possible from the French affairs in which his father, Duke John the Fearless, had been embroiled and that had led to his assassination in 1419. Within the context of the Hundred Years War, which pitted France against England since the mid-fourteenth century, Philip the Good, in an attempt to improve his dynasty's position, sought to form an alliance with the British, only to turn about and pledge allegiance to the King of France. [198]

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[195] Jugie, 18.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, Rev. ed. (New York: Boydell Press, 2004), 122.

Under the pretense of courtly splendor and chivalrous festivity, Philip the Good was an aggressive opportunist who, especially in the first half of his ducal reign, was constantly preoccupied with the task of attacking and possessing principal regions of the Lowlands including Brabant, Limbourg, Hainaut, Holland, Zeeland, Frisia and Luxembourg. Through marriage (Philip was married to his third wife, Isabella of Portugal, in 1430), inheritances, or bargaining, and often backed by military action, he progressively won principalities stretching the States of Burgundy farther and farther over the Holy Roman Empire.[199] In an initiative typical of Burgundian politics, which stressed aristocratic ideals, Philip the Good founded the Order of the Golden Fleece, a Burgundian version of the British Order of the Garter, in 1430. The founding of this new order with membership limited to twenty-four noblemen of proven valor and wide renown, was intended to refurbish chivalric ideals and revive the Crusades, and consecrated the strength and splendor of the Dukes.[200]

The formidable political empire established by the four successive dukes gave rise to one of the most fascinating artistic and cultural centers of the Late Middle Ages. During the reign of Philip the Good, the Court of Burgundy "became the court of courts" where Philip lavishly displayed his wealth, attracted artists, musicians and scholars, built palaces, founded religious institutions, and amazed their contemporaries by staging extravagant festivities.[201] The French and Flemish artists and sculptors commissioned to work at the court were responsible for making Dijon and Burgundy one of the principal centers of artistic creation in the 1400s, and from it arose the whole fifteenth century school of Burgundian sculpture. In addition to furthering their

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[199] Vaughan, 314.
[200] Jugie, 20.
[201] Ibid., 18.

artistic tastes, this splendor was meant to advertise their wealth, symbolize their power, and

consolidate their prestige.[202]

The conscious burial and gift choices made by the Valois partly reflect the general

popularity of reclusive reform orders and medieval charterhouses with the high nobility in the

fourteenth century. Philip the Bold continued that movement in 1384 when he founded the

extraordinary Carthusian monastery on the outskirts of Dijon on a site called Champmol. The

Chartreuse (Charterhouse) *de Champmol* is often referred to as the "Burgundian counterpart to

Saint-Denis," as a dynastic burial place for the Valois Dukes of Burgundy. The tombs,

strategically placed among their coat of arms and emblems in the choir, were meant as perennial

testimony to the princes' nobility and constant presence, and as an incitement for the monks to

pray for their eternal salvation.[203]

Charles of Valois (1270-1325) set the precedence for Valois patronage through the

founding of religious foundations; he founded no less than seven chaplaincies in various

churches including the charterhouse at Bourgfontaine (1323-25). With that in mind, as well as

the fact that monasteries were especially appropriate places for burial because of their capacity

for intercessory prayer, one would likely conclude that the principal motivation for Charles'

foundation of Bourgfontaine would be the establishment of prayers for his own soul. Shiela

Bonde and Clark Maines suggest that while accruing benefits for himself was in align with what

was "typical" piety for the period, his patronage of religious establishments should have been

more focused upon donating support to a religious community. They conclude that Charles' need

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[202] Ibid., 21.

[203] Colum Hourihane, ed., *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 602.

to build Bourgfontaine can reasonably be attributed to "a desire to atone for his avarice and envy, manifest in his constant pursuit of wealth and insatiable desire for kingship."[204]

The conceptual model for the Valois in the patronage of Bourgfontaine was the example of Vauvert, the Carthusian house at Paris founded by Charles' sainted grandfather, Louis IX (Saint Louis) in 1257. The establishment of a new charterhouse at Bourgfontaine would have possibly resonated among the French high nobility as a specific attempt to legitimize Charles' rule by aligning the Valois with their ancestor Louis IX. Bourgfontaine may have been viewed as a likely extension of a pattern of Capetian familial and royal patronage that was inspired by the patronage of a saintly Capetian predecessor.[205]

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Valois dukes of Burgundy ruled over extensive territories in present day France, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands from their capital in Dijon, which during their reign became a major center of artistic patronage. Their court's sculpture workshop produced some of the most profound and original art of the period. The tombs of the first and second Burgundian dukes, Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, are among the summits of their achievements and are among narrative masterpieces of late medieval sculpture in Europe. The ducal tombs intended for the Chartreuse de Champmol, were originally placed in the choir of the church and remained there until the Revolution.[206]

Philip the Bold commissioned his tomb in 1381 to Jean de Marville and the contract for the tomb specified an effigy figure, 54 small angels, and 40 *ymages pleurants*.[207] When Philip the Bold died in 1404, the tomb was unfinished; only two of the mourners had been completed. The tomb was completed by Claus Sluter and Claus de Werve by 1410 (see fig. 3-3). No sooner

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[204] Bonde and Maines, 81.
[205] Luxford, 52.
[206] Jugie, 10.
[207] Hourihane, *Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art*, 602.

was his father's tomb installed in the church of Champmol in 1410 than John the Fearless declared his wish to build "a sepulcher similar to the one of my late father" for himself. Sculptors Jean de la Huerta and Antoine le Moiturier created an elaborate late-Gothic style tomb for John the Fearless that faithfully reproduced the look of his father's. Most of the forty individual mourners set in a deep and elaborate arcade are even exact reproductions of those on the tomb of Philip the Bold (see fig. 3-8).[208]

Each tomb included in its lower register an elaborate arcade in the flamboyant gothic style populated by a solemn cortège of alabaster mourners (see fig. 3-4, 3-9). The figures follow one another in procession in and out of the arcades; successively, the priest bearing the aspergillum, two choirboys, the acolyte bearing the cross, a deacon, the bishop, three cantors, and two Carthusian monks (see fig. 3-7). These are followed by members of the duke's family and the officers and household staff all draped in mourning cloaks that were, in fact, handed out at the funeral service.[209]

The tombs with their cortège of mourners continued a tradition maintained since the middle of the thirteenth century. However, the *pleurants* were approached in an innovative way and were no longer isolated in semi-relief under the archways, but appeared as three-dimensional figures that circulate in and out of the cloister galleries. Though part of a larger monument, each sculpture is a masterpiece in its own right, and each mourner is carefully individualized. Each figure, as if closely observed during the ceremony, holds an individual pose, wears attire and belongings which clearly symbolize their rank and trade, and expresses grief through gesture and facial expression, sometimes both (see fig. 3-6). While some mourners are shown wringing their hands or drying their tears (see fig. 3-5), others appear lost in solemn contemplation or raising

[208] Jugie, 17.
[209] Ibid., 37.

their hands in prayer, while still others hide their faces in the dramatic carved folds of drapery

which also emphasize the intensity of the figures' grief (see fig. 3-10).[210]

The mourners from the tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy, no matter how splendidly

conceived and meticulously sculpted, were not only intended to provide aesthetic pleasure, but

also to mourn indefinitely. The lifelike and immediately affecting character of this group of

sculpted mourners appeal to the viewer's emotions and invite the viewer to participate in their

mourning and supplication and model the rituals and prayers that would benefit the Dukes'

souls.[211]

Sophie Jugie, the Director of Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, where the original mourners

are now located asserts:

> The Mourners from the tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy are deeply affecting
> works of art. Beyond their evident visual and narrative qualities, we cannot help but be
> struck by the emotion they convey as they follow the funeral procession, weeping,
> praying, singing, lost in thought, giving vent to their grief, or consoling their neighbor.
> Mourning, they remind us, is a collective experience, common to all people and all
> moments in history.[212]

Monuments of this magnitude honored only the first two dukes. The explanation is surely

in the history of their long, costly and difficult construction. Philip the Good, who died in 1467,

did not even see his father's tomb, which he originally commissioned in 1410. In 1443, Philip

the Good signed a new contract for the tomb of his father requiring that it be "as good or better"

and of the same dimensions as that of his grandfather, Philip the Bold, adding to it a plan for his

own sepulcher. The project of a tomb for Philip the Good was no longer mentioned and never

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[210] Hourihane, *Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art*, 602.
[211] Sekules, 81.
[212] Jugie, 17.

started. In 1474 his remains and those of his wife, Isabel of Portugal, were placed in a third vault with a simple epitaph.[213]

In the fifteenth century, mourner figures would undergo a relative "democratization"[214] with funerary motifs in black stone that became a specialty of Tournai in Flanders, where Philip the Good moved his court; previously in Dijon. This stone, a carboniferous limestone of a slightly bluish gray with very fine grain, was exported from the quarries of Tournai, and when polished, took on the brilliance of the finest black marble. Although Claus Sluter's dramatic revival of the mourner theme in the fourteenth century helped propagate the Tournaisian tombs, the workshops of the Tournaisians remained faithful to the old disposition of the sculptured figures in bas-relief under decorated trefoil arches. The tombs of Jacques Kastangnes (c.1327, church of Saint-Quentin in Tournai) and Pierre de Bauffremont (meant for Saint-Bénigne in Dijon) are excellent examples of this modest style (see fig. 3-11, 3-12).[215]

By a charter issued in July of 1443, Pierre de Bauffremont founded a daily perpetual Mass at the old abbey church of Saint Bénigne in Dijon (now Dijon Cathedral) "in the place that we have chosen and elected for our burial in the presence of many monks and their community, that is to say in front of the high altar." Pierre subsequently bequeathed a precious collection of ornaments to the treasury of the church. In July of 1453 Pierre ordered that his body "should be put and disposed in the church of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon" beside his first wife, Anne de Saulx. A title dated 1501 mentions that the Counts of Bauffremont founded the chapel of the Twelve Apostles that would be located near the southern tower. A vault was made in the chapel and

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[213] Ibid., 44.
[214] Quarré, 110.
[215] Eugène Soil de Moriamé, "Le tombeau de Jacques Kastagnes (c. 1327) à l'église de Saint-Quentin de Tournai," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art 1*, (1931): 3.

above this vault, a monumental tomb was erected.[216] Pierre believed that burial in the area he had

designated in the family chapel of Saint Bénigne would elicit, through the intervention of the

saints and the prayers of those visiting the tombs, the special intercessions for which they

hoped.[217]

      According to Pierre Quarré, it was after "he [Pierre] was illustrious at the march of arms

of Marsannay near Dijon" in July of 1443, that Pierre decided to build the chapel for his burial at

Saint-Bénigne in Dijon. According to local lore, commemorated by Phillip the Good in 1443,

Charlemagne himself stopped and rested beside a fountain under a tree in Marsannay. In July

1443, near the tree of Charlemagne at Marsannay, in a place called la Charme, Pierre held the

famous twelve-week step of arms — a medieval sport of chivalry that involves fighting politely,

without weapons — *Le Pas d'Armes de l'Arbre de Charlemagne*.[218]

      Sculpted in high-relief in the Gothic style between 1453 and 1472, the oblong panel

measures approximately 35"h x 61"l x 8"d, and is composed of four slightly pointed arcades,

each enclosing the standing cowled figure of a mourner (see fig. 3-12).[219] As designed, the tomb

in its entirety would have consisted of four sides (two short sides with four mourners each and

two long sides with six mourners each) with a total of twenty arcades with twenty weepers posed

on a molded base (see fig. 3-13). Each arch holds an interior molding in a trefoil design that is

supported by a slender column (see fig. 3-15). The triangular surface between the arcades, called

spandrels, are adorned with an interchanging pattern of small leaves that widen under the angles

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[216] Louis Chompton, *Histoire de l'église Saint-Bénigne de Dijon* (Dijon: Jobard Printing and Lithography, 1900), 248.

[217] Elizabeth A. R Brown, "Burying and Unburying the Kings of France," in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Richard C. Trexler (New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1985), 242.

[218] Frédéric Lépine, *Les Fastes de la Bourgogne: Le Pas d'Armes de l'Arbre de Charlemagne à Marsannay* (London: The British Library, 2010), 48. .

[219] Walters Art Museum. "Tomb Relief of Pierre de Bauffremont." Accessed June 3, 2017. http://art.thewalters.org/detail/28480/tomb-relief-of-pierre-de-bauffremont/

of the triangle and a flower with a center button (see fig. 3-18). The veined leaves found on the

spandrels are identical to the leaves found on Pierre's coat of arms (see fig. 3-19). The arcades

on the tomb are reminiscent of the intricate bar tracery found in a stained-glass window or in the

arches of a nave and are similar in appearance to those found in the church at Saint-Bénigne.

The four weepers on Pierre's tomb fragment were interpreted by the curators at the

Walters Art Museum as "Four monks with heads covered in mourning stand beneath arches of a

cloister, representing the one through which the solemn funeral procession would pass."[220]

Carved in bas-relief under the arcades, the four weepers are posed fully frontal wearing a heavy

cloak with stiff vertical folds and decorated with a band of fur at the base; a lateral slit in the

cloak lets the tunic appear, tied at the waist. The very small head is topped with a hood, which

falls over the shoulders and almost completely hides the face with the exception of the mouth

and chin (see fig. 3-14). The weepers are positioned in a variety of ways: folding their arms

under their drapery in a contemplative state, holding a rosary with each decade marked by a large

bead (see fig. 3-16), reading an open book, carrying a prayer book in a sack, and even holding

hands. A few of the figures do not make any gesture, they keep their hands hidden under the

cloak or hold them at the waist.[221] A note on a charter indicates that Pierre de Bauffremont died

in 1472 outside the kingdom of France, and therefore, was not buried in Dijon as he wished. The

tomb never received Pierre's funeral effigy and the four slabs that were to form the tomb chest

were dispersed.

The weepers characterize a stylistically modified version of the mourning figure and

show a tendency towards simplicity and restraint as compared to the diversity of expression that

is prevalent in Burgundian sculpture; specifically, the cortège adorning the tomb of Philip the

[220] Walters Art Museum.
[221] Quarré, 109.

Bold and John the Fearless. Sophie Jugie proposes that this "Tournai" style of the fifteenth century, "featuring a repetitive series of mourners in frontal view beneath an arcade, was intended for less elevated social classes." Pierre Quarré states it more eloquently in that the designer of Pierre de Bauffremont's tomb recaptured the Tournaisian tradition and "repeated the static formula without renewing it." However, Quarré continues his evaluation in a more positive light by adding that if the tomb of Pierre de Bauffremont "cannot take its place among the creations of funerary models, it is, for the fifteenth century, compared to the often-mediocre productions which are preserved, the best example of Tournai's crying stone tomb." Quarré also positively stresses that "The ornamentation is neat, and the composition is not weighed down by the presence of sadness, so frequent in monuments of the same nature."[222]

The commissioning of a funerary monument was not always a pure act of piety, but was also a statement of self-commemoration, which would not only be viewed by family and friends, but also the world at large. The Dukes of Burgundy used the commissioning of their tombs as a carefully-structured conduit for their political, social, and cultural ambitions. Pierre de Bauffremont's tomb monument provided him with an opportunity to dictate the specific way he wished to be remembered. Pierre's tomb did not lose itself in the grandeur or formality of noble burials; however, whether purposely or unintentionally, through the style of the precursor tombs of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, it connected him to the power and prestige of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy.

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[222] Quarré, 112.

Illustrations

Figure 3-1. Tomb of Philippe Dagobert de France, d. 1234, Saint Denis Basilique, France.

Figure 3-2. Tomb of Louis of France, d. 1260, Saint Denis Basilique, France.

Figure 3-3. Tomb of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, c.1381-1410 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon).

Figure 3-4. Mourners, Tomb of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, c.1381-1410 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon).

Figure 3-5. Mourner, Tomb of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, c.1381-1410 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon).

Figure 3-6. Mourners, Tomb of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, c.1381-1410 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon)**.**

Figure 3-7. Carthusian monk, Tomb of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, c.1381-1410 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon).

Figure 3-8. Tomb of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy,Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, c.1443-1469.

Figure 3-9. Mourners, Tomb of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, c.1443-1469.

Figure 3-10. Mourner, Tomb of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, c.1443-1469

Figure 3-11. Tomb of Jacques Kastangnes, c.1327, Church of Saint-Quentin, Tournai.

Figure 3-12. Tomb Relief of Pierre de Bauffremont, c.1453-72, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland.

Figure 3-13. Tomb of Pierre de Bauffremont, c.1453-72), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon.

Figure 3-14. Mourner, Tomb Relief of Pierre de Bauffremont, c.1453-72, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland.

Figure 3-15. Mourner, Tomb Relief of Pierre de Bauffremont, c.1453-72, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland.

Figure 3-16. Mourner with Rosary, Tomb Relief of Pierre de Bauffremont, c.1453-72, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland.

Figure 3-18. Leaf detail, Tomb Relief of Pierre de Bauffremont, c.1453-72, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland.

Figure 3-17. Coat-of-arms of Pierre de Bauffremont, formerly in the choir of the Church of Notre-Dame de Bruges (Chapter of the Golden Fleece of 1468).

Figure 3-19 Flower detail, Tomb Relief of Pierre de Bauffremont, c.1453-72, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland.

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