REVISITING THE MONUMENT

FIFTY YEARS SINCE PANOFSKY'S *TOMB SCULPTURE*

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Revisiting The Monument: Fifty Years since Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*
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Detail of tomb of Jacopo de Carrara
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III. MONUMENTS AND MATERIALS

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

JESSICA BARKER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TOMB CHEST: PLINTH OR COFFIN?

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

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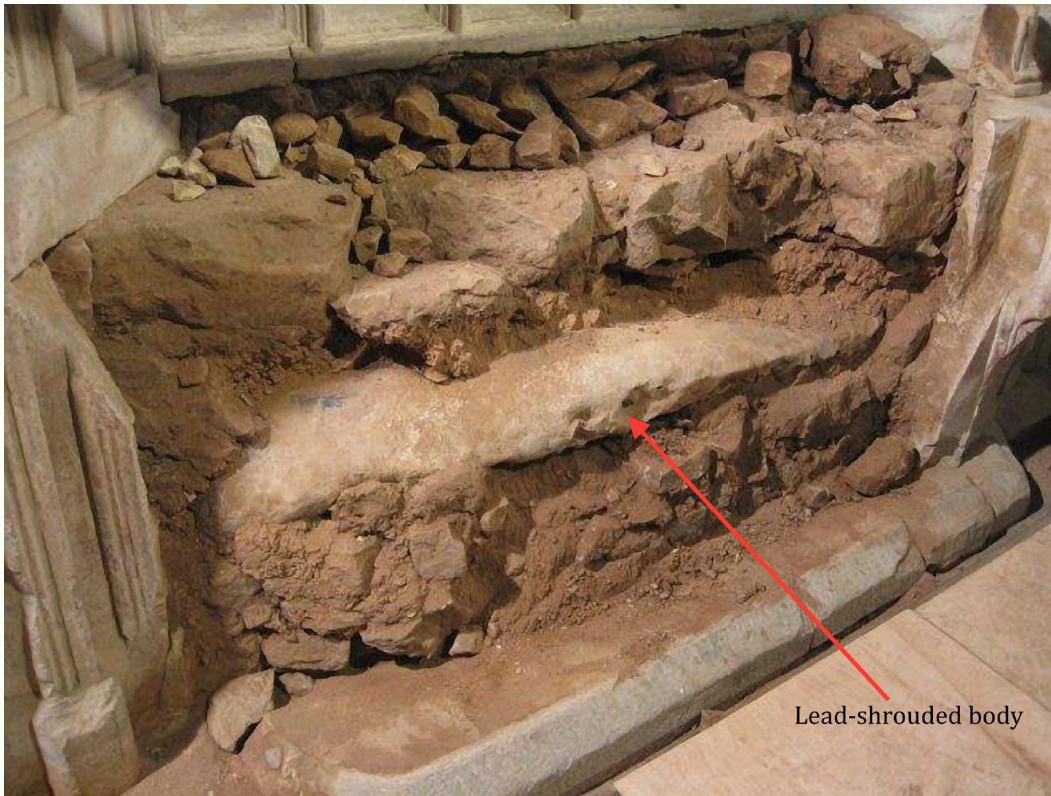
Lead-shrouded body

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MONUMENTS, BURIALS AND TIME

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

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

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

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

> And wherever I die I will and devise that after my passing my body remain
> above ground uninterred for forty days, and I charge my executors that with-
> in those forty days no interment [Lincoln MS: embalming] of my body shall
> be done nor feigned, privately nor publicly.[55]
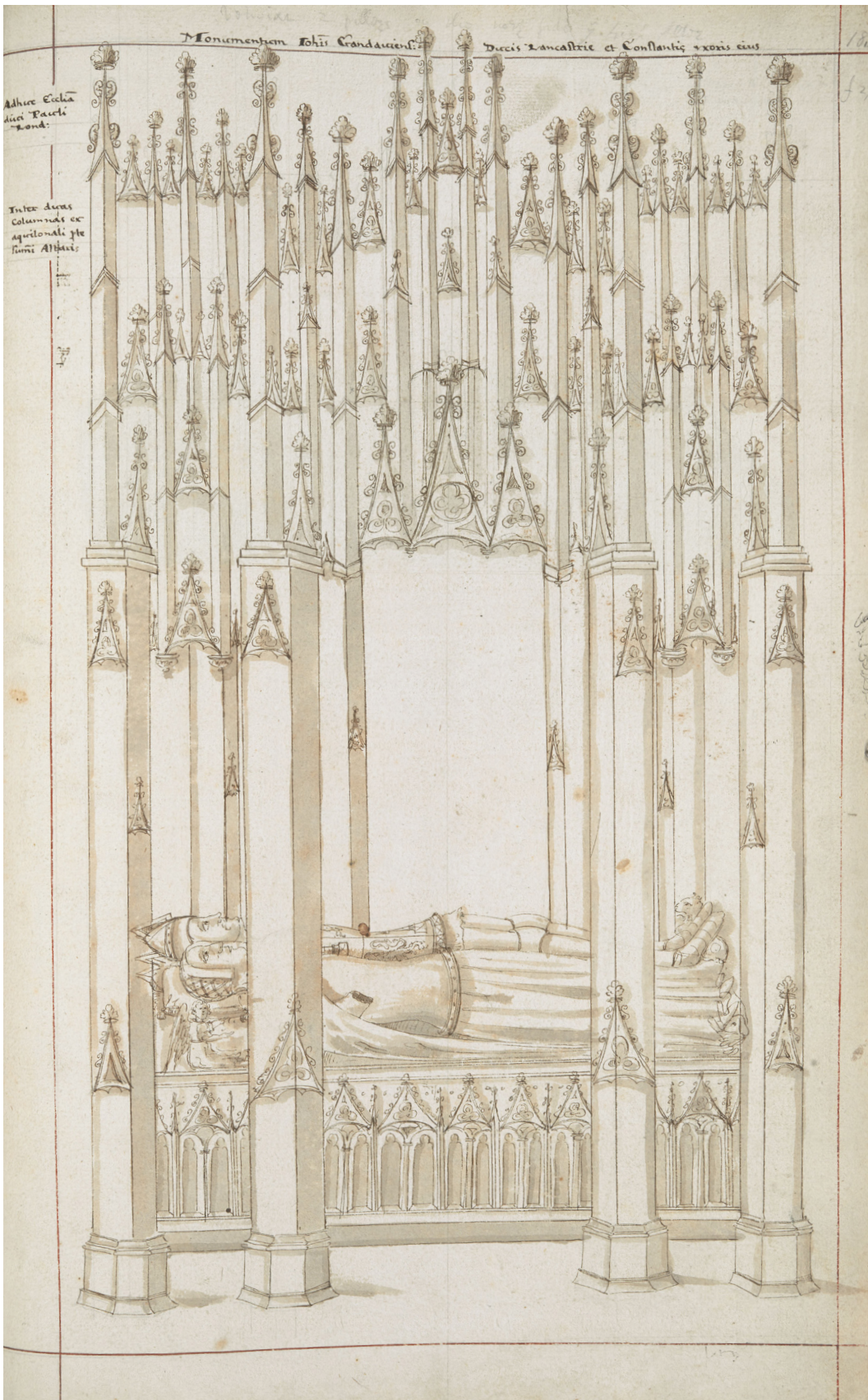
6.6
William Sedgwick, ink-and-wash drawing of the monument to John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster (June 1641). British Library Additional MS 71474, fol. 183.

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

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

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

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

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

THE TRANSI TOMB OF JOHN FITZALAN

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

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

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

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

Since Fulk Eyton's will was written on 8 February 1451, and the French chroniclers insist that John Fitzalan was originally buried at Beauvais, the Earl's bones must have been retrieved many years after his demise, most likely on Eyton's final departure from France in 1450.[85] The repatriation of the Earl's corpse was probably initiated and financed by his brother and heir, William Fitzalan (✝1487), the 'lord of Arundell' to whom Eyton refers in his will. Fulk Eyton was an obvious choice of agent to be entrusted with such a delicate task: he was an experienced soldier who served under John Fitzalan in the French campaigns, held the office of constable of Owestry Castle in the Welsh marches by Fitzalan's grant in 1434, and had spent the years after the Earl's death fighting in Normandy.[86] The wording of the will indicates that the extraordinarily high sum which William Fitzalan owed Eyton (1,400 marks or approximately £933) was to cover both his travel
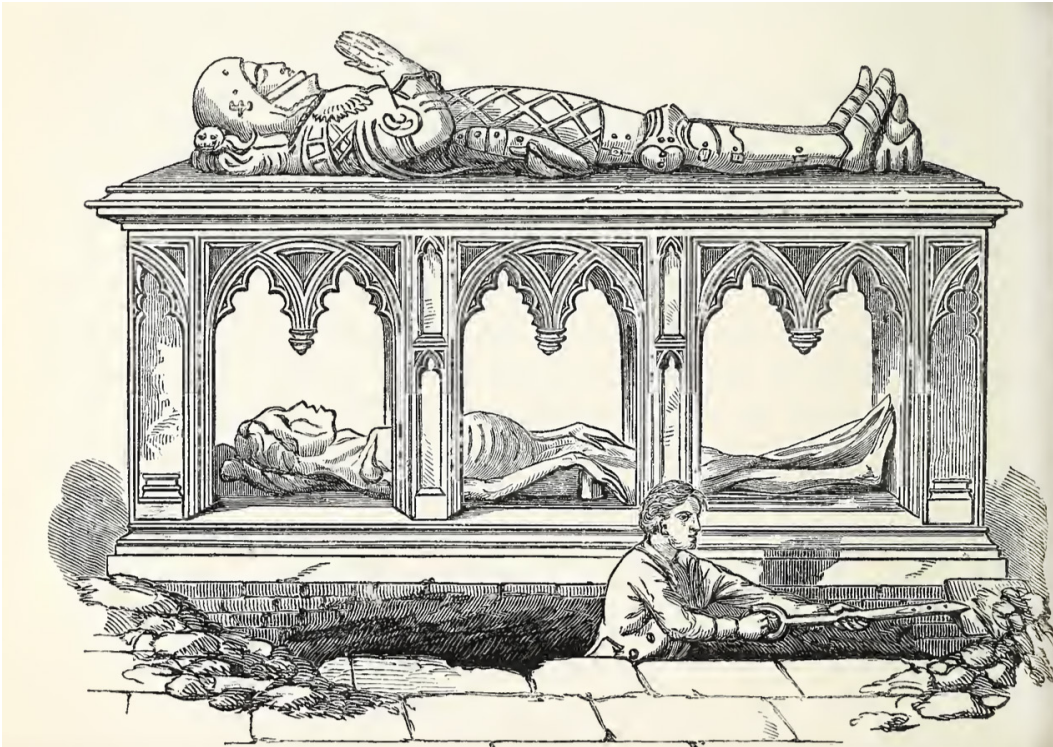
expenses ('cariage of bons') and a ransom paid to the French to retrieve the body ('oute of the Frenchemennys handes delyveraunce').[87] Although there are no other recorded examples of ransoming a corpse, the legal principle that ransoms still applied after the death of the prisoner—as long as his demise had not been caused by his captors—had been established in a case brought by the brother of William, lord of Chateauvillian (†1439) to the Parliament of Paris.[88] When considered against the fact that a living earl was unlikely to be ransomed for less than £5,000 during the Hundred Years War, the price for John Fitzalan's corpse appears more reasonable.[89] Nevertheless, £933 still vastly exceeds the amount that would have been spent on the Earl's tomb (contracts dating from 1419 and 1421 for two alabaster effigies and a tomb chest of alabaster and 'other stone' commemorating an earl and countess at Bisham Abbey reveal that the entire ensemble cost only £51 13s 4d), perhaps suggesting the relative importance of corpse and monument to John Fitzalan's family.[90] Although there are no surviving documents recording a payment made by William Fitzalan to Fulk Eyton's executors, the presence of a male skeleton over 6 ft (182.8 cm) tall in the vault beneath the Earl's tomb—the absence of one leg confirming its identity as John Fitzalan—indicates that an agreement was reached and the Earl's bones eventually brought to Arundel for burial (fig. 6.8).[91]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSION: SIGHT AND IMAGINATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

67.   Brown and Summerson, 'Henry IV'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

82.   Curry, 'Fitzalan, John'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

91.   Tierney, 'Discovery', pp. 237-38.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Traditions of Alabaster Sculpture in Western Europe 1330-1530 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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