

**Brotherly love and filial obedience:
the commemorative programme of the Avis princes
at Santa Maria da Vitória, Batalha**

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To Rogério

And to every person who,

knowingly or not,

ever taught me anything

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THE AVIS PRINCES AT SANTA MARIA DA VITÓRIA, BATALHA**

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ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS: Avis princes, Monument, Batalha Monastery, Family Memory, Image, king João I

This dissertation focuses on a rare 15th century commemorative programme that has thus far received little scholarly attention: the collective monument erected in the Founder's Chapel, at the Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória, Batalha, to house the remains of four Avis princes, members of what would become known as 'the Illustrious Generation'. A patron is proposed for the commission of this erudite monument - the princes' eldest brother, king Duarte I - arguing its integration into a broader propaganda programme to glorify the memory of the Avis dynasty founder, king João I. The dissertation then proceeds to discuss various highly innovative features of the monument, such as its pseudo-architectural character, its use of sophisticated heraldry and personal badges, the apparent absence of religious iconography on the tombs and, importantly, the collective nature of the programme, key to its interpretation.

Using a semiotic approach, a discussion is also offered on the way the various formal, iconographic and conceptual novelties of the princes' monument impacted on the 15th century monumental landscape in Portugal.

Finally, the monument and the chapel housing it are looked at through the prism of the various readings that successive generations of viewers have projected onto it, from the time of its creation to the turn of the 20th century, in order to offer a more comprehensive understanding of the object as it stands today.

**AMOR FRATERNAL E OBEDIÊNCIA FILIAL: O PROGRAMA COMMEMORATIVO DOS
INFANTES DE AVIS EM SANTA MARIA DA VITÓRIA, BATALHA**

BEGOÑA FARRÉ TORRAS

RESUMO

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Infantes de Avis, Monumento, Mosteiro da Batalha, Memória de Família, Imagem, D. João I

A presente dissertação tem por objecto de estudo um singular programa comemorativo do século XV merecedor até à data de escassa atenção académica: o monumento colectivo erigido na Capela do Fundador, no Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória, Batalha, que acolhe os restos de quatro infantes de Avis, membros do que viria a ser conhecido pela Ínclita Geração. Propõe-se para o mesmo um encomendante – o irmão mais velho dos príncipes, o rei D. Duarte – e argumenta-se a integração deste monumento erudito num programa de propaganda mais alargado que visava glorificar a memória do fundador da dinastia de Avis, D. João I.

Procede-se, a seguir, a explorar as diversas características que dão a este monumento um valor altamente inovador, tais como a sua dimensão pseudo-arquitectónica, o uso de um sofisticado código de heráldica e divisas, a aparente ausência de iconografia religiosa nos túmulos, e a natureza colectiva do programa, chave, esta última, da interpretação aqui apresentada.

Através de uma abordagem semiótica, oferece-se igualmente uma análise do impacto que as diversas novidades formais, iconográficas e conceituais do monumento dos infantes tiveram no panorama comemorativo quatrocentista português.

Por último, propõe-se um olhar sobre o monumento e a capela que o acolhe, através do prisma das variadas leituras que gerações sucessivas de observadores projectaram sobre os mesmos, desde o momento da sua criação até à viragem do século XX, com o propósito de oferecer uma visão mais exhaustiva do objecto tal como nos é apresentado na actualidade.

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Introduction

Object of study

The memory of four Portuguese princes from the 15th century lives on in a collective funerary monument at the Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória, Batalha. It is a unique commemorative programme for no ordinary princes; Pedro, Henrique, João and Fernando - sons of king João I, founder of the Avis dynasty, and queen Philippa of Lancaster - have gone down in history, as in popular culture, as a one-of-a-kind princely cohort, celebrated from the 16th century as '*a Ínclita Geração*' ('the Illustrious Generation') in the words of Portugal's most celebrated epic poet, Luís de Camões.

The princes' monument at Santa Maria da Vitória is not the final resting place for the whole of the so-called Illustrious Generation. Though Camões' use of the term clearly refers only to the sons who reached adulthood, João I's and Philippa of Lancaster's brood was larger than that. Aside from the children who died at an early age¹, this generation also included princess Isabel (1397-1471), married to Philippe le Bon, 3rd Duke of Burgundy, who was buried at the Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon². Also missing from the monument is the princes' eldest brother, Duarte (1391-1438), who succeeded João I on the Portuguese throne in 1433 and felt entitled to a separate chapel of his own, at the same monastery, on account of his kingly status. Duarte is an extremely rich and complex character who, notwithstanding his short and somewhat unfortunate reign³, left behind a wealth of writings - earning him the epithets of *the Eloquent* and *the Philosopher King* - that provide a precious insight into his cultivated mind. The very same mind, I will argue, that must have been behind the design of the conceptually sophisticated tomb housing the remains of his four brothers, the monument that constitutes the object of this study.

¹ Apart from two girls who died in their infancy, both called Branca, the royal couple's first-born son, Afonso (1390-1400), died aged 10 and was buried in a grand monument at Braga Cathedral. The aesthetic novelty and political significance of this monument raises several issues most recently dealt with in Silva and Costa (2010).

² This Carthusian monastery was dissolved and largely destroyed in the wake of the French Revolution.

³ King Duarte of Portugal was the object of veiled criticism in royal chronicles and was accordingly presented as a weak, unfortunate ruler in much of traditional historiography. His character and his reign, however, have been revised by more recent research, resulting in works such as his latest biography by Luís Miguel Duarte (Duarte 2005).

The first four princes of the Avis dynasty are therefore commemorated in a single funerary programme occupying an entire wall of what has successively been known as the King's Chapel, the Royal Chapel and, today, the Founder's Chapel at the monastery of Batalha. The chapel was built by their father, king João I to house his own conjugal tomb, which dominates the site from a central position. The interpretation offered here of the princes' monument derives precisely from its formal, iconographical and spatial relationship with this central sepulchre.

The princes' monument was highly innovative in a number of ways: its collective nature, advanced use of heraldry and architectural character. Moreover, unlike the parental monument, the princes' was originally meant to represent its occupants without recourse to either effigies or inscriptions, a feature which at the time of its creation constituted a bold departure from common practice. And yet, for all its novelty, and for all the historical significance of the figures it commemorates, credited with having initiated the Portuguese Expansion, the monument remains virtually unstudied.

Historiographical overview

For lack of specific monographs, the only available historiographical references to the Avis princes' monument are to be found in two types of works: studies devoted to the Batalha monastery as a whole, and general overviews of 15th century Portuguese funerary sculpture.

Among the first, it is worth mentioning Reynaldo dos Santos' and Vergílio Correia's pioneering art-historical studies of Santa Maria da Vitória which, though concise in their treatment of the princes' monument, do mention its most salient formal features and briefly refer to the impact they had on subsequent commemorative programmes in Portugal (Santos 1927; Correia 1929; Correia 1931). A later monograph by Sérgio Guimarães de Andrade on the Batalha monastery also devotes a few pages to the Founder's Chapel and its monuments. Andrade highlights a growing naturalism in the decorative programme of the princes' monument, as well as its architectural composition inspired in the design of gothic portals, while proposing

an execution period between 1437 and 1443 (Andrade 1992, 40–46). In his 1995 overview of Portuguese gothic architecture, Paulo Pereira alights at Batalha and offers a summary description of the chapel and its tombs, drawing attention to the key role played by heraldry and personal emblems in their decorative programme, describing it as a new trend imported from England (Pereira 1995, 1:410).

Among the second set of references – that is, those contained in general overviews of 15th century Portuguese funerary sculpture - we can find equally brief mentions to the princes' monument and some of its more significant features. Emídio Ferreira draws attention to the sense of unity conveyed by the commemorative programme and to the way it integrates funerary sculpture into the chapel's architecture (Ferreira 1986, 91 and 117). For his part, Dionísio David focuses on the highly decorative character of the monument and on its lack of religious references (David 1989, 106), while Maria José Goulão sees the tombs as a new prototype for subsequent funerary production with emphasis on the architectural decoration of the arcosolium and the use of heraldry as a means of individualised representation (Goulão 2009, 4:107–108). Finally, José Custódio Vieira da Silva and Joana Ramôa offer a brief overview of the princes' monument also emphasizing its pioneering architectural monumentalisation and collective nature which mark a turning point in 15th century funerary programmes in Portugal (Silva and Ramôa 2011, 69–70).

A further, non art-historical reference to the monument comes from a study on the literary idealization of the Illustrious Generation anchored in Camões' *Lusíadas*. This work points out that “a organização do espaço na capela do fundador do mosteiro, com a distribuição de cada um dos filhos à volta de D. João e de D. Filipa, evidencia claramente o propósito de perdurar no tempo a unidade da família de Avis” (Fonseca 1984, 299)⁴. The emphasis brought to bear here on the theme of familial unity is enlightening for the interpretation of the monument within the chapel that will be discussed in this dissertation.

The limited art-historiographical attention given to the Avis princes monument is somewhat unexpected in the face of its apparent artistic value and the historical relevance of its occupants, specially when considering the vast amounts that have

⁴ As quoted in Ramos (2007, 95).

been written about the monastery as a whole. Perhaps it is precisely the overwhelming historical, artistic and political significance of the monastic complex that has somehow dwarfed the princes' monument into obscurity. In addition, the monument's profile is not really raised by its location within the pantheon; as the visitor enters the royal chapel they are struck by its centrepiece - the conjugal tomb of the founder king and his queen - which spatially and symbolically dominates the entire place. In doing so it blocks the view to the princes' monument, erected against the back wall, and clearly (and intentionally) marks it as a secondary element in the mausoleum. Thus, art-historical attention to this funerary complex has so far naturally focused primarily on its architecture and the founders' monument⁵.

But the scarce attention traditionally given to the princes' commemorative programme may also have to do with its virtual aniconicity: the monument lacks both conventional effigies and human figuration on the tomb chests. This very feature, unusual in its time in tombs destined for figures of such high standing, may also have played a part in keeping art historians at a distance. For, indeed, most art-historical research on Portuguese medieval funerary sculpture has tended to focus on its figurative elements. This is an obviously pertinent approach considering the wealth of themes represented on tomb chests, particularly up to the end of the 14th century, and the growing investment in personal representation through effigies in that period. But the 15th century changes things, in no small part due precisely to new concepts brought in at Batalha. Thus, while effigies remain a key commemorative component in most cases, 15th century monuments need to be considered also from other perspectives, such as their architectural dimension, their collective nature and their recourse to elaborate heraldic programmes as a means of individual representation.

Dissertation structure

The monument was created, by my reckoning, from the late 1430s to around 1449. In the first part of this dissertation I will therefore delve into the 15th century in an attempt to determine the original purpose of the monument and the circumstances surrounding its creation. This endeavour is hampered by the scarcity of documentary

⁵ On this last subject, the conjugal tomb of king João I and Philippa of Lancaster, see (Ramôa and Silva 2008; Ramôa in press).

evidence: there are, to date, no known records that explicitly refer to the patron, the builder, the timing of construction or the intention of the princes' monumental programme. Except, that is, for two 16th century sources contradicting my proposed attribution to king Duarte, the reliability of which I will also question.

Consequently, the story of the commission, of the motivations behind the choice of commemorative programme, has been necessarily inferred from contingent evidence, that is, pieced together from the observation of the monument itself and non-directly-related documents (wills, chronicles and personal writings) which I have tried to insert into an explanatory argument. This explanatory argument – the monument as part of a larger propaganda and moralizing campaign by king Duarte – needed to be plausible but, given the lack of hard evidence, could not be conclusively proven. In these circumstances, therefore, I found myself very much in the role of the *factor* as applied by Georges Didi-Huberman to the (art) historian who, faced with the discipline's "inherent fragility with regard to all procedures of verification, its extremely lacunary character, particularly in the domain of manmade figurative objects" is but "the modeler, the artisan, the author, the inventor of whatever past he offers us" (Didi-Huberman 2005, 2). As such, when I offer king Duarte's possible role in the monument's commission, my account takes on a slightly more narrative tone precisely to acknowledge its hypothetical, constructed nature, based on circumstantial evidence rather than documented certainties. This, however, is followed by as thorough as possible a compilation of sources that indirectly support my thesis as to agency by confirming the most likely timing of the monument's creation. With this, I hope to have offered an interpretation of the object that is convincing with regard to motivation, while standing up to scrutiny with regard to execution.

In a second chapter I will stay in period in an attempt to recreate as best as possible the monument's original appearance, subsequently much altered by the restoration campaigns of the 19th and 20th centuries. This chapter will also explore its several features that pushed the boundaries of common practice in commemorative monuments – architectural monumentalisation, personal representation through heraldry and badges, aniconicity, and collective nature.

This will be followed by a third chapter devoted to examining the reception of the object and the impact (or lack thereof) that the above-mentioned novelties had on the subsequent production of monumental sculpture. This analysis will be carried out from a semiotic perspective, that is, it will consider the monument as a complex sign, made up of a variety of meaning-bearing components that work together to fulfil the communicative purposes of a monument. Such purposes are effectively twofold: they relate both to a tomb's funerary function (the expression of attitudes towards death and salvation), and to its commemorative role (the expression of the image that the occupant wishes to perpetuate of him or herself). This section, however, and the dissertation generally, will be exclusively concerned with the latter. This is no arbitrary choice; by comparison with 14th century monuments, 15th century monumental practice manifests a growing preoccupation with the commemorative element, and the Avis princes monument at Batalha is a particularly expressive example of this trend. Thus, given the need to limit the scope of the research, it seems pertinent to focus it on the increasingly commemorative symbolic function of the objects under study, though this methodological choice does not deny in any way their funerary dimension⁶.

Chapters one to three of the dissertation, therefore, will look at the monument of the Princes of Avis through a 15th century 'frame'; a necessary exercise, but one that does not suffice. This object does not belong to the time of its creation alone. On the contrary, its very commemorative nature means that it was intended to carry the memory of four illustrious figures for posterity. And historical circumstances have respected that original design; it now belongs in our time as well, it is ours to read and experience aesthetically too. However, the current interpretation and sensory perception of it cannot but be informed by numerous previous readings. The monument of the princes of Avis is part of a monastery of great historical, political and artistic significance for Portugal. As such, between the time of its creation and the present it has inevitably been seen, admired, emulated, venerated, ignored or even despised by different groups of viewers looking at it from notably different

⁶ A thorough analysis of the death-related signifying capabilities of 15th century Portuguese monuments can be found in David (1989).

perspectives. And every new reading of the object has done something to its meaning and, in some cases, it has changed its appearance too.

The fourth part of this dissertation will, therefore, explore the perception of the monument through time. What I propose here is not a thorough compilation of all references to it in six hundred years of documentary production, but rather an exercise (a necessarily brief one) to draw attention to the fact that the monument's current appearance and meaning differ significantly from its original ones, and that the former have been shaped by the many gazes that over the centuries have been posed on it.

1 – The commission

The monument of the Avis princes (fig. 1 and fig. 2) is an integral part of what is today known as the Founder's Chapel, a royal mausoleum built at the Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória, in the town of Batalha. It is a very rare commemorative specimen because of its collective nature: it appears to have been designed as one single monument made up of four matching individual tombs to house the remains of king João I's four younger sons: princes Pedro (1392-1449), Henrique (1394-1460), João (1400-1442) and Fernando (1402-1443). The uniformity of the set is as striking as it is puzzling; the configuration of a sepulchre has historically been a highly personal matter, resulting from individual choices as to the kind of physical reminder a patron wished to leave of him or herself for posterity⁷. The question then arises of why would four people of such high station – four 15th century Portuguese princes – choose to be buried in tombs that hardly set each one of them apart from the rest. I will argue that it was not actually their own choice; that the monument must have been conceived of and imposed on the four princes by someone hierarchically above them. Which points to two potential patrons for it: either the princes' father, king João I (r. 1385-1433), or their eldest brother and successor to the throne, king Duarte I (r. 1433-1438).

King João I – the documented patron

At first glance, king João I appears a very likely candidate as the man behind the commission. Both the monastery and the royal funerary chapel were built at his behest. As his 1426 will⁸ makes amply clear, having won a decisive victory at the Battle of Aljubarrota (1383) which eventually secured him the throne, João I ordered the building of the monastery as a token of gratitude to Our Lady for her intercessory role in his military triumph, occurred on the eve of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 14th. Ostensibly an outward sign of Christian devotion and gratefulness,

⁷ Or the physical reminder a relative wished to leave of the deceased, as monuments were often commissioned not by the person interred in them, but rather by their spouse, descendants or other relatives.

⁸ *Testamento de El-Rei D. João I (King João I's Will)* 1426, as reproduced in Almeida, Brochado, and Dinis (1961, 131-139).

the monastery and its chapel were, however, also central to king João's political strategy. It was an ambitious project: the building was to be the grandest and most exquisite ever built in Portugal⁹ so that it would contribute to assert the legitimacy of the Avis dynasty that he had just founded, and it would function as a commanding reminder of its power. With this same purpose in mind, he then proceeded to order the erection of a sumptuous funerary chapel, adjacent to the nave of the church, which was to serve as a dynastic pantheon, the first ever built and actually used as such in Portugal¹⁰.

Using architectural features never before seen in the kingdom, the new commemorative chapel would house at its centre an equally original conjugal tomb for him and his wife, Philippa of Lancaster. Always according to king João's 1426 will, the space around this imposing central monument was to be exclusively reserved for subsequent Avis kings, in sepulchres either raised or at ground level, while the recesses carved into the chapel's walls were for the 'sons and grandsons of kings'¹¹. The chapel, therefore, was to carry the memory of himself, his wife and his own descendants, crowned or not; a fitting mausoleum to the glory and the memory of his newly-founded dynasty of Avis.

Having ordered the construction of the monastery, the chapel and his own conjugal monument, as well as reserving the space around it for Avis kings and princes, João I seems a likely patron for the commission of his sons' monument, a final piece to his dynastic commemorative strategy at Batalha. And in fact two 16th century sources

⁹ (Sousa 1866, 2:262) Writing in 1623, this dominican friar tells us how king João I wanted the monastery to be the grandest and most magnificent built in Iberia and beyond and how for this reason he called the most celebrated architects and skilled stonemasons from faraway lands. Though his words need to be read with caution – Sousa writes well over two centuries after events, does not cite any sources for these claims and his objectivity is compromised by his condition as a Dominican friar – there is no doubt that king João had grand designs for this monastery that was to serve as a symbol of the power of the new Avis dynasty. Batalha was indeed the most ambitious building project hitherto undertaken in the kingdom.

¹⁰ The royal pantheon at Batalha was not however the first one of its kind to be *planned* in Portugal. As shown in Vairo (2012) there is the precedent of another royal pantheon, conceived of by king Dinis (r. 1279-1325) for the Monastery of Odivelas, near Lisbon. The monastery was indeed built and it houses the monument of the king himself, but it was not used as a pantheon by any other members of the royal family.

¹¹ *Testamento de El-Rei D. João I (King João I's Will)* 1426. The exact phrase is "filhos e netos de reis" which can be translated as either "children and grandchildren of kings" or in a more restrictive sense (and probably closer to contemporary practice) as "sons and grandsons of kings". All quotes from authors and sources appearing in English in the text, when not originally in English, are my translation.

indicate that this was the case: chroniclers Damião de Gois (1502-1574) and Pedro de Mariz (1550-1615) both mention, in passing, that king João's four younger sons were buried in monuments built for them at the behest of their father in Batalha¹².

It is worth noting, however, that both authors write well over a century after the events. The reliability of their account on this point, therefore, must be considered carefully, as it is not clear what their own sources are, especially taking into account that the royal chroniclers who wrote before them, in the 15th century (Fernão Lopes, Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Rui de Pina), do not mention anything to that effect.

There are also other considerations that shed doubt on the attribution of the princes' monument to João I. While it is clear from his will that by 1426 king João had given a great deal of thought to his own monument and that he had planned to have non-reigning descendants interred in the chapel's recesses, nothing in the testament shows that he had any specific plans for the latter. Whereas his conjugal tomb is carefully described in the document, there are no references to the kind of monument he may have been devising for his sons. One could argue that he had not done so in 1426, when he dictated his will, but that by the time of his death, in 1433, he would have had the chance to think of and commission a worthy monument for his sons. While this is possible, other timing factors suggest that it was not the case.

Firstly, João I's own monument had not been completed by 1433, which is why while his body was taken to Batalha on the same year of his passing, it was temporarily laid to rest in a provisional tomb in the nave of the church, having to wait until October 1434 to be finally placed, together with that of queen Philippa, in the conjugal monument he had ordered eight years earlier¹³. It seems unlikely that he would have commissioned a secondary monument for his chapel while the main one, his own, remained unfinished.

¹² (Gois 1790, 5–6) originally written in 1567, and (Mariz 1749, 237) originally written in 1590. These sources have led the only author to have ventured a specific proposal as to the patron and timing of this commission, Dionísio David, to conclude that the Avis princes monument was ordered by João I, that the overall structure of the monument would have been finished around 1434, and that the individual tombs would have been put in place over the princes' lifetime. See (David 1989, 71)

¹³ A detailed account of the memorial services that took place following king João's death can be found not in this monarch's chronicle by Fernão Lopes, which ends at the 1411 peace agreement with Castile, therefore not covering the last twenty two years of his reign, but in Rui de Pina's chronicle of king Duarte's. See (Pina 1901, chap. 4)

Secondly, taking into account that this was a pantheon built to the memory of the Avis dynasty by its founding king, it would seem inconsistent for João I to order a monument for him and his wife, another for four of his sons, and not to at least consider the commemorative programme of his heir, too, as the next link in the dynastic chain. On the contrary, it is well known that, once on the throne, king Duarte took care of his own burial arrangements by having a whole new mausoleum erected for himself and his descendants, known today as the ‘Imperfect Chapels’ on account of their unfinished state, that are part of the same monastic complex at Batalha.

These elements of doubt, therefore, question the reliability of the 16th century sources – the only known documentary evidence linking the princes’ tombs to king João – and allow us to consider instead the possibility that this collective monument was actually the brainchild of his successor, king Duarte. Because there is no specific documentary evidence to this effect, this argumentation will necessarily be based on my interpretation of the intended meaning of monument and how this fits in with Duarte’s filial duties and political motivations.

King Duarte – the likely patron

From the moment he succeeded João I on the throne, Duarte was intent on ensuring the continuity of what his father had initiated: consolidate the dynasty, both at home and abroad, maintain the peace with Castile and work for the kingdom’s prosperity. In this purpose, he endeavoured to live up to the model of a monarch he himself helped define based on what he considered an ideal king, his own father. As a highly educated prince, Duarte read and reflected extensively on the virtues that a monarch must possess in order to be able to call himself a worthy ruler to his subjects¹⁴. He understood how important it was to build João’s image as a model of

¹⁴ The question of what made a perfect king or a perfect prince preoccupied medieval authors from very early on, with treatises on the subject going back at least to Carolingian times. In the 13th century there was a surge in the production of works devoted to the subject, which conform the well know genre of the *specula principis*, or Mirrors for Princes. These followed a fairly standard model in an attempt to define the virtues that an ideal monarch should possess. By the early 15th century, interest in this issue had grown to the point where European kings and princes would be expected to have at least one of these Mirrors for Princes in their library. King João I and his sons were no exception. Duarte’s library –

behaviour, a mirror for Duarte to look at himself in, but also an example for the whole nobility to follow, to ensure that the kingdom could live in peace, harmony and Christian virtue.

Duarte, therefore, set about constructing the image and memory of his revered father and the dynasty he founded. And the consensus among historians is that he showed considerable skill at it¹⁵, with the result that João I did indeed go down in history with the epithet of the *king of the Good Remembrance*. To begin with, Duarte commissioned his father's chronicle, an official account without precedents in Portugal, whose kings had until then come and gone without leaving an official record of their reign¹⁶.

But building a mythical image of his father required far more than a glorifying chronicle. João himself had understood the need for perpetuating a monarch's memory and had thus ordered the striking conjugal tomb that would house his remains and those of his wife at the Monastery of Batalha. The monument had not been finished at the time of his death, and it befell Duarte to complete it. A great believer in the power of words¹⁷, Duarte treated the undecorated sides of his parents' massive tomb chest as a blank piece of parchment on which to describe the kind of royal couple that he wanted the kingdom to remember and emulate. Eschewing common practice in tomb decoration, he forewent any kind of ornamental or religious motif and completely covered both sides of the chest with the longest and most

considerable by the standards of 15th century Portuguese royalty and nobility – is known to have included at least a copy of *De Regimine Principum* by Egidius Romanus.

¹⁵ King Duarte's broad programme of initiatives to build a mythical image of his father has been recently explored by Luís Miguel Duarte who concludes that "houve um fio condutor, uma inteligência política empenhada em construir uma imagem mítica da dinastia de Avis, começando metodicamente pelo fundador, D. João I, e pela esposa, continuando depois para os filhos (e, mais tarde, para os netos), quase sacralizando esta família para a utilizar como exemplo ao serviço da educação de um reino" (Duarte 2005, 213–219).

¹⁶ (Lopes 1897) This chronicle does not cover the entirety of king João I's life, ending rather at the episode of the 1411 peace treaty with Castile, as already mentioned. Having understood the political importance of producing sanctioned accounts of reigns, Duarte officialised the position of Cronista-Mor do Reino (Chronicler of the Kingdom) in 1434, granting it for the first time to Fernão Lopes, who was also entrusted with writing the chronicles of king João's immediate predecessors on the throne, Pedro I (r. 1320-1367) and Fernando I (r. 1367-1383), both from the previous Burgundy dynasty. The development of royal chronicles in 15th century Portugal is explored by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa as an instrument of power, affirming the authority of the monarchy and contributing to the legitimization of that same authority (Sousa 2007, 1).

¹⁷ Duarte earned his epithet, *the Eloquent*, on account of his extensive reading and writing.

exalting epitaph ever composed in the kingdom until then¹⁸. While queen Philippa was presented as a model Christian wife and mother, king João's inscription sang the praises of his military and political triumphs, his Christian zeal against the moors in North Africa, and his drive to rid the kingdom's nobility of sinful behaviour, leading by example of virtue, honesty and honour.

These were precisely the kind of attributes that Duarte also sought to convey at king João's memorial service, which brought yet another opportunity to impress on his subjects, and the noble ranks in particular, the sort of example they should all follow. Duarte was well aware of the crucial importance royal funerals could have to the memory a monarch leaves behind. For this reason he took a very active role in organising his father's. Moreover, the final ceremony at Batalha would be attended not only by the best and finest of the kingdom, but also by foreign dignitaries. It was a precious opportunity to carry the exemplary message beyond Portugal's borders.

He had a clear idea of what he wanted the funeral's officiant, friar Fernando de Arroiteia, to tell the congregation about his father and his mother. Surely, it would not do for a mere layman, no matter how high his station, to dictate the sermon to be pronounced by a man of God. But he could most certainly give him an outline, and a fairly precise one, too. And so he had set out to write, once more, about how Portugal's royals, its noblemen and women, clerics and common people, should all rejoice in having had in king João and queen Philippa the most pious and exemplary of monarchs: how they had brought up the princes to love and respect one other, to live in perfect harmony; how this had given rise to a royal family that was valued, feared and obeyed by all in the kingdom; and how they had steered the nobility away from their sinful ways¹⁹.

¹⁸ For a transcription of the Latin epitaph and its translation into Portuguese can see (Neves 1891).

¹⁹ Luís Miguel Duarte considers this sermon "uma das mais magníficas peças de propaganda política da história de Portugal. Tanto mais eficaz quando não se trata de um discurso solto, antes de uma peça de um plano longamente pensado e amadurecido que inclui muitas outras iniciativas (Duarte 2005, 154). More generally, on the role taken by king Duarte at his father's funeral, and the full text of the sermon outline, see (Dinis 1954). This text (p. 29) also provides evidence of Duarte's awareness of the potential presence of foreign representatives at his father's funeral, and of the diplomatic connotations of such a presence: in a final note to Friar Arroiteia, Duarte advises him that given the possible presence of 'the queen and others from Castile' the sermon should highlight king João's military victories but without explicitly mentioning any particular battles against them.

The construction of his father's image could actually be taken further, close to sanctity. With this in mind, Duarte even tweaked with some important dates in king João's life. That the decisive battle of Aljubarrota had taken place on a 14th of August, the eve of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, carried true oracular potential. And the date of his death, the evening of a 13th of August, must have seemed to him so conveniently close. Then again, from a canonical point of view, after sundown on the 13th actually counted as the 14th. So Duarte had no qualms in recording the latter as his father's official date of death²⁰. And so it was that under Duarte's aegis, the Eve of the Assumption became so closely associated with the dynasty's founder that in time it would come to be retrospectively applied to several key events in João I's life: from the battle of Aljubarrota and the king's holy death, the mythical date was extended to his birth and also to a politically significant triumph such as the 1415 departure of the Portuguese fleet to the successful conquest of Ceuta²¹. The 14th of August: a date that showed that this was a king predestined for greatness as if by the divine intervention of the Virgin Mary, a celestial figure for whom he professed special devotion.

Duarte's endeavour to construct an ideal image of his father was taking shape. But it could be enhanced by bringing his family into the picture. Duarte appears to have seen the relationship a father keeps with his offspring as a metaphor for the kind of relationship a king should have with his noblemen. A father (king) should be able to command complete obedience from his children (noblemen), gaining their unquestioning respect for his authority, and ensuring that no quarrels between them threaten the peace and harmony of the family (kingdom). So, as important as it was to portray king João as an ideal monarch in his own right, it was also crucial to present his family – his sons in particular – as a model for the kingdom to emulate²².

²⁰ Armindo de Sousa brought to light the existence of a 1450 [1448] document giving king João's date of death as the 13th of August, as opposed to the several sources, also scrutinised by the author, pointing to his having died on the 14th (Sousa 1984). This author identifies the earliest reference linking the Eve of the Assumption to the date of king João's death on the abovementioned epitaph dictated by king Duarte for his father's tomb. This was followed by another reference to the same date, also by Duarte, in his *Livro dos conselhos de el-rei D. Duarte* (Livro da Cartuxa) (Duarte I 1982, 203).

²¹ As recorded in the official chronicle of king Duarte's reign, which encompasses some episodes of king João's, including his death and memorial services (Pina 1901).

²² For a discussion of the Avis court efforts to portray an idealised image of the royal family, based on its alleged unity, sanctity and high degree of culture, see (Fonseca 2003).

As in previous occasions, Duarte resorted to words for this purpose. King João's official chronicle was being written by Fernão Lopes, and Duarte no doubt had ways to ensure that his own version of an exemplary royal family was duly reflected in a chronicle of which he was, after all, the patron. The picture that Fernão Lopes paints of the Avis family dynamics is, consequently, idyllic. In a short chapter devoted to the arrival of the royal couple's offspring, these are characterised as being so good, on account of their obedience, 'that one cannot read of a king in Hispania or beyond that was blessed with like sons'²³. Even more emphatic in this sense is the chapter that follows, entitled 'Of the manner in which these princes showed obedience to their father'. Here the sons' behaviour with regard to their father is presented as flawless, inspired by love and filial fear, highlighting again their exemplary nature when compared to the sons of other kings. Of particular importance for the understanding of their monument, the text stresses how the princes stood out not only for their obedience to their father but also for the love and loyalty they professed one another, respecting each one's hierarchical place in the family as determined by birth²⁴.

These ideas were all taken up and developed in a further text, this time by Duarte's own hand. Entitled 'Of the practice we kept with the King my Lord and Father', it is a long moralising letter that Duarte sent to his brothers-in-law in the court of Aragon²⁵. According to this text, king João headed a family where all the sons lived in

²³ (Lopes 1897, Vol. 6, 188) “ (...) e este infantes que dissemos sahiram taes e tão bons, que de nenhum rei que da Hespanha, nem terra que mais alongada fosse, seria mais bemaventurado, nem se lê que semelhantes filhos houvesse, porque se as cíveis e humanas leis, e tambem a escripta, como em nações de gentes, todos outhorgaram que os filhos, em qualquer estado e condição que sejam, obedeçam sempre a seus padres, louvando muito os que assim o fazem, havendo por má e excommungada qualquer desobediencia que o filho por palavra ou feito contra seu padre mostra, os filhos d’este nobre rei interaimente teem tal louvor, ca todos eles foram sempre tão obedientes, assim solteiros como casados, que nenhum estado nem crescimento da honra os poude mudar pouco nem muito do santo proposito da obediencia (...)”

²⁴ (Lopes 1897, Vol. 6, 89–92), “ (...) com grande amor e temor filial, nenhuma cousa vergonhosa ou de reprender fizeram, porque el-rei seu padre somente uma hora d’algum d’elles fosse anojado.” (...) Comparison with an English crown prince that Pedro Blesense had described as very disobedient. (p. 89-90)

p. 92 (...) “e não sómente floresceu n’estes infantes a virtude de obediencia acerca de seu padre, segundo o dissemos, mas ainda se pode dizer d’elles o que adur achareis d’outros filhos de reis, e é muito de notar que afóra o leal amor que sempre entre si houveram, guardavam reverencia uns aos outros por ordem de nascimento”

²⁵ A copy of this letter, dated January 25th 1435, was included by king Duarte in his *Leal Conselheiro* (Duarte I 1842, 458-476). The exact recipients of the letter are not identified by name, but rather only as “Muy prezados e amados irmaãos”. They have been interpreted as being princes from the Aragonese

peace and harmony, they never tried to upstage each other, they never quarrelled, there was no envy and no disagreements between them, and, even more importantly, they were all equally devoted to their father, to whom they showed absolute obedience and loyalty. The sons, the text continues, never contradicted their father and never said anything that might upset him, respecting his judgement and authority at all times.

For the benefit of a foreign court, therefore, the letter attempts to define a model royal family and present the young Avis dynasty as a case in point. The subtext here being that only a king who heads a family that is exemplary in its virtue, and in its loyalty to the father, can expect to instil the same kind of virtue and command the same kind of loyalty from his noblemen, therefore ensuring the peace and stability of the kingdom.

Words were, clearly, a key means that Duarte resorted to in order to fashion the desired image of his late father. But they were not the only one. The magnificent funerary chapel that João had built for himself and his descendants gave him other options for a visual and permanent expression of the same ideals. Other than for the imposing conjugal monument at its centre, and its corresponding altar, the chapel remained empty; its walls awaiting to house for eternity the sons and grandsons of kings, as his father had specified in his will. The vacant wall recesses around his parents' monument provided yet another opportunity to aggrandise his father's name with a monument for his brothers that visually reinforced the exemplary nature of the Avis family, this idyllic picture of filial submission and brotherly harmony that he had been honing over time.

Reality, however, was not quite as perfect. In fact, history has recorded several instances of disagreement between the siblings²⁶ and between them and their father²⁶.

court because the letter also refers to a conversation Duarte held with them during their visit to Abrantes, in January 1435, as well as mentioning the priest Garcia d'Aznar – known to have been advisor to the Aragonese princes at the time – having suggested he write to the princes with precisely the sort of moralising recommendations contained in the letter.

²⁶ In king Duarte's most recent biography, (Duarte 2005), the author delves into the relationship between the siblings (214-219), concluding, not surprisingly, that it was not as idyllic as the Eloquent king would have the world believe, or as he deftly puts it "God never got along this well with angels" (215). Like all siblings, the members of the Illustrious Generation vied for attention or favour from their parents - later from their eldest brother - more so in this case with major political and economical

But what matters here, is not whether this was a faithful portrayal of reality, but that it was, in Duarte's view, the ideal that his own family and the whole nobility should aspire to for the good of the kingdom.

And it is exactly this kind of thinking that transpires from the monument commissioned for the four Avis princes in the royal chapel at Santa Maria da Vitória, Batalha. As explored below, the monument conveys an idea of equality and unity between the princes, and of their complete submission to their father, which fits neatly in with Duarte's ambitious memory-building exercise, pointing to him as its most likely patron.

The monument and its intended meaning

Erected against the south wall of the Royal Chapel, the tombs of princes Pedro, Henrique, João and Fernando (in that order, right to left) are visually brought together as a single unit by four identical structures of blind tracery panels enclosed between pairs of buttresses. The four rectangular structures frame as many pointed arches lined by identical plant motifs ornamenting the recesses that house the individual tombs. All four tombs, in turn, follow a personalized yet consistent design; a carved front slab entirely decorated with the deceased's heraldry and personal badges, and a tomb chest topped by a half-cylinder shape equally marked with their arms which replaces the traditional recumbent effigy (except in prince Henrique's case, a deviation from the programme to which I will return later).

The princes' decorative scheme is therefore designed to ensure that each of them can be identified by his emblematic display (heraldry and badges), but none of them stands out from the others. The monument shows all four brothers as equals, and manages to enhance their princely dignity without risking upstaging their father's. To this end, several features clearly mark the princes' monument as a secondary object in the chapel, hierarchically subordinate to the parental tomb.

considerations at stake, so relationships were sometimes strained. A case in point of their disagreements is brought to bear precisely with the infamous Tangiers episode (222-251). Nonetheless, it is the view of the biographer that this image of brotherly love contains a considerable degree of truth. More recently, the discrepancies between the idealised image of the Illustrious Generation and the reality of the relationship between its members, was the subject of a paper by Manuel Ramos (2007).

Firstly, the sons were given an architectural framing that showed their high status, a kind of tomb-framing without precedents in Portugal at the time, but one that was far less grand than the equally innovative octagonal vault structure surrounding king João's and queen Philippa's monument (fig. 3). Moreover while the parental monument was originally placed on a large raised platform (which has since been levelled out), the sons' tombs rest directly on the floor.

More telling, though, is the princes' monument's location, sitting at the back of the chapel, half obscured by the central structure and conjugal tomb. A location that was likely intentional. Duarte had three walls at his disposal for the princes' monument, all with the exact same four arched recesses (fig. 4). If he had chosen either the East or the West wall, the entire monument would have been visible to the viewer right from the entrance to the chapel, and being quite striking in itself, it might have distracted the viewer's attention from the intended focus of this commemorative site, the central conjugal tomb. On the contrary, by placing it against the back wall, Duarte ensured that any visitor's gaze was first drawn to the imposing centrepiece, and only afterwards could they glimpse *the other* monument behind it, through the pillars (fig. 5). Finally, the hierarchical seniority of the monarchs over the princes is signified through the presence of recumbent effigies and identifying inscriptions on the parental monument and their absence on the sons' sepulchres.

The intended uniformity and secondary character of the princes' monument however, was not adhered to completely, as evidenced by two deviations from the plan that I will explore further in Chapter 2. Firstly, prince Henrique's tomb does have a recumbent effigy and a baldachin, mirroring those of his father, as well as an inscription running along its frieze (see section 2b). Secondly, while the monument's original design did not contemplate the inclusion of conventional religious iconography, prince João's programme seems to bring in figurative sculpture with a stone-relief depiction of the Passion, Calvary and Descent from the Cross which covers the back wall of his recess. Interestingly, as will be covered in section 2c, this second deviation from Duarte's uniformising programme was also originally, most likely, part of Henrique's tomb arcosolium.

Supporting evidence – a question of dates and agents

Assuming then that the thinking behind the monument can be ascribed to king Duarte, the following section will try to determine the timing of its execution and the possible agents intervening in the process. The argumentation for this is based on the monument's formal features and on the few known textual references to it, however tangential, in contemporary sources²⁷.

Duarte's reign was particularly short-lived, as he succumbed to the plague in 1438, just five years after ascending to the throne. In this short period of time, though, he surely had the opportunity to discuss with Huguet, then master builder at Batalha, what he envisaged for the princes' commemorative programme. Indeed, the formal parallels between the monument's unifying architectural structure and the church's main portal - known to be master Huguet's work²⁸ - would point to a direct intervention by this master builder in the monument's design. Huguet is documented to have died also in 1438, which suggests that the overall structure of the joint sepulchre would have been in place, or at least started, by that time.

The actual individual tombs, on the other hand, were probably built over a period of about ten years, as and when they were required by each prince's passing. Several official records and chronicle references can shed light with regard to the time of execution of the different tombs and the intervention, or lack thereof, of the individual princes in their design.

In 1437, a few days before embarking on an ill-fated conquest expedition to Tangiers that would cost him years of imprisonment and ultimately his life, Fernando had the good Christian sense to dictate his will. In it he clearly indicated that he wished to be buried in what we can interpret to be the left-most arch of the south wall²⁹, next

²⁷ The scarcity of documentary evidence specifically related to the joint monument of the princes of Avis was already mentioned in the introduction. This part of my research would have been far more time-consuming (even impossible in the timeframe of a Masters dissertation) had it not been for Saul António Gomes' precious compilation of all references to the Monastery of Batalha in primary sources, from the time of its foundation, still at the end of the 14th century, to just before its 'rediscovery' by 19th century art historians and writers (Gomes 1997 and 2000).

²⁸ The likely intervention of master Huguet in the design of the monument will be explored in Section 2a.

²⁹ (Gomes 2002, 1:209) The passage referring to his burial place reads: (...) "Mas como o navio chegar a Lisboa, ponhão o meu corpo no Mosteiro das Donas do Salvador (...) e dali me levem ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitoria, onde escolhi a minha sepultura, e esto seja sem nehua pompa, nem outra sobeja

to the wall containing his altar, where his remains did ultimately come to rest. While this does not prove whether the overall structure had already been built, it could indicate that by 1437 the south wall had been chosen for the prince's monuments, and that each individual arch had been assigned to one of them.

Fernando's will is also illustrative in another way; he specifically requests to be buried in a wall monument that should be completely devoid of ornamentation and paint, with just his coat of arms and an inscription identifying him as "Prince Fernando, son of the very high and very powerful prince King João I of Portugal and of the Algarve, and Lord of Ceuta, and of the very noble and excellent Queen Philippa his wife, who lie in this chapel". This requests strongly suggests that, regardless of the state of construction of the overall structure, his individual tomb had not yet been carved in 1437, as he felt he could still dictate its appearance. In addition, the fact that his wishes were not respected - Fernando's sepulchre, like that of his brothers, is elaborately decorated and has no identifying inscriptions - confirms that there was a higher will at play who would order what was to be carved and painted on the princes' monuments.

Another piece of evidence as to the timing of execution comes from prince Henrique's earliest surviving will, dated 1440³⁰. In it, this prince's last wishes are clear as to his burial arrangements: "I order that my body be buried in the monument that is there for me where lies the King, my lord and father, in the monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória"³¹. Henrique uses here the word *moimento* (for monument) which is known to have designated, at the time, the actual physical tomb. The fact that he says that it is there for him, therefore, would suggest that by 1440 his tomb recess was at least

despeza, mas asim chamente, como levaião um simpres cavaleiro, e ali me ponhão na Capella de el Rey meu Senhor e padre, no derradeiro arco, na outra parede que esta junto com elle por altar e seja posto em hum moimento de pedra alto e cham, sem nehum lavor nem pintura, salvo com hum escudo de minhas armas, e hum tituleiro escripto em elle que diga asim aqui jaz o Infante D. Fernando Filho do muy alto e mui poderozo Principe El Rey D. João de Portugal e do Algarve, e Senhor de Cepta, e da muy nobre e excelente Rainha D. Filipa sua mulher, que jazem em esta Capela"

³⁰ This does not mean that Henrique omitted to dictate a will before setting sail for Tangiers with Fernando in 1437. On the contrary, given the perilousness of the mission, it is most likely that, like Fernando, he left a written will before departing, a document of which no record survives.

³¹ For a full text of prince Henrique's will see (Pina 1960). The quoted passage referring to his burial place is translated from: "Item. Mando que o meu corpo seja lançado no moimento que está para mim onde jaz el-Rei meu Senhor e Pai, no mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória", 14-15. A later will, dated the year of his death, 1460, uses the exact same words to refer to his burial arrangements, without adding any relevant detail about the monument itself (Dinis 1946, 25).

ready to receive his remains, though it does not confirm the degree of completion of his monument. It would not have been unusual for plain chests to have been in place in the arcosolia from very early on, leaving enough room for fully carved frontal slabs and other decorative elements to be added as and when they were completed or needed.

There are, unfortunately, no known sources giving any indication as to the execution of prince João's and prince Pedro's tombs. The former died in 1442, so it is likely that his monument was made ready soon afterwards. As for the latter, there is an often quoted reference that sheds some light on the matter. In the Chronicle of king Afonso V, Rui de Pina tells us how in preparation for the 1449 battle of Alfarrobeira, where he would ultimately die, Pedro went to the Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória in search of spiritual solace. According to the chronicler, he "attended Mass and ordered many services for the souls of the King and the Queen, his parents, and he bade farewell to their bones, which he would soon join, and stared sadly at the still empty sepulchre that had been ordered for him in their Chapel"³². Taken with the necessary prudence, given the time elapsed from the events he describes – Rui de Pina writes at the turn of the 16th century – the chronicler offers here two significant details: prince Pedro's monument had been ordered for him – again, the higher power at play – and it was ready by 1449.

This, Dionísio David argues, would prove that all four individual monuments had been completed by then. I tend to agree with this author, especially given that yet another source confirms that by 1451 Fernando's tomb was certainly finished, as it solemnly received some of the prince's remains that had been recovered from Fez, Morocco, where he had died in captivity³³.

³² (Pina 1977, 740) Translated from: "E ally ouvio Myssa e mandou dizer outras muytas pellas almas d'El Rey e da Raynha seus Padres, e se despedio de seus ossos, que cedo avya de vir acompanhar, e esteve olhando com muita tristeza a sepultura ainda vazia, que em sua Capella lhe fora ordenada sobre que dysse muytas couas, que pareciam ja revellações d'alma, e sentymto da carne que a cedo avia de povoar, como foy (...)."

³³ (Álvares 1960, 106–107) The actual passage reads: "reliquias da fresura e coração e tripas (...) metydas em huã caixa de madeira cuberta de damasquin preto (...) com fechadura e pregadura dourada." (Henrique) "fez (...) poer as reliquias muy onradamente sobre o altar da sua sopultura com tochas e velas d'aredor (...) abrirom o muimento da dita sepultura, e o lfante asentou se em giolhos ante as reliquias e fez sua oraçom e tomou as nas mãos e trouve as per meo da proçisom e meteu se com

With regard to dating the monument, therefore, it seems safe to assume that the overall design would have been agreed on – and probably started – by 1437, and that the individual tombs were essentially finished by 1449.

There are, however, two further documents, closely interrelated, that at first sight might seem to throw an element of uncertainty into the proposed dating of the monument. In each one of them prince Henrique is formally authorised by king Afonso V (Duarte's son and successor)³⁴ "to have an altar and a burial place (*jazygoo*) for his body" at king João's chapel next to prince Pedro's respective altar and burial place³⁵. There is nothing striking about prince Henrique requesting – and being granted – permission, in 1439, to have his burial place and altar at the King's Chapel, when the overall monument's works were still in progress. But if he already had a monument that was "there for him" in the Chapel by 1440 (as indicated in his will), why would he need to be granted permission again in 1449 to have his altar and burial place there?

The answer to this apparent paradox probably lies in the exact wording used in all three documents. As I have already mentioned, his 1440 will refers to a *moimento*, that is, an actual monument, a physical tomb, that had already been built for him. Both the 1439 and the 1449 authorisations, on the other hand, specifically use the word *jazygoo*. While this could also be understood to mean a tomb (as it does in modern

elas no muimento e asentou as sobre huu banco, cuberto de çatim vilutado clemesim. E ao espedir asentou se em gíolhos e beyjou as e mandou çarar o moymento".

A second batch of Fernando's remains – in this case, the bones – was only deposited at his tomb in Batalha in the early 1470s, as described in (Pina 1977, 691, 828) The exact passages read: "(...) foram os seus ossos trazidos a estes Reynos em tempo deste Rey Dom Affonso, no ano de myl e quatrocentos e LXXIII (sic) e depois da tomada d'Arzylia; os quaes de Lixboa foram levados com grande honra e sollenidade ao Moesteiro da Batalha, em que tem sua sepultura especial e honrrada, na Capella d'El Rey Dom Joam seu Padre. Onde por synal que acabou como Catollyco e muy fyel cristão, haa grande credyto que nosso Senhor fez, e faz por elle muytos myllagres." And "(...) E dally (Lisbon) foram os ossos postos no Moesteiro do Salvador, e de hy levados ao Moesteiro da Batalha, e postos com devydas exequias em sua ordenada sepultura, na Capella d'El Rey Dom João seu Padre, onde segundo alguma crara evidencia, Deos por merecimentos do dito Ifante, e em synal de sua bemaventurança fez alguns myllagres".

³⁴ King Afonso V (1432 – 1471) succeeded his father, Duarte, in 1438 when he was only six years old. After a long regency - first under his mother, Leonor of Aragon and, shortly after, under his uncle, prince Pedro – he came of age and was proclaimed king with full rights in 1448.

³⁵ (Torre do Tombo 1439, vol. 19, f. 18), and (Torre do Tombo 1449, vol. 20, f. 38). The latter's transcription has been published in Gomes (2002, 1:344) as follows: "Dom Afonso cet. A quantos esta carta virem fazemos saber que nos damos lugar a liçença ao ifante dom Henrique meu muyto prezado e amado tyo que ell posa aver huum altar e huum jazygoo pera sseu corpo na capeella del Rey dom Johan meu avoo que Deus aja que he no Mosteiro da Vitoria junto com ho outro do ifante dom Pedro .scilicet. o altar junto com o outro altar seu e o jazygoo por esa gisa".

Portuguese, having evolved into *jazygo*), the etymology of the term offers another possibility. *Jazygoo* derives from the Latin *jacere*, meaning 'to lie down'. In 15th century Portuguese, *jazygoo* or *jazyguo* was used to refer to any place where one could lie down, from a bed to a tomb (Machado 1977; Cunha 1982). Thus, *jazygoo* here must be understood as meaning only a burial spot or burial space, and not the actual tomb chest, which is the *moimento*. In other words, what prince Henrique is granted in both occasions (1439 and 1449) is simply the permission, the right, for his body to be laid to rest in the chapel, specifically next to Pedro's burial place, regardless of whether the actual monument had already been built or not.

And this permission is no small matter to burial preparations, because having an actual tomb, even a fully finished and decorated one, in a royal funerary chapel did not immediately grant the right to use it. Prince Pedro provides an illustrative example of this; he already had a completed monument for himself in the King's Chapel, ordered for him by the previous monarch, Duarte, but because he died fighting against the royal armies, in the battle of Alfarrobeira, king Afonso V, his own nephew, considered him a traitor and forbade his body from being laid in his assigned tomb at Batalha. This interdiction was firm and took many years of pleas³⁶ to overturn, with Pedro's remains only being allowed to rest in the family monument in 1455.

So Henrique might only have been making double sure that there would be no impediments to his body being placed in his allocated tomb; a tomb, it must be added, in the design of which he seems to have taken a particular interest and an active role. More so than any of his brothers. Initially, his monument must have followed the design envisaged for all four sepulchres. But at some point in time, it departed quite obviously from the original programme; an identifying inscription and an imposing recumbent effigy surmounted by a baldachin were added to Henrique's tomb, bringing it formally closer to king João's. This is hardly unintentional. As will be further explored in Section 2b, prince Henrique was an ambitious character who cultivated a special relationship with his father, and he found the means to make that visually explicit for posterity.

³⁶ King Afonso V only acceded to allow his uncle, prince Pedro, to be buried at the King's Chapel, under pressure from pope Nicholas V, Afonso's own wife Isabel of Coimbra (prince Pedro's daughter), and the Dukes of Burgundy, Philip le Bon and Isabel, Pedro's sister (Gois 1790, 6).

What is surprising, here, is that he was allowed to do so and blatantly disregard the original purpose of the monument (that expression of equality among the brothers and submission to their father, so dear to king Duarte's heart). A possible explanation is that prince Henrique might have gone along with the original design and only altered his own tomb at a later stage. It is worth remembering that by 1449 three of the four princes were dead (João in 1442, Fernando in 1443, Pedro in 1449). The tombs of all three closely followed the intended plan (as previously said, the carved relief of the Passion that currently decorates João's recess was originally most likely placed at Henrique's). This can only mean that all three accepted Duarte's design and were willing to submit to it, as they did not introduce any major changes even after their eldest brother died in 1438. Soon afterwards, prince Pedro took over the governance as Regent, which effectively made him the highest power in the kingdom, and it seems doubtful that he would have authorised alterations into the monumental scheme designed by Duarte for all four brothers. But once he was gone, after 1449, Henrique would have been at liberty to do as he pleased with his own tomb. And this one remaining member of the Illustrious Generation went on to live until 1460, giving him plenty of time to introduce whatever elements he saw fit in order to visually emphasize the close link he had kept with his father, and set himself apart from his brothers.

To answer then the questions as to agency, motivation and timing, it is my proposal that the collective monument for the four Avis princes was ordered by their eldest brother, king Duarte, with very specific moralizing and political propaganda purposes. The works must have started in the mid- to late-1430s, still during his reign, by master Huguet who had an active role in the monument's formal design. The bulk of the work must have been completed by the late 1440s, during king Afonso V's reign (prince Pedro's regency), under the supervision of master Huguet's successor, Martim Vasques (1438-1448), with some final alterations in prince Henrique's tomb having gone on during the 1450s, under master Fernão de Évora, who was at the helm of the Batalha monastery until 1477.

As for the actual works of the overall structure and of the individual tombs, they had to involve a number of highly skilled stonemasons who may have contributed

their own ideas in terms of motif composition (as will be discussed in Chapter 2b), followed by painters whose stone-polychromy work can today only be guessed at. Throughout the process, each individual prince probably intervened, to some extent, in the final details of his tomb (David 1989, 71–73), in particular with regard to the inclusion of elements from their heraldry and personal badges.

Agency here is, therefore, multiple: this is a monument based on one strong guiding principle conceptualised by king Duarte – sumptuousness fit for princes, strongly expressive of brotherly equality and filial submission – which also incorporates to a lesser or greater degree the ideas and skill of a considerable number of people.

2 – The monument in the 15th century

The princes' monument at Batalha cannot be studied on its own but rather as an integral part of a commemoration programme which used to encompass the whole chapel. However, as visitors enter the mausoleum today, they find themselves in a place that bears little resemblance to what it looked like in the 15th century. For reasons that I will return to in chapter 4, the restoration campaigns of the 19th and 20th centuries removed elements from the chapel that were complementary to the princes' monument and essential to its understanding.

Indeed, aside from the tombs on the South wall, each prince had a corresponding altar in one of the four recessed arches of the East wall. As attested by several contemporary sources these altars must have been allocated as part of the original commemorative programme³⁷. A further source, *Historia de São Domingos* by a monk at Batalha, friar Luís de Sousa (1555 – 1632), provides a precious description of all the elements present at the chapel in the early 17th century³⁸. This description corroborates the existence of the four altars in the recessed arches of the East wall, and informs that king João and queen Philippa also had the benefit of an altar placed between the two columns at the feet of their conjugal monument. Additionally, it describes how the four arched recesses on the West wall were also taken up by the princes' memorial; specifically, they housed four cabinets, one for each prince, containing the liturgical paraphernalia needed for the masses that were celebrated at the altars for the salvation of their souls.

We cannot know for sure whether these cabinets had been there from the outset, as they are not referred to in contemporary sources. However, friar Luís de Sousa describes each one as being decorated with the corresponding prince's complete emblematic display, including their heraldry, devices and mottoes. Given the crucial role that this extensive set of representational signs played in the rest of the commemorative programme (taking over the tombs, altar recesses, and stained-glass

³⁷ Three of these sources have been mentioned in the previous chapter: prince Fernando's 1437 will and two entries in King Afonso V's chancellery, dated 1439 and 1449 respectively. A further 15th century source, a chronicle of Fernando's life by friar João Alvares (d. c. 1490), also refers to this prince's altar in the Batalha mausoleum (Álvares 1960, 106–107), as quoted by Gomes (1997, 44).

³⁸ (Sousa 1866, 2:267–274).

windows), it would be reasonable to think that these emblem-covered cabinets too were designed as an integral part of the original programme.

Based on these references and descriptions the mid-15th century layout of the King's Chapel can be reconstructed as shown in fig. 4, assuming that, though not documented at the time, the cabinets were there as part of the original commemorative strategy.

Even as the monument of the Avis princes stands today, stripped of all the ancillary elements that used to exist in the King's Chapel, it is easy to see why it stood out, at the time of its creation, from all previous monumental practice in Portugal. Its novelty boiled down to four distinctive features that will be explored further in the following sections, namely a) its architectural monumentalisation; b) its use of emblematics as a form of personal representation; c) its lack of religious iconography; and d) its collective nature.

a) Architectural monumentalisation

The placing of the Avis princes' tombs within arched recesses at the King's Chapel did not constitute a novelty in itself in 15th century funerary practice in Portugal. Though the majority of 13th and 14th century monuments took the form of free-standing chests, there are a few specimens that were designed to be integrated into a wall recess, such as the sepulchres of bishops Egas Fafes and Pedro Martins, dated c. 1268 and 1301 respectively, that can be found at Coimbra's Old Cathedral (fig. 6 and fig. 7)³⁹.

In these earlier wall-mounted specimens, the arched recess housing the tomb was either left plain or, at most, decorated with a simple moulding. The princes' monument, on the other hand, marks a clear departure with regard to previous

³⁹ Other examples also appear thus housed, though it is not so clear whether this was their intended framing or whether the tombs were originally free-standing and were only subsequently placed under and arched recess. Such is the case of the monument of nobleman Rodrigo Sanches, at S. Salvador Monastery in Grijó (dating from the second half of the 13th century) and a 14th century unknown lady's tomb in the cloister of Lisbon's Cathedral. Images and details of all of them are available on <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>.

practice with the addition of an imposing architecture-modelled frame built around the recesses to dignify the sepulchres.

In his book on medieval royal mausoleums in the Iberian Peninsula, Xavier Dectot (2009) explores the increasing visibility that royal tombs gained in churches and monasteries from around the middle of the 13th century. The difference in relative size between the tomb itself and the church or chapel housing it led royal patrons to search for formal solutions that would enhance the presence of their monuments within major temples of imposing dimensions.

The same author goes on to characterize the different strategies used in Castile and Aragon to that effect in the 13th and 14th centuries. Castilian monarchs tended to resort to a redefinition of space, either by taking over a prestigious part of the building, such as the main nave, with a large number of royal tombs, or by creating a sort of self-contained chapel within the church, complete with altar and devotional sculptures and separated from the rest of the temple by a grille. Aragonese monarchs, on the other hand, chose to create an architectural frame over their tombs, such as the conjugal monument of Jaume II and Blanche d'Anjou, or that of Pere II, at the Santes Creus Monastery (fig. 8). The baldachins erected over these sepulchres created, for the first time in the Iberian peninsula, a visible interface between the tomb and the building housing it (Dectot 2009, 244–245).

In Batalha, Portugal's first royal pantheon designed and used as such⁴⁰, architecture also played a major part in giving sepulchres the desired prominence. Attached to a newly founded monastery of royal patronage, a large building was erected with the specific purpose of serving as a royal funerary chapel. The king, founder of both the monastery and a new dynasty, took pride of place at the centre of this chapel by having his conjugal tomb placed on a raised platform surrounded by eight pillars sustaining an imposing lantern topped by an octagonal ribbed vault (fig. 3). The lantern thus effectively functioned as a much enlarged version of the baldachins that had been used over Aragonese royal monuments

⁴⁰ See note 11 on page 9.

Next to this grand architectural strategy to dignify the founding king's monument, simply placing his sons in chests within the arched recesses on the chapel's walls must have seemed inadequate. A solution was needed to afford the princes' tombs an appropriate degree of magnificence, without overshadowing the majesty of the parental monument. The arched recesses, therefore, had to be suitably dignified; conventional sculpted mouldings around them would not suffice, so architecture was once again resorted to.

The solution found was to give each one of the arches the kind of architectural framing that had previously been applied by master Huguet to the church's main portal (fig. 9). As pointed out by J. C. V. da Silva (1991), this kind of monumentalisation seen on the main portal at Batalha also shows a clear link to Aragonese architecture, where salient rectangular framings with blind tracery had been extensively used over portals and windows since the 14th century⁴¹. Transposed from the church's west façade to the royal chapel, the pseudo-architectural structures that enclose and give unity to the four individual princes' tombs constitute a reduced version of the main portal's decorative frame, complete with buttresses, pinnacles, blind tracery and plant motifs.

This device to assert the presence of the princes' tombs within the King's Chapel constituted a major formal novelty in Portugal which, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, was keenly emulated by subsequent patrons. The adoption of monumental frames around tomb recesses would have important repercussions in the relationship between late medieval architecture and sculpture. By integrating itself in the wall, the tomb-chest became part of the architecture, its ornamentation taking second place to that of the recess, on which the decorative investment was concentrated (Goulão 2009, 4:108). This represented a blurring of the line between sculpture and architecture which, in time, saw a variety of decorative motifs originally introduced on tombs gradually extending onto their architectural frames and from there to other parts of the building, in particular its openings.

⁴¹ Silva (1991) offers several examples of such decoration around openings on the churches of Santa Maria del Mar and Santa Maria del Pi, both in Barcelona, and Valencia Cathedral. Taking a leaf from this author, Guillouët (2011, 179–186) enlarges this list to other Aragonese religious buildings such as the parish church of Molinos and the Church of San Francisco, both in Teruel, and Santa Maria de Requena, Valencia, among others.

b) Personal badges – a whole new code of individual representation

The combination of heraldry and personal badges, to the exclusion of any other kind of decorative motif - in particular religious iconography - is a defining feature of the Avis princes' monument. Heraldry in itself was no novelty at the time; coats of arms had previously been used on their own as tomb decoration in Portugal. The introduction of badges at Batalha, on the other hand, constituted a conceptual, formal and iconographical novelty that signalled a new sense of princely self-awareness and self-representation in Portuguese funerary monuments. As such, and given the rather scarce attention that these semiotic systems – heraldry and badges - have traditionally drawn in Portuguese art historiography⁴², a brief description of their characteristics and differences is in order, as well as an overview of the development of the latter for the purposes of personalised representation.

Inextricably linked, these two types of signs are encompassed by the overarching study of emblematics but actually constitute two distinct codes of representation. For the sake of clarity, the sketch below shows the emblematic programme of the four front slabs of the Avis princes' monument, with heraldic devices represented in black and personal badges highlighted in blue (fig. 10). It is primarily the latter that introduce an important conceptual novelty into Portuguese funerary sculpture.

- The development of badges in Europe

Heraldic emblems in the form of coats of arms developed in Europe from the middle of the 12th century, being mostly used as a way of expressing a collective identity, that is, a person's belonging to a particular social group, be it a family, a lineage or other community.

Heraldry is a system of hereditary signs governed by the laws of blazon, which dictate the exact composition of the charges (designs) and tinctures (colours) to be

⁴² From an art-historical point of view, the importance of emblematics in late medieval art in Portugal has been highlighted by Silva (1989, 14, 169; and 1997). More recently, the study of heraldry as a subject of visual culture in Portugal has been gathering pace with the publication of Seixas and Rosa (2012).

displayed on the coat of arms. At the time of its inception it served its purpose well in a society strongly concerned with visually establishing each person's position within it as part of a larger group. Soon, however, arms bearers increasingly sought to distinguish themselves within their collective identity. Though coats of arms could be customized with additional individualizing charges, this did not seem to suffice; from the mid-13th century external elements such as helms, crests, mantlings and supporters were gradually added to the central feature, becoming common by the 14th century. In his thorough study of badges, Laurent Hablot sees in this multiplication of ancillary forms an attempt to compensate for the inadequacies of the system of blazon to render in signs the individual and his power as a distinct entity within his lineage (Hablot in press, 98).

Keenly adopted by the nobility, the new system of ancillary heraldry allowed users to express additional details about themselves, such as their rank or office. Helms, crests, mantlings and supporters thus painted a kind of 'social portrait', accurately depicting the bearer's social status and role⁴³.

But that was still not enough for some in the upper echelons of medieval hierarchy. The fact was that an office or rank could be held successively or simultaneously by different men, which meant that the corresponding insignia would also be used by any of them. Moreover, soon after their introduction, some of these ancillary elements became hereditary themselves, therefore losing part of their individualizing potential (Hablot in press, 106). In a period of growing self-awareness, the late medieval prince wished for more than a 'social portrait'. He sought a graphic device that would also allow him to express features of his own personality. Personal badges were developed to fill this void.

By the mid-14th century, therefore, a new system of signs – badges made up of one or more figurative objects and a motto - came into existence with the purpose of expressing a prince's personal taste, motivations and aspirations. It was, in effect, a

⁴³ This encompassed the kind of messages that funerary patrons had been seeking to communicate all along through effigies too. The social nature of the portrait conveyed through tomb effigies in the 14th and 15th centuries is a recurrent theme in Ramôa and Silva (2008); Silva (2009) and Silva and Ramôa (2011).

device so individualized that it could sometimes even be used as a prince's 'signature' with legal effect (Hablot in press, 69).

This new semiotic system was often combined with heraldry proper but could equally be used on its own. Aside from the most obvious difference between them – heraldry as a form of (mostly collective) identification, badges as a means of personal characterization – other differences are worth mentioning. Whereas heraldic emblems were strictly governed by the laws of blazon and designed to be used perpetually, badges were completely free in their composition, at the choice of the prince, and could be long-lasting or ephemeral, at any time complemented or replaced by others.

From an art-historical point of view, this compositional freedom is of particular interest. Badges allowed for the introduction of a wide range of motifs - from everyday court objects to plants and animals – with the increasing degree of realism that late medieval art pursued (Hablot in press, 607). Carved, painted, chased and engraved on all kinds of supports – from books of hours to stone monuments and precious objects in metal or wood – personal badges incorporated and disseminated the kind of artistic forms that would largely define the visual culture of the time.

Interestingly, though they were specifically designed as a form of personal representation, badges came to be used collectively too; applied as livery, at the discretion of the prince, they identified his loyal followers and the members of his household. This might seem somewhat incongruous. Having gone to such lengths to devise a sign representing strictly his own person, why would the late medieval prince then proceed to effectively turn it back into a mark of collective belonging? The fact is that the prince still lived in a strongly gregarious society and felt the need to visually display the relationship linking him to others (Hablot in press, 608). Only now, in contrast to heraldic devices, badges in the form of livery identified a different kind of group; a group revolving around a single, self-characterized prince; a group made up of the people who by wearing his badge, signalled their submission and loyalty to him.

- The adoption of badges in Portugal

The first stable personal badges can be traced back to mid-14th century England (Hablott in press, 606). Over the next few decades, this new semiotic system spread to other courts in what, notwithstanding a degree of regionalism, became a Europe-wide phenomenon (Hablott in press, 8). Its introduction to Portugal, towards the end of the 14th century, has been linked to this kingdom's relations with England on account of João I's marriage to Philippa of Lancaster, sister of king Henry IV of England, in 1387 (Avelar and Ferros 1983, 227).

Not surprisingly, therefore, the first known use of badges in Portuguese funerary sculpture can be found on these monarchs' conjugal monument, at the centre of the King's Chapel in the Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória, Batalha; it displays king João I's and queen Philippa's mottoes (*por bem* and *y me plet*) as well as the king's device (hawthorn branches). This personal representation system constituted a true novelty in the decorative programme of both the monarchs' tomb-chest and those of their non-reigning sons⁴⁴.

Throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, Portuguese tomb-chests had been decorated primarily with religious iconography, sometimes combined with heraldry⁴⁵. In a smaller but still considerable number of instances, though, religious iconography was completely dispensed with, and the chest appeared exclusively decorated by basic heraldry, that is coats of arms only, with no ancillary elements. The oldest extant example of such tomb-chests is that of bishop Tibúrcio, dated d. 1253, at Coimbra's Old Cathedral (fig. 11), though monuments with chest decoration restricted to coats of arms did not become common until the 14th century⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ The tomb of João I and Philippa of Lancaster constitutes a new paradigm in Portuguese monument production in several other respects too: its conjugal nature, its display of hand-holding effigies, the iconography of the king and the laudatory inscription entirely covering both long sides of the chest (Ramôa and Silva 2008).

⁴⁵ A particular example of a 14th century tomb-chest decorated with a combination of heraldry and religious iconography is that attributed to king Fernando I. In formal and iconographical terms, this is a completely unique specimen in Portugal which has been linked to contemporary English monumental production (Fernandes 2009).

⁴⁶ A significant number of these can be found at Lisbon Cathedral (Fernandes 2001). Images and details are also available on <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>.

There are also some rare cases of 14th century monuments carved with a combination of coats of arms and plant motifs: the tomb-chest of Bartolomeu Joanes, at Lisbon Cathedral, dated c. 1326 (fig. 12), and a tomb of debated identification (fig. 13), dated to the first quarter of the 14th century, found at the former convent of S. Dinis and S. Bernardo, Odivelas⁴⁷. Though these monuments introduce additional motifs to complement their heraldry, these seem not to function as badges yet, but probably play only a decorative role⁴⁸. A further case of combined heraldry and plant motifs that still cannot be considered actual badges comes from the tomb chest of Beatriz Pereira, in the church of Santa Clara, Vila do Conde (fig. 14), dating back to the early 15th century⁴⁹. The plant motif (a pear tree) could be understood merely as an additional heraldic emblem, as it clearly refers to the deceased's lineage, whose family name, Pereira, means pear tree in Portuguese. However, the pear tree includes several small animals which bring added layers of meaning beyond the heraldic representation of lineage. These, however, have been interpreted as being of a spiritual nature (David 1989, 132), rather than an attempt at identifying and characterising the deceased, as badges do.

With regard to the adoption of motifs expressing a more personalised image of the deceased, a particular group of Portuguese monuments offers an interesting originality that precedes the introduction of badges as such.

In the late 14th century, a number of noble patrons chose to have hunting scenes depicted either on their own or combined with their coats of arms⁵⁰, as is the

⁴⁷ Originally attributed to prince João (1326-1327), son of king Afonso IV, by Fernandes (2006) the monument has more recently been attributed to another son of the same king, prince Dinis (1317-1318) (Vairo 2012). Images and details are available on <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>.

⁴⁸ In the case of Bartolomeu Joanes, a distinguished merchant but not a noble, the plant motif has been understood to be only ornamental (Fernandes 2001, 100; Goulão 2009, 4:55). In the case of prince João's/prince Dinis' monument, the use of two different plant motifs on the right and left panels of the long sides also suggests an ornamental intent, as a badge could include more than one motif, but traditionally only one of them would be plant-inspired.

⁴⁹ Brites Pereira died in 1415 and her monument has been dated to the first quarter of the 15th century (David 1989, 38), however the high degree of naturalism displayed in the representation of the pear tree might suggest a later execution date.

⁵⁰ Silva (2009, 418) remarks that the representation of hunting scenes in medieval funerary sculpture is a particular feature of Portuguese monuments of the second half of the 14th century, being extremely rare both in the remaining Iberian kingdoms and in the rest of Europe. The only known specimen outside Portugal is that of nobleman Fernan Peres de Andrade, at Betanzos, A Coruña (Galicia), which is considered to be of Portuguese influence.

case with the monument of Vasco Esteves Gato (fig. 15), dated 1363-1384 and found at the church of Saint Francis, Estremoz⁵¹. The hunting scene here cannot yet be understood as the kind of personalising device that will complement heraldry in 15th century monuments; it is nevertheless an interesting iconographical addition that, just like badges, seeks to convey an idea about the deceased's personal virtues - and not just his social position - through an iconographical subject which is apparently profane, or at least not conventionally religious. Hunting was indeed a highly regarded form of exercise, deemed excellent for developing the sort of qualities that a nobleman needed to keep honed in times of peace in preparation for war. King João I himself wrote an entire book on the subject in which he states how the 'game' of hunting fosters in noblemen virtues such as courage, strength, skill and resilience, while preventing them from falling into the vices that inevitably come from idleness⁵². In monuments decorated with hunting scenes, therefore, next to the coats of arms representing a lineage, the deceased's individual personality also found expression in the virtues known to be promoted by this most noble exercise.

Interestingly, these were also the kind of virtues that a nobleman could gain from another form of exercise, jousting tournaments, which in turn played a major role in the development of individual heraldry and personal badges as a way of distinguishing the participants. In several courts – such as Castile under Alfonso XI and Portugal under João I – the introduction of tournaments and badges was actually simultaneous (Hablott in press, 298)⁵³.

Personal badges are therefore one element of a broader culture of chivalry that sweeps European courts from the second half of the 14th century and throughout the

⁵¹ The remaining examples of tomb chests decorated with hunting scenes correspond to Pedro, Count of Barcelos, at the church of S. João de Tarouca; a sarcophagus kept at Museu de Lamego; Fernão Sanches, bastard son of king Dinis, at Museu do Carmo, Lisbon, and Gomes Martins Silvestre, at Reguengos de Monsaraz. Images and details of all of them are available on <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>

⁵² The importance of hunting as a virtue-building exercise among the late medieval nobility cannot be overstated. The only written work known to have come from king João I's pen is precisely devoted to this subject, (João I 1918) On a similar subject, among king Duarte's more prolific written production, he dedicates an extensive work entirely to an activity closely related to hunting, that of horse-riding (Duarte I 1842).

⁵³ It is also not surprising that the introduction of personal badges in Portugal coincides with a period of major development of heraldry in general, when for the first time a Portuguese king, João I, appoints a *rei de armas*, an officer responsible for the design of new coats of arms and for the correct use of existing ones; on this subject see (Silva 1997).

15th. A culture of chivalry defined by a code of virtuous conduct which finds in personal badges a means for noblemen to express the personal virtues that make them worthy members of their social group.

- Badges on the princes' monument

And so we reach the late 1430s and the monuments of the Avis princes, where the personalising potential of badges is made full use of in conjunction with conventional heraldry.

Before we take a closer look at each individual monument and its carved decoration, it is worth noting that parts of the monument, as it stands, are not original.

The overall architectural framing structure mostly is, with any repairs done to it, as part of the late 19th century restorations, having faithfully respected the original. For their part, the front slabs of all four tombs and the friezes over them were replaced at the time. Fortunately, the monastery keeps the original slabs of three of the monuments (those of princes Fernando, João and Henrique) and the latter's frieze, but prince Pedro's original slab and frieze have been lost. Nevertheless, a comparison of the extant originals with their 19th century copies shows that the masons carving the new slabs were mostly faithful to the originals, only introducing minor changes. I will therefore work on the assumption that these masons must have been equally faithful when copying Pedro's slab, a fact that is broadly confirmed by James Murphy's 1789 drawing of the monument (fig. 16). Though the accuracy of Murphy's drawing is still questionable on a number of details, it remains an important graphic testimony of the monument before the restoration campaigns. I will also have to assume that the frieze of prince João's tomb is a faithful rendition of the lost original, at least as far as the motto is concerned, as registered in friar Luís de Sousa's 1623 description of the monument. As for Fernando's frieze, the same description proves that this was a more creative restoration, as the motto was never carved on the original piece (Sousa 1866, 2:274).

In line with the development of heraldry at European level, in search of greater individualisation, the strictly heraldic emblems on the monument (that is, other than

personal badges) signify more than the princes' lineage by offering details of each one's social status.

Thus, in Pedro's case, the carving on his tomb (fig. 17 and fig. 10) tells us that he was a prince of Portugal and a knight of the English Order of the Garter⁵⁴, that he was married and his wife came from the Aragonese court⁵⁵, and that he was a duke.

Henrique's unfinished⁵⁶ front slab (fig. 18, 19 and fig. 10) paints a similar social picture: prince of Portugal and knight of the Order of the Garter, equally a duke and governor of the Order of Christ.

João's monument (fig. 20, 21 and fig. 10) tells us of another prince of Portugal, in this case married to a lady of the noble house of Bragança⁵⁷. The shield to the left of the slab is slightly more difficult to interpret. At first sight, the onlooker previously armed with the knowledge that prince João was a governor of the order of St. James, is tempted to see in it a mark of such a position⁵⁸: what is depicted here could be read as the sword-shaped cross of the St. James' order (fig. 22), and this would fit in well with the composition of his brothers' slabs, which all represent their governorship of military orders. In fact, however, the shield does not show a cross at all but an actual sword (fig. 23). The possibility must be considered that the stonemason simply misrepresented the sword-cross, though such a mistake seems unlikely given the status of the patron and how well-known the insignia of the order of St. James was at

⁵⁴ Ramôa (in press, 10) notes that the Order of the Garter, the highest possible honour granted by the king of England, was rarely bestowed on non-English noblemen. The fact that several members of the Avis dynasty were made Knights of the Garter (among them king João I in 1400, his sons Duarte, Pedro and Henrique between 1428, and 1443) signals a particularly close relationship between the Portuguese and English courts at the time.

⁵⁵ In 1429 prince Pedro married Isabel of Urgell (1409-1443), daughter of count Jaume of Urgell, one of the pretenders to the throne of Aragon after king Martí I died without an heir.

⁵⁶ The shield to the left of the slab, representing the Order of Christ, is topped by what seems like an unfinished panel of stone which was to be used, most likely, to reproduce the ducal garland crown shown on the shield at the right end. This would bring this slab's composition in line with prince Pedro's, where the shields at both ends are topped by garland crowns marking his and his wife's ducal status.

⁵⁷ In 1424 prince João married Isabel of Bragança (1402-1464), also known as Isabel of Barcelos, daughter of Afonso, 1st duke of Bragança, and grand-daughter of Nuno Alvares Pereira, Constable of Portugal.

⁵⁸ This shield has been identified as representing prince João's governorship of the Order of St. James by several authors (Saraiva 1872, 321; Correia 1931, 2:58; Santos 1927, 680).

the time. An alternative interpretation, suggested by Miguel Metelo de Seixas⁵⁹, is that the sword might stand instead for prince João's position as Constable of Portugal. This office, created in 1382 by king Fernando I, made him effective supreme commander of the kingdom's armies, a position that he may have chosen to have represented on his monument through a shield with a sword. If that were the case, though, it raises the inevitable question of where in the tomb is his governorship of St. James shown. A possible answer would be that this was integrated in the pilgrim satchels that were carved as part of his personal badge, and to which I will return later.

Finally, Fernando's slab (fig. 24 and fig. 25) tells us briefly of a prince of Portugal who was also the governor of the Order of Avis.

So far, then, by reading the heraldry on the tombs, we have been able to piece together a distinct 'social portrait' for each one of the Avis princes. It is interesting to note, in this respect, that their wish to individualise themselves applies even to the one emblem they all have in common: the coat of arms of Portugal. A close look reveals small differences in the secondary traits of this emblem, namely the label across the top of the shield replaced by English leopards in Fernando's case. This kind of device, a common practice at the time, was used to denote each prince's degree of proximity to the throne.

However individualised, though, these heraldic emblems are not enlightening as to what each prince wanted to express about his own person. This is where the badges come into play. Specifically chosen by the princes as a form of personal characterization, they include a different plant motif and motto for each one, as well as additional devices – such as prince Pedro's scales and prince João's pilgrim purses – all of which were meant to convey personal virtues, motivations, beliefs and aspirations albeit through a particularly hermetic code. As such, Hablot warns against attempts to ascribe a closed, definite meaning to the symbolic combination of words

⁵⁹ Miguel Metelo de Seixas, a researcher and full member of Instituto de Estudos Medievais and Centro de Estudos de Além-Mar, at Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, is also the Chairman of Instituto Português de Heráldica. My gratitude for his interpretation of prince João's heraldry, kindly offered in an informal conversation about the princes' emblematic displays, and for his acquiescence to its publication here.

and images that make up a prince's badge⁶⁰. He is clear, on the contrary, that these emblems are polysemic when not intentionally undecipherable (Hablott in press, 7)⁶¹. In fact, their very cryptic nature held a considerable part of their appeal among princes, as it denoted their cultural and intellectual sophistication, as well as their artistic refinement.

In Pedro's case, the tomb's frieze displays a motto (*desir*) alternating with scales and oak branches laden with acorns (fig. 26). The same objects frame and encircle the coats of arms carved on the front slab. The polysemy of badges becomes here immediately apparent, with the scales potentially referring to both/either the archangel St. Michael, for whom Pedro had a special devotion, and/or the sense of justice and balance that he *wished* to exercise – expressed in the motto *desir* – in particular during his period as regent of the kingdom, between 1438 and 1446 (Avelar and Ferros 1983; Hablot 2014).

Henrique's frieze shows a motto (*talant de bien faire*) also alternating with oak branches with acorns (fig. 27), though of a different design from those of prince Pedro. On the slab itself, however, the coats of arms are surrounded by oak branches devoid of acorns.

The tomb housing prince João is topped by a frieze containing his motto (*je ai bien reson*) alternating with pilgrim satchels (fig. 28). On the front slab, all three shields are framed by intertwining branches of arbutus complete with leaves and fruits. This plant motif is complemented by four pilgrim satchels, each marked by three scallops, that surround only the prince's personal arms of Portugal (fig. 29).

This particular part of the badge – the pilgrim satchels – raise an issue about the precise purpose of this kind of device. I have tried to make a careful distinction between, on the one hand, heraldry and its ancillary elements as a means to express

⁶⁰ The potential for the speculative construal of badges is well illustrated by friar Luís de Sousa's interpretation of the princes' emblems (Sousa 1866, 2:269–273): his attempt to offer a biblically-based explanation for the various signs in a manner that aggrandises the corresponding prince's virtues makes for captivating reading.

⁶¹ With the aim of offering a rational and systematic compendium of the myriad badges he has come (and continues to come) across in his research, Laurent Hablot has recently launched the first comprehensive searchable online database of such devices (Devise – CESM – emblématique et heraldique a la fin du moyen âge), encompassing several European countries, which can be accessed on <http://base-devise.edel.univ-poitiers.fr>

the bearer's belonging to a social group and his particular position within it, and on the other hand, badges as a vehicle for personal characterization. This is necessarily an operative distinction for the purposes of studying the development of the latter. In practice, however, the line separating both types of emblems becomes blurred. Prince João's pilgrim satchel, for instance, could either represent his piety and virtues associated with a pilgrimage – a personal trait – or his aforementioned governorship of the Order of St. James – an office and social position traditionally represented by heraldry proper. Or, once again, it could refer to both meanings, working as a sort of dual purpose emblem.

Whichever the case, at least the heraldic dimension of the pilgrim satchels seems confirmed by what seems to have been a formal correction: the satchels were originally carved on the left side of the slab too, effectively also framing Isabel of Bragança's coat of arms. At some point, somebody must have realised that this composition went against the laws of blazon, as the satchels signalling João's governorship of the Order of St. James should not be depicted around his wife's arms. The satchels on the left were then duly removed, but traces of this heraldic rectification are still visible on the stone (fig. 30)

And we reach the last tomb in the series, that of prince Fernando. Since his front slab only features two shields, as opposed to the three displayed on his brothers' tombs, the stonemason had room to work on a more elaborate version of his badge – intertwining branches of hawthorn⁶² forming linked circles – in order to fill the central void between the two shields (fig. 24). With regard to his frieze, as I have already mentioned, the 19th century reproduction that we see today is not completely faithful to the original. Though the original has been lost, friar Luís de Sousa's 1623 description

⁶² I will refer throughout to prince Fernando's badge plant as being hawthorn (a generic name for several varieties of rose shrubs) which is the most common interpretation (Avelar and Ferros 1983, 229; Hablot 2014). However, given the still considerable degree of stylisation of the depiction, Fernando's badge has also been understood to represent ivy (Sousa 1866, 2:274). The little five petal flowers at the end of branches were traditionally used to represent roses, but Sousa does bring to attention the fact that if the plant were to represent hawthorn (which he calls *espinheiro*), it should feature thorns, which were not visible on the original slab (fig. 24) at the time of Sousa's writing, in 1623. The 19th century reproduction, on the other hand, does clearly show thorns on the branches (fig. 31). The possibility must be considered that 19th century masons, or rather their patrons, added the thorns to make the plant represented more close resemble hawthorn, which must have been, by then, the most commonly accepted version.

of the chapel explicitly refers to Fernando's tomb frieze as the only one not displaying a motto. Whatever the reason for this omission, it is possible that it showed at least his hawthorn badge (fig. 32), and that this was copied faithfully. In any case, the phrase with which it now alternates (*le bien me plait*) is certainly no 19th century invention, but Fernando's known motto, which de Sousa does register as being displayed on the prince's corresponding cabinet on the west wall of the chapel (Sousa 1866, 2:274). It is therefore a case of 19th century restorers seeking to give consistency to the overall monument by adding Fernando's motto to his frieze so that it would follow the same arrangement as his brothers' tombs.

Overall, regardless of each badge specific interpretation, which may be impossible to arrive to, it is worth remarking on the common adoption of plant motifs by all four princes. Indeed, plants constitute the second most represented theme on badges⁶³, after animals. Certain animal and plant motifs were naturally inherited from the visual world of heraldry, where they carried their own symbolism now transposed to badges. Such is clearly the case of oak; this was the species used to represent the male side of a genealogical tree. As a late medieval emblematic device, the oak tree has been characterised as "viril (...), símbolo de força, de poder, de longevidade, árvore por excelência investida dos privilégios da divindade celeste" (Silva 1997, 141) and "véritable roi des arbres, symbole de la force, d'où son nom latin, *robur*, le chêne est le bois absolu" (Hablott in press, 168). It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that this is the motif chosen by two of our princes, maybe not coincidentally the eldest of the four.

The plant motifs on princes João's and Fernando's badges, on the other side, do not come directly from heraldry but rather result from the growing attention that late gothic art pays to nature. In a Europe-wide development, plant motifs in architectural sculpture, until then largely stylized, evolve in the 14th century into a broad variety of species mostly with naturally spiky forms, rendered with a growing degree of realism (Cali 1967, 92–94). Far from being exclusive to architectural sculpture, though, this newly-found drive to depict the diversity of nature can be found on all portable art supports, particularly illuminated manuscripts, metalwork and textiles. This new visual

⁶³ In Hablot's study, plants feature in 27.5% of all badges (Hablott in press, 168).

culture is so all-encompassing that it is difficult to ascertain whether new plant motifs were introduced with decorative purposes and subsequently adopted by princes for their badges, or, on the contrary, new plant species were chosen by princes to represent themselves and then migrated from badges to the general decorative repertoire (Hablott in press, 170).

Be as it may, the fact is that a wealth of species that had never been part of the heraldic or artistic vocabulary of the time now found themselves profusely represented on a variety of media in the form of personal badges. The introduction of these new motifs gave late gothic craftsmen a great opportunity to experiment formally with their depiction in a simultaneously highly decorative and realistic way. It is what we see at Batalha where, notwithstanding a certain creative license, real-life plant species can be identified that had hitherto never been carved in Portuguese monuments or architectural sculpture, as is the case of arbutus in prince João's tomb and hawthorn in prince Fernando's.

The formal parallels between the princes' plant motifs and those painted on contemporary manuscripts becomes apparent in fig. 33, showing details of an elaborately illuminated early 15th century copy of *Crónica Geral de Espanha*⁶⁴. The way the various plant species are depicted on the monument suggests that these type of motifs were generally transposed from illumination to sculpture, rather than the other way around. The princes' front slabs were treated as if they were pieces of parchment, with the plant motifs tracing a delicate design over them, leaving much of the background free, as in illuminated manuscripts. Given that it is easier to paint delicately convoluting twigs on a flat support than it is carving them on stone, it is reasonable to assume that this form of decoration developed bidimensionally in manuscripts and maybe textiles, to be subsequently tried out tridimensionally on stone.

A further consideration with regard to the emblematic display at the princes monument: in order to understand the overall sense of the commemorative programme at the King's Chapel, it is important to bear in mind that heraldic and

⁶⁴ These formal parallels were kindly identified for the purposes of this particular section by Catarina Tibúrcio, author of a recent MA dissertation on the above-mentioned manuscript (Tibúrcio 2013).

personal emblems were not originally restricted to the tombs themselves. Far from it: “le prince du début du XVe siècle vit dans un décor totalement emblématique du sol au plafond” (Hablott in press, 608). Emblems tend to take over every object he owns and every space he inhabits, and not only in life, but in death too.

This may not be immediately apparent to the visitor entering the King’s Chapel today, as the 19th century restoration campaigns effaced every trace of decoration from the chapel walls, leaving only the bare stone of the actual monuments. Looking up, though, the viewer notices the stained-glass windows completely covered in the heraldic devices and personal badges of both the monarchs and their sons⁶⁵. But the emblematic display went further; the princes’ badges were also painted on the entire inside surface of the arched recesses housing their remains (vestiges of which can be seen above Henrique’s tomb, fig. 34), as well as on the wall at the back of their respective altars (still faintly visible in Pedro’s altar recess, fig. 35). Additionally, at least in prince João’s case, they were also depicted on the wall above the monument (fig. 36). Friar Luís de Sousa, for his part, describes how such devices identified each prince’s cabinet, too, on the West wall recesses. Heraldry and badges, naturally, were not limited to the fixed decoration of the chapel, but also featured prominently on the precious objects bequeathed by the princes to their chantries for the purpose of the masses the monks were to celebrate for their souls. Prince Fernando’s will is particularly enlightening in this respect, as it mentions several textile items that bear what he calls ‘my colours’, meaning his livery⁶⁶.

And this brings us to the final aspect of the iconographic programme devised for the chapel: colour.

Colour was an integral feature of any heraldic display, it was as much part of a coat of arms as the objects depicted in it. It was also an indispensable element of badges, to the point – as we have just seen – that a prince’s livery is simply referred to as ‘my colours’. Throughout the middle ages colours were attributed with deep symbolic meanings and, as such, were an essential part of the visual culture of the

⁶⁵ For a thorough study of stained-glass at the Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória, see (Redol 2003).

⁶⁶ Prince Fernando’s will lists, among others “a cortina pequena de tendal de minhas cores, com seu frontal (...) hum tapete novo de minhas cores, chão, e outro novo de minhas cores com lavor” (Gomes 2002, vol. 1, p. 211).

time, particularly among the powerful and wealthy who could afford them, thus also becoming a marker of social status. In fact, the King's Chapel as we see it today is inconceivable as the final resting place of the founding members of a late medieval dynasty. Far from the chromatically uniform bare-stone environment left to us by 19th century restoration aesthetics, the 15th century chapel had been a riot of colour. Aside from the stained-glass windows and the colourful textile pieces brought into the chapel as part of the princes ceremonial apparel, all emblematic elements carved in the stone were painted. Greatly adding to this vibrant atmosphere, the architectural structure over the tombs was itself brightly decorated in turquoise blue, red, gold and black, as suggested by numerous small vestiges of polychromy visible throughout the monument (fig. 37, 38 and 39). By way of an example, its overall chromatic effect would have been similar to that of the already mentioned monument of king Pere II of Aragon, found in the Santes Creus Monastery (fig. 8).

- Emblematics as a form of aniconic portrait

The comprehensive emblematic display described in the previous section functions in each prince's case as a kind of aniconic, or image-less, portrait; it 'paints' a picture meant to allow the observer to recognise each one of the princes by their lineage and their specific place in it and work out the various offices they held, as well as offering, in a knowingly enigmatic manner, some clues as to their personal devotions, traits, motivations and elevated culture.

The perceived completeness of this allegorical portrayal of the princes allowed king Duarte, the monument's patron, to forego two commonly used devices – effigies and inscriptions - that had been traditionally used to great effect in order to convey some of the same of messages about the deceased. Thus, in the princes' monument, inscriptions were completely dispensed with, while in lieu of the conventional recumbent statues, the tombs were topped by half-cylinder shapes representing the occupant through, once again, their coat of arms. The two conjugal tombs of the

monument (prince Pedro and Isabel of Urgell and Aragon⁶⁷, prince João and Isabel of Bragança), naturally have two of these half-cylinders with their respective coats of arms, lying side-by-side as two effigies would have (fig. 40). For obvious hierarchical reasons, in each case the half-cylinder representing the wife sits at the back of the recess, while that representing the prince is placed at the near side, clearly visible to the onlooker.

The origin or rationale for the half-cylinder shapes themselves remains unexplained. The only known significant parallel can be seen in the monument attributed to king Fernando I (r. 1367-1383), at Lisbon's Museu Arqueológico do Carmo, itself a completely unique specimen among Portuguese medieval tomb-chests. This royal monument also lacks an effigy, only in this case it is replaced by a trapezoid-shaped lid equally covered in heraldry. The most recent study on this tomb rightly points out that such a lid gives the monument the look of a reliquary coffer (Fernandes 2009, 37–38), but unfortunately says nothing of the curious half-cylindrical shape emerging at one end of it. Decorated with plant motifs greatly similar to the half-cylinders at Batalha, the formal parallel here seems unquestionable (fig. 41), but the meaning or purpose of such a device remains unexplained. A possible explanation could be that this semi-cylindrical marker mimics the shape of some kind of lid, complete with heraldry, that might have been used in funerary proceedings; that is, a rounded version of the lid, marked with a fleur-de-lysed cross, that can be seen in a folio of king Duarte's book of hours devoted to the office of the dead (fig. 42).

Whatever its origin, such a device was intentionally chosen for the princes' tombs in lieu of the conventional effigies as it contributed to convey the values that king Duarte had devised for the monument: on the one hand, by ensuring complete uniformity between the tombs, the half-cylinder markers helped carry the intended message of harmony and equality among the brothers; on the other, working in conjunction with personalised emblematic displays, the half-cylinder markers precluded the need for effigies – iconic portraits - that might have been seen as

⁶⁷ Notwithstanding her assigned place next to her husband at the King's Chapel in Batalha, Isabel of Urgell and Aragon commissioned her own monument, dated c. 1466, at the S. Clara-a-Nova church in Coimbra. Following a more conventional design, this monument features a recumbent effigy of the deceased in *clarisse* habit on a tomb chest decorated with coats of arms only.

competing in protagonism with those of king João and queen Philippa, thus reinforcing the idea of the princes' subordination to them.

The option of foregoing recumbent effigies, and replacing them with half-cylinder markers, does seem a bold move on Duarte's part in view of the effigy's predominance in the preceding centuries as the representational device of choice among funerary patrons⁶⁸. In particular, from the 14th century onwards, this specific commemorative element can be seen to merit an increasing artistic investment, with greater care put into its formal and iconographical features, a tendency which would only intensify in the 15th century. Moreover, as in Europe generally, the 15th century marked a turning point in Portugal in terms of individualised representation with both the development of painted portraits and a greater care in the physiognomically faithful rendition of funerary effigies (Flor 2010, 163–183), of which king João's provides a good example.

Duarte also deprived his brothers of an equally common identifying, and increasingly personalising, device: inscriptions. This decision, too, seems to go against the current of the time. As observed by Silva and Ramôa (2011, 66–68), in 14th century Portuguese commemoration practices, identifying inscriptions, when there at all, were often found on wall-mounted slabs next to the monument, rather than on the tomb-chest itself⁶⁹. The 15th century, on the other hand, witnessed a proliferation of such inscriptions, with increasing laudatory purposes, now directly incised on the monument at the request of the patron. This practice found its fullest expression to date on the tomb of king João and queen Philippa which, as I have mentioned before, has its two long sides entirely covered by a panegyric glorifying the monarchs, composed, according to friar Luís de Sousa, by king Duarte himself (Sousa 1866, 2:298).

In this context, it would seem natural for the Avis princes to have wanted the benefit of a laudatory inscription on their tombs too, or at the very least an identifying one. This is certainly what prince Fernando requested in his will: a caption for his monument identifying him as the 'son of the very high and powerful king João and the

⁶⁸ For a characterisation of Portuguese 13th and 14th century effigies, see (Silva 2009) and (Silva and Ramôa 2011).

⁶⁹ The same authors cite as examples the tombs of Bartolomeu Joanes and Lopo Fernandes Pacheco, at Lisbon Cathedral, and that of bishop Pedro I at Évora Cathedral.

very noble and excellent queen Philippa⁷⁰. This wish was ignored by Duarte in the design of the monument for what I believe to be the same reasons that led him to forego effigies on them. Individual inscriptions would have given the opportunity for excessive self-aggrandisement, therefore breaking the message of brotherly equality and filial submission: effigies and laudatory inscriptions were for the monarchs only.

Three of the princes seem to have acquiesced to the political message, but the degree of self-effacement imposed by king Duarte's thinking for the monument may have proven excessive and unacceptable for prince Henrique: his tomb neatly breaks off from the intended uniformity by featuring both a recumbent effigy and an inscription.

It is not the purpose of this dissertation to delve into prince Henrique's character, particularly given the masses of writings that exist about his life and personality, a considerable part of which has elevated him to the status of national icon, which can hamper objectivity. But there is general consensus, in any case, that prince Henrique had a very strong personality and cultivated a close attachment to his father⁷¹. It is not difficult to imagine, therefore, that he would have sought for ways to both set himself apart from his brothers and make visually explicit the special link he kept with king João. And he did so to great effect by emulating, as far as possible, his father's commemorative programme: firstly, an effigy that imitates that of king João by adopting the same novel iconography of the *miles christianus*⁷² (only in this case with hands joined in prayer) enhanced by a richly carved baldachin also closely modelled on the monarchs' (fig. 43); secondly, an inscription, albeit a much shorter one than his father's, in the limited space that the tomb design left for this.

Interestingly, a much longer inscription exalting Henrique's life, feats and virtues also came to existence, only it was carved into someone else's monument: that of the prince's loyal servant friar Gonçalo de Sousa, also a knight of the Order of Christ,

⁷⁰ See note 30 on page 20.

⁷¹ As transpires, for example, from one of the most recent overviews of prince Henrique's life and personality, where he is referred to as king João I's favourite son (Costa 2011, 8).

⁷² The novelty of this commemorative iconography, its political significance, and its impact on 15th century funerary sculpture in Portugal are discussed by Ramôa and Silva (2008, 81) and Silva and Ramôa (2011, 61–62).

who was raised in his household⁷³. The possibility must be considered that, constrained by Duarte's dictated limits on self-glorification, Henrique found a way for a similar inscription to that of his father to feature somewhere in a commemorative programme - even if it was his loyal servant's - that could be linked to himself.

The question remains as to Henrique's direct intervention in either of these significant alterations to his tomb. As discussed in Chapter 1, he certainly had the opportunity⁷⁴, and what we know of his personality may well have provided the necessary motivation.

In any case, an unequivocal timing cannot be given with regard to the effigy. Its stylistic dating as been hampered by damage suffered over time and the interventions that it was subject to during the 19th and 20th century restoration campaigns, of which there is no specific documentary evidence⁷⁵. As such, it is difficult to ascertain whether it would have been executed in the prince's lifetime, as suggested by Santos (1948, 1:41), which would point to his own patronage, or whether it was ordered shortly after his death, for example by his heir⁷⁶. In this respect a more specific clue might be provided in the near future by the dating of the baldachin, which does not seem to have undergone major alterations from its original state and has been provisionally dated to 1450-1475⁷⁷.

When it comes to the inscription, however, there is little doubt that it was carved in Henrique's lifetime and therefore the prince at least authorised it. In effect,

⁷³ Attention is brought to this curious fact by Silva and Ramôa (2011, 66–68). The inscription, transcribed in the same article, bears the date 1469, that is nine years after prince Henrique's death.

⁷⁴ As pointed out in Chapter 1, page 24, after Pedro's death in 1449, Henrique would have had ample time before his own passing in 1460 to alter the design of his own tomb to suit his purposes.

⁷⁵ On the damage suffered by the effigy, in particular to the head, see (Ribeiro 1962, 19). Non specific damages to the tomb lid and the recumbent sculpture are also mentioned in (Museu de Aveiro 1960, 17–18).

⁷⁶ Prince Henrique did not marry and consequently did not have legitimate descendants of his own. He did, instead, officially nominate as his son and heir king Duarte's second son, prince Fernando, Duke of Beja (1433-1470). For a transcription of the document, see (Pina 1960, 11).

⁷⁷ This proposed timeframe was suggested in an informal conversation by Telmo Mendes Leal, currently carrying out research as part of an MA dissertation on micro-architectural elements in medieval Portuguese sculpture. My gratitude to him for his suggestion and his acquiescence to its reproduction here.

the inscription recorded in 1823 by cardinal Saraiva had certain parts missing from it⁷⁸. The cardinal describes the first missing section as being due to the degree of deterioration of the stone, while pointing out that the second one, which should bear the prince's place and date of death, was never actually carved. This leads him to conclude that the inscription was made when Henrique was still alive and was simply never completed after his death (Saraiva 1872, 320).

The deviations in prince Henrique's tomb from the uniform design envisaged by king Duarte for the collective monument of the four Avis princes, are illustrative of the tension between the various means of personal portrayal available in 15th century Portugal. The period offered high ranking individuals three effective devices for self-representation in funerary-commemorative programmes: effigies, emblems and inscriptions⁷⁹. Duarte's political propaganda programme deprived his brothers of two of these, leaving them only with emblems. Though emblems were in fact highly effective as identifiers of particular individuals and signifiers of their courtly sophistication, their actual meaning was so enigmatic that they could hardly compete with effigies and inscriptions when it came to characterising the deceased. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that a prince with an acute sense of self-awareness would find emblems (heraldry and personal badges) insufficient for his monument. However, as disrupting as it was to king Duarte's intended message of a model royal family, prince Henrique's attitude was only in keeping with the period's mentality. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, this becomes apparent when observing subsequent commemorative programmes by the kingdom's elite. Badges had arrived in Portugal by the hand of the royal family and, as was to be expected, were quickly incorporated into the monuments of the noble families wishing to emulate this sophisticated representational practice. However, contrary to Duarte's deliberately anonymising choice for the princely monument, almost none of these later monuments opted for such an enigmatic allegorical sign system on its own, accompanying it, in all cases, with

⁷⁸ The original inscription was transcribed as "Aqui jaz o muito alto, e muito honrado senhor o Ifante dom amrique governador da ordem da cavallaria de no ... om Joham e rainha philipa, que aquy jazem nesta capella cuias almas deos por sua merce aja o qual se finou em ... na era de mil e ...". The inscription currently visible on the tomb is a 19th or 20th century copy of the original.

⁷⁹ The simultaneously competing and complementary nature of physiognomical portraits (image) and emblematics (sign) in late medieval personal representation is the subject of a chapter in Belting (2004, 153–181).

more concrete and accessible representational devices: either an effigy, an inscription, or both.

c) Absence of religious iconography: a secular monument?

We have seen how emblematic motifs (both coats of arms and personal badges) completely overtook the decorative programme of the princes' monument in the King's Chapel. In doing so, they displaced some of the most common iconography – a large variety of religious themes - that had given meaning to funerary programmes for the two preceding centuries.

This lack of religious references on both the princes' and their parents' monuments has led authors to interpret them as mostly – or exclusively - profane commemorative programmes. In his 1989 overview of 15th century Portuguese funerary sculpture, for example, Dionísio David claims that the monuments at the King's Chapel acted as prototypes for a new, purely profane aesthetic current, which spread to the whole country⁸⁰. On the subject of the decoration of this Chapel, Saul Gomes also finds that, devoid of religious architectural sculpture, it was dominated by what he describes as a world of profane symbolic representations in the shape of heraldry, plant motifs characteristic of Huguet's work and long inscriptions.⁸¹

It is true that the monuments at the King's Chapel bring about new aesthetics to funerary stonework. As we shall see in Chapter 3, it is also the case that this new aesthetics catches on very quickly among wealthy patrons, and it does indeed replace, to a large extent, the more traditional religious iconography on monuments. What is not so accurate, however, is to ascribe a purely profane interpretation to heraldry-based decorative compositions.

⁸⁰ David (1989, 259) states that "a propagação de novas coordenadas artísticas, imbuídas de uma aura meramente profana, estendeu-se, a partir dos protótipos de Santa Maria da Vitória (melhor dizendo da Capela do Fundador), a todas as regiões do país".

⁸¹ Gomes (1997, 34) states that "A Capela do Fundador é praticamente neutra quanto a decoração escultórica religiosa estrutural, ficando-se, nesse campo, pela decoração móvel de pintura sacra sobre os altares dos infantes e dalgumas, poucas, imagens de vulto. O que predominava, como ainda hoje se pode atestar, era o mundo das grandes representações simbólicas profanas, caso da heráldica com os seus escudos e empresas, do gosto decorativo vegetalizante característico do gótico de Huguet, dos frisos e grandes lápides epigrafadas tumulares".

As has been insightfully pointed out by Hablot, as early on as the 13th century, and especially from the 14th, the main representational function of heraldry – lineage - did not preclude religious expression.

In his study on the gradual appearance of heraldry in sacred sites, (Hablot 2011) draws attention to several factors that contributed to blur the line between heraldry and spirituality, in what he calls the ‘christianisation of heraldry’. He cites, for example, the fact that the origin of many coats of arms, when unknown, was often explained away by legends involving miracles, mystical visions, saintly intercessions in battles and biblical symbolism⁸². Moreover, specially from the 14th century, heraldry started playing a key role in the scenography of death and burial, events of the most profound religious significance. The heraldic banners in funerary processions, the coats of arms embroidered on the rich cloth covering the casket, the deceased’s military panoply being offered at the altar⁸³; all of them helped reinforce the visual and mental association between heraldry, knightliness and the spiritual world. This association led, for example, to certain warrior saints being assigned heraldic devices of their own, a phenomenon that found its highest expression in the development of elaborate heraldic display for the Trinity, the Virgin Mary and Christ Himself (Hablot 2011, 227), featuring the objects associated with the Passion.

Lastly, the assimilation of religion and heraldry was consolidated by the practice of carving coats of arms in strategically conspicuous places of a church or monastery to indicate that it was built or maintained under royal or noble patronage. Apart from

⁸² The coat of arms of the Kingdom of Portugal provides a fitting example of such practice. Its precise origins are unknown but have been linked by late-medieval sources to a miraculous episode occurred at the Battle of Ourique in 1139. According to the legend, Afonso Henriques, soon to be the first King of Portugal, was facing a mighty challenge against five moorish kings. On the morning of the battle, Afonso Henriques was blessed with an apparition of Christ on the Cross as a sign of his impending victory against the infidels. Though critically outnumbered, he went on to win the battle and was acclaimed King of Portugal, founding a new kingdom. The coat of arms of Portugal is thus supposed to have gained five escutcheons placed so as to form a cross, each charged with five plates, symbolising Christ’s five Crucifixion wounds and the five defeated moorish kings. The documentary sources of this legend, as well as its development and role in the construction of a Portuguese national identity, have been studied by Buescu (1993). For the purposes of this dissertation, it is particularly interesting to note that the earliest known documents recording this link between Portugal’s heraldry and the miracle of Ourique date precisely from the 15th century, when the line between the lay and religious symbolism of heraldry became particularly blurred.

⁸³ Such practice was used in the burial ceremonies of king João I and of his great-grandson king João II (Gomes 1997, 37–38).

their obvious purpose of assertion of power, these heraldic devices also functioned, as “signes visibles de l’engagement de ces lignages chevaleresques au service de Dieu, leur presence dans l’espace sacré et dévotionnel devient légitime et meme l’objet d’un culte” (Hablot 2011, 227).

It is, in short, a two-way process which results in both the heraldisation of sacred sites and figures, and the sacralisation of heraldry.

In art historical terms, therefore, the distinction between heraldic and religious motifs was not as clear-cut in the 15th century as we tend to see it from our current perception neatly separating religion from laity or profanity. Moreover, what transpires from contemporary sources on the Avis princes, including in some cases their own writings, is their unwavering, in some cases even militant, piety. And so, regardless of how much the emphasis on monumental decoration shifted at Batalha towards personalised heraldic representation, there is no doubt that the princes would have also sought a way of expressing their piousness where it most counted: their final resting place.

Not surprisingly, therefore, in addition to the factors pointed out by Hablot that would have given a spiritual dimension to the emblematic display at the King’s Chapel, some of the devices featured on the princes’ tombs are of an outright religious nature in themselves. Firstly, there are the heraldic references we have seen to the military orders commanded by some of the princes. They not only represent the positions of power held by them within the kingdom’s institutions but, importantly, they attest to their militant understanding of Christianity. A particularly relevant trait at a time when the Iberian kingdoms were swept by a renewed crusading spirit, with Portugal immersed in its North African campaigns against the moors. Thus, the representation of military orders on the princes monuments conveys their religious feeling as *miles christianus*, Christian soldiers willing to serve God by fighting the infidel. It is the same spirit that led their father, king João, to commission for the first time in Portugal a recumbent effigy in full military gear (Ramôa and Silva 2008, 87), a look subsequently adopted by prince Henrique as well.

The monument of the Avis princes bears witness to their piousness in other, more ambiguous ways, too, through their personal badges. We thus have prince João’s

pilgrim purses as a polysemic sign which, as I have pointed out, can both represent his governorship of the Order of St. James and express the values associated with a religious pilgrimage: charity and solidarity, faith and self-sacrifice in the name of God. Prince Pedro's badge, for his part, can equally be given a profane and a religious interpretation. The scales can surely symbolise the importance he attached to the administration of justice, namely as the kingdom's regent between 1438 and 1446, but they can also represent the archangel St. Michael, a particular devotion of his as attested by the retable he chose for his altar, depicting this particular saint.

And this brings us to the final consideration regarding the expression of religious belief in the princes' commemorative programme. The key word here is *programme*, understood as a comprehensive scheme not limited to the tombs themselves. It is difficult for today's viewer to visualize anything beyond them, as the 19th century restoration campaigns removed every last portable decorative element from the chapel. But we have already seen how contemporary sources clearly suggest that the monument was designed as *a set of tomb and altar* for each prince. In itself this constitutes another originality of the princes' monument. Portuguese funerary programmes had until then been restricted, in their material dimension, to the tomb and the liturgical objects that were left by the deceased to their chantry, but had not contemplated a private altar, next to the tomb, for the prayers to be said for their soul. This changes at Batalha. The princes' programme is made up of two material elements – tomb and altar – that cannot be dissociated from each other and actually function as complementary supports from an iconographical point of view. Thus, each prince now had a whole altar at his disposal to display the saintly figures that would have traditionally expressed his piety on his sepulchre, which meant that he could afford to devote the entirety of his tomb to an elaborate personalized heraldic display. In other words, the lack of traditional sacred iconography on the tombs was made up by sculpture and painted retables on the altars.

Friar Luís de Sousa gives us a precious inventory of the painted panels taking pride of place at the altars and depicting each prince's saint of personal devotion (Sousa 1866, 2:273–274). As I have mentioned, Pedro's altar had a painting of St. Michael; Henrique commissioned a triptych showing his younger brother Fernando as

a martyr; João fittingly had a painting of his namesake John the Baptist; lastly, Fernando's altar featured a retable of the Assumption of our Lady with the story of his own captivity represented on the side panels.

De Sousa writes in 1623 and, with the exception of prince Henrique's commission, it is nearly impossible to ascertain for sure what exactly was ordered in the princes' lifetimes – presumably by the princes themselves – and what were later additions by their descendants or other patrons. Sousa's single clue is that these were 'old paintings, but perfect'. The only one that has survived to the present time is precisely Henrique's retable of his brother Fernando (fig. 44), which can stylistically be placed around mid-15th century⁸⁴.

Religious iconography was not restricted to the painted retables though. An 1823 inventory⁸⁵ carried out at the monastery also indicates that the altars had held devotional sculptures which were destroyed by Napoleon's army. Unfortunately, in this case it is even harder to determine what exactly would have been part of the original programme.

One tomb recess, that of prince João's, also appears to counter the absence of traditional religious iconography on the monument itself with an elaborate stone relief of the Passion, Calvary and Descent from the Cross which covers its entire back wall (fig. 45). However, a closer look suggests that this was placed there at a later stage, as its fitting required the sculpted decoration on the half-cylinder at the back (corresponding to Isabel of Bragança) to be roughly chiselled down (fig. 46).

This Passion-Calvary-Descent relief is actually a 19th century copy of the 15th century original a fragment of which is still preserved at the monastery (fig. 47). Its most likely original location must have been at the back of prince Henrique's arcosolium, as recorded by cardinal Saraiva. In his description of the four tombs he specifically refers to a three part sculpted relief of the Passion of Christ that closely fits

⁸⁴ One could argue that this particular retable hardly counts as religious iconography, given that prince Fernando is not an official saint of the Catholic Church. Nonetheless, from the moment his remains were brought back from Fez to Batalha, the story of his captivity and death was presented as one of martyrdom. He was thus unofficially venerated as a saint until the early 17th century, when the annual festivities in his honour were finally banned by the Bishop of Leiria, Martim Afonso Mexia, precisely on account of prince Fernando never having actually achieved official holy status.

⁸⁵ For a transcription of the inventory see (Gomes 1997, 239).

both the remaining 15th century fragment and its 19th century copy, down to the original's rather poor execution quality⁸⁶.

It is doubtful that this relief would have been part of the original programme envisaged by king Duarte, seeing as none of the other arcosolia contained such sculpted decoration. Once again, it may be that prince Henrique took it upon himself to customise his own tomb in order, this time, to include in it more conventional religious iconography.

Why the 19th century restorers decided to place the panel's reproduction at the back of prince João's arcosolium remains a mystery, but the fact is that it must have been one of the first interventions on the princes' monument; a 1860 photograph (fig. 48) shows the reproduction panel already in place in João's recess even before other restoration works had taken place in prince Henrique's tomb, which still shows its original 15th century front slab, recognisable by the unfinished panel above the left-hand coat of arms.

To complicate things further, another possibility must at least be considered; the aforementioned 1823 monastery inventory also mentions a 'panel' depicting the Descent from the Cross not as part of the tomb arcosolia, but as decoration for one of the altars⁸⁷. It is likely to refer to a sculpted relief of some kind, rather than a painted panel, as when describing paintings on the same paragraph the inventory uses the term 'wooden retables'. However, given that this description refers only to a Descent from the Cross, rather than the triple episode relief recorded by cardinal Saraiva, it is my view that the current stone relief copies the one which originally decorated prince Henrique's tomb recess.

Going back to the original question of this section, then, to what extent can this royal mausoleum be seen as a secular propaganda exercise? There is no doubt that the

⁸⁶ Saraiva (1872, 321) states that "No fundo deste arco vêem-se na parede em escultura de relevo inteiro tres grupos de figuras, que representam tres passos da paixão de Jesu-Christo: o 1º, mostra o Senhor caminhando para o calvario, cahido por terra; o 2º, a cruz levantada com o Senhor pregado nella; o 3º, o descendimento da cruz. A esculptura he assás grosseira, e mui pouca melhoria tem a respeito de outras, que temos visto, do seculo XII".

⁸⁷ Referring to the contents of what was known then as the Royal Chapel, it specifies "Tem quatro altares de pedra sem imagens, por terem sido destruidas pellos francezes. Ahi existem em hum destes altares hum painel do descimento da cruz, muito arroinado. Na mesma se achão fragmentos de dois retabulos em madeira, hum de Santo Thomaz; e outro do Infante Dom Fernando."

programme was designed with the purpose of affirming the idealised memory of a king and his progeny. But there was necessarily more to it. This was a royal family of sincere piousness, with a markedly militant view of their own Christianity. Their faith could not but have a tangible expression in their funerary chapel. It is true that the design of the sepulchres foregoes traditional religious imagery to the benefit of a new type of emblematic display. But the signs that make up this display are only partly secular, as they are also laden with religious meaning. More importantly, the tombs cannot be considered on their own, as we see them today. Rather, they must be understood as only one part of a larger commemorative programme which included altars duly populated with the figures of intercession that had hitherto been traditionally represented on tomb chests. Both of these elements – heraldic devices with a layer of religious meaning, and traditional imagery at the altars - would have contributed to give the King's Chapel at Batalha a profound religious feeling that can no longer be sensed today.

d) The collective nature of the monument: dynasty v. family

The Avis princes were buried in what can be understood as a single, joint monument made up of four individual tombs. This, as I have argued, responded to a carefully thought-out strategy by their eldest brother, king Duarte, to present them as a model of brotherly unity and filial obedience to further enhance the image of their father, king João, as an ideal monarch. The collective nature of the monument thus worked essentially to the benefit of the monastery's founder at the expense of a greater degree of individualisation that each prince may have previously envisaged for his final resting place.

As we have seen in section 2b on personal badges and aniconic representation, with the possible exception of prince Henrique, Duarte's brothers seem to have accepted the uniformity imposed on them. It is a remarkable acceptance. Few things are as personal as death and a person's preparations for it, including funeral arrangements and most importantly, the design of the tomb, even when left in the hands of descendants. I have briefly touched on just how much thought king João had

put into his own programme. Duarte too showed great concern with issues regarding the perpetuation of his memory, and thus had a grand new chapel built to that effect at the Batalha monastery. The princes, on the contrary, were not given much say in the matter. They would be buried in four equal tombs, magnificent but with little margin for individualisation, limited in practice to their heraldry and choice of badges.

One could argue that as princes they occupied a secondary position in the royal hierarchy and could therefore not have great expectations in deciding on an individualising design for monuments that would set each one apart. But, however secondary in that particular scale, princes remained at the very top of the social hierarchy and had traditionally not had any such limitations imposed on them. On the contrary, the collective, unified monument at Batalha is without precedents among funerary programmes – princely or otherwise - in Portugal. I do not purport to have conducted a comprehensive survey of European medieval monumental sculpture in this regard - such a task would not be within the means or purpose of this dissertation – but it seems to be a very rare specimen even at a broader geographical level. A modest enquiry in England and Aragon, two territories with which Portugal kept close ties at the time by virtue of marital alliances, has revealed only two somewhat similar instances.

One is made up of two collective monuments that king Pere III of Aragon (1319-1387) commissioned for the dynasty's preceding and future kings at the monastery of Santa Maria de Poblet (Español 2002, 205–207) (fig. 49 and fig. 50). Though the design of the monument is radically different to the princes' one at Batalha, it has in common with it the intention of bringing together several figures in one unifying structure, or in this case, two. The parallels end here, however, as the structures at Poblet and Batalha bear little formal resemblance. They are also quite different in their intended meaning, seeing as the Poblet monuments were meant to express a sense of dynastic continuity, whereas the princes' one at Batalha translated, as we have seen, a strong family-based political and moralizing message.

The second parallel found, this time in England, might come closer to what Duarte set out to accomplish in the King's Chapel. Located in the St. Thomas the Martyr Church, Winchelsea, Sussex, it is a triple monument housing the remains of a

father, mother and son, probably members of the local Godfrey family (fig. 51). Of identical design, the framing around the three arched recesses was built in the 13th century to receive the remains and the effigies of three immediately related people who had previously been buried elsewhere, in the old Winchelsea church (Tummers 1980, 31–32). Equally rare in the English monumental landscape, this remains nevertheless an interesting specimen conceptually closer to Duarte’s thinking on family commemorative strategy in as much as it also expresses a sense of family unity. It is, however, not possible to determine whether this was intentional, as in Batalha, or simply the result of a practical design decision for a monument built *a posteriori* by an unknown patron who may have found it easier to place the three transferred bodies in equal monuments rather than have to design a different one for each.

The notion of family is central to understanding the princes’ monument within the setting of the King’s Chapel. In her book on gothic kinship tombs – where representations of a patron’s children were carved on his tomb chest - Anne McGee Morganstern explores the value of family at the time: "I would suggest that as a whole, tombs of kinship demonstrate how personal identity was attached to family consciousness. Following Karl Schmid and Georges Duby, a host of modern historians have emphasized the importance of the family during the Middle Ages, not only as an institution, *but as a metaphor for expressing various kinds of community*: monastic, chivalric, and professional relationships that evolved from the ideal of brotherhood."⁸⁸

It is this metaphorical dimension of the notion of family that Duarte wished to make full use of with his plans for the King’s Chapel. It was not his intention to obliterate each prince’s individuality, which is why all four were given highly personalised emblematic displays. A stronger emphasis, however, was placed on the family unit. Historian Leontina Ventura already drew attention to the fundamentally

⁸⁸ (Morganstern 2000, 157) my italics. Though unknown in Portugal, tombs of kinship were common in Northern Europe by the 13th century and were particularly favoured in England during the reign of Edward III, grandfather of Philippa of Lancaster. Edward chose this kind of tomb for himself, with depictions of his twelve children, including Philippa’s father, John of Gaunt, carved on the long sides of the chest. It is perhaps no coincidence that the emphasis on familial virtues at the Portuguese court coincided with the arrival of Philippa of Lancaster to it. Her role in introducing English cultural values into the Portuguese court, fostering the education and strengthening the sense of family among the Avis princes has been widely recognised in Portuguese historiography, most recently by Coleman (2007), Silva (2012), and Ramôa (in press, 10).

new treatment that the royal family receives in written documents under this king's carefully executed propaganda exercise (Ventura 2008). Ventura's focus is lexical, pointing out the kind of new terminology that Duarte uses to glorify both his parents as heads of this exemplary unit that is the royal family. Both in the chronicles Duarte commissions and in his own writings, the Avis royal family is set forth as an example for all collective enterprises, a model of virtuous association in which not only the nobility but the whole kingdom should mirror themselves. Or as aptly put by the author of the *Eloquent King's* most recent biography, Duarte worked on the premise that "a virtuous family on the throne would ultimately generate a virtuous society" (Duarte 2005, 204).

The message, though, was clearly not intended only for internal consumption. On the contrary, it forged a powerful image for propaganda beyond the kingdom's borders, as reflected on the moralizing letter sent to the princes of the Aragonese court.

What we see in the King's Chapel is precisely the visual expression of the same idea: a funerary programme that depicts a model family, hierarchically structured to convey the notion of four pious princes graciously submissive to their father, the embodiment of a perfect king, and his equally virtuous wife. It is also, like its written counterparts, a programme designed both to educate the kingdom's nobility and impress foreign dignitaries, in this case taking advantage of their presence at burial ceremonies⁸⁹.

Interestingly, the strong emphasis placed on the familial also operated a subtle yet fundamental shift in the perception of the chapel as a whole, a shift that ultimately dictated the future use of the site, or rather its non use by subsequent generations of the Avis dynasty.

In order to visually express the continuity of the dynasty, João I had envisioned himself surrounded in his final resting place by the monuments of both succeeding

⁸⁹ Duarte's awareness of the potential presence of foreign representatives at his father's funeral, and of the diplomatic connotations of such a presence is illustrated by a final note on the sermon outline he wrote for the service officiant, friar Fernando de Arroiteia. In it, Duarte advised him that given the possible presence of 'the queen and others from Castile' the sermon should highlight king João's military victories but without explicitly mentioning any particular battles against them (Dinis 1954, 29).

Avis kings and non-reigning descendants. This dynastic commemoration purpose would have effectively made the chapel a kind of 'work in progress', changing with the addition of every new monument which would not have had restrictions as to its appearance; it would have been an open-ended process which could have lasted as long as the dynasty itself, only limited in every instance by the remaining available space.

This intended sense of dynastic continuity was cut short after João I's death when his immediate successor, king Duarte, chose to be buried elsewhere in the monastery, in a pantheon of his own. Dynastic assertion was of course of the utmost importance for him too, but it did not have to be restricted to this particular chapel. Duarte was a king himself and did not see his regal dignity benefiting from a tomb half-way between the imposing centrepiece at the King's Chapel and the secondary wall tombs of his brothers. He sought to mirror his father - this king whose image he had honed to virtual perfection - in every possible way, including commemorative arrangements. He had the whole monastery at his disposal and so chose to erect a second, equally grand chapel behind the choir, for use by himself - naturally at the centre - and his descendants.

As for his father's chapel, now with the princes' monument in place, Duarte's emphasis on fostering a mythical image of João I, his wife and their children effectively turned it into an exclusive memorial to this particular royal family. Even the stained glass windows on all the walls and on the central lantern had been completely taken over with the heraldic emblems of its six occupants. In truth, there was still room for other descendants, certainly on the floor area and less likely too on the four western arcosolia, unless the cabinets were there from the beginning. But the chapel was by now too strongly associated with this particular, idealised family to seem open to anyone outside of it, no matter how closely related. There may have been physical room for more, but symbolically the chapel was at capacity.

Not surprisingly, then, the diminished sense of dynastic continuity at the King's Chapel becomes evident when no other descendants (reigning or not) of the Avis bloodline chose to be buried in it. The two monarchs that followed king Duarte on the throne did not even seem to have very strong feelings in this respect. Duarte's son and

successor, king Afonso V left it to the executors of his will to decide where he should be buried, adding that were he to be interred in the Portuguese kingdom, it would please him to have his tomb in one of the side recesses of the chapel commissioned by his father, once it was complete⁹⁰ (which it never was). For his part, Afonso's son and successor, João II, merely specified in his will that he wished to be buried "in the Monastery of Santa Maria da Batalha, in the place and manner that seems more suitable to my executor"⁹¹. João II would be the last Avis king to be buried at this particular monastery. His successor, Manuel I decided to start a whole new royal burial site at the monastery of Santa Maria de Belém, then just outside Lisbon.

To sum up, Duarte's actions at Batalha had two important implications for the monastery's dynastic dimension. His commission of a second commemorative chapel actually extended king João's original vision of a dynastic pantheon to the whole of the monastery. Conversely, his intervention in the original King's Chapel reinforced this particular site's familial dimension over the dynastic one, effectively turning this sacred space into an exclusive shrine to an ideal king and his no less exemplary family.

⁹⁰ King Afonso V's will, excerpts published in Gomes (2002, vol. 2: 278). The original document is kept at Torre do Tombo – Gavetas, XVI, M 2, Doc. 5, and was published in full in 1967 in *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, vol. VI, 172.

⁹¹ King João II's will, excerpts published in Gomes (2002, 2: 402). For a full version of the document see (Sousa 1947, 2 (1st part): 206–217).

3 - The reception of the Avis princes' monument in 15th century Portugal

The developments to commemorative strategies discussed in the previous section – the architectural monumentalisation of tombs, the introduction of badges, the absence of religious iconography and the collective nature of the princes' monument – did not constitute just formal and iconographical novelties. They also brought about significant changes to the way a monument functioned as a memory-building device, the way its various meaning-bearing components worked together in order to convey a multifaceted message: the image that the deceased wished to perpetuate of him or herself⁹².

The purpose of this chapter will be to understand how this signifying process shifted with the princes' monument at Batalha. I will attempt to determine the extent to which these changes in the main meaning-bearing constituents of a commemorative monument managed to take hold or, on the contrary, generate resistance, in the subsequent commemorative production, and why.

In order to carry out this analysis, I will consider a corpus of fifty-nine extant monuments from the 15th and early 16th century in Portugal, eleven of which preceded the Batalha specimens, while the remaining forty-eight were erected at a later date (see Appendix 1). Though it is not a complete inventory, it is a fairly comprehensive one listing all complete monuments conserved *in situ*. It also includes a number of partial specimens and some others that have been removed from their original location, though both of these circumstances hinder their interpretation. The inventory necessarily excludes a number of often unidentified and unassuming tombs in more remote locations to which I have not had physical or documentary access. As a result, more elaborate monuments commissioned by high profile patrons are slightly over-represented in it. Additionally, because most of the monuments listed have only been, at best, partially studied and documented, the commission dates provided are

⁹² For the reasons stated in the introduction, I will consider here a monument's meaning-making potential only in its commemorative function; that is, I will leave out the monument's funerary dimension – what it expresses in terms of attitudes towards death and salvation – and limit the scope of this exploration to the monument's role as a vehicle to communicate and perpetuate a desired memory of its occupant.

only approximate and in some cases I am aware that they raise issues that I cannot address within the scope of this dissertation.

Consequently, the inventory is not intended as a thoroughly accurate record of every tomb built in the 15th and early 16th century in Portugal - a cataloguing task that remains to be done - but is rather provided as an illustrative overview that allows us to identify patterns and draw conclusions from them. The findings of this analysis are summarised in Table 1 at the end of the chapter.

As a memory-building device, a monument erected in Portugal at the turn of the 15th century – therefore just before the princes’ tombs at Batalha – sought to convey a range of ideas about its occupant; ideas such as their lineage, specific role in society, social standing (wealth, prestige, royal favour), individual identity, and piety. At Batalha, yet another idea is added to the expressive potential of a commemorative programme: that of kinship. In the following paragraphs I will consider how monuments at the time managed to communicate each one of these ideas, how this changed at Batalha, and how these changes impacted (or not) on later monuments, up to the early 16th century.

Lineage

Lineage, that is, the deceased’s belonging to a particular bloodline, was one of the most important ideas that a patron wished to express in a commemorative monument at the time. As discussed in section 2b, this was done mainly through the use of heraldry but also through spatial means (bringing together the monuments of different members of the same lineage in a single space). Tomb chests decorated exclusively with coats of arms are found in Portugal from the 13th century, with heraldry becoming an increasingly common choice in monuments throughout the 14th century, often at the expense of any other motif, be it religious or strictly ornamental. The early 15th century saw a consolidation of this trend, with the expression of lineage through heraldry becoming a central concern in commemorative programmes. The princes’ monument at Batalha did not challenge this practice, but actually reinforced it, which is hardly surprising considering that it was built to house the members of the

kingdom's most important lineage at a time when the visual assertion of ancestry was stronger than ever throughout Western Europe. The royal bloodline therefore figures prominently in the arms of Portugal carved not only on each of the princes' tomb chests, but also on the semi-cylindrical markers that top them, as well as proliferating on the stained-glass windows of the chapel.

Subsequent monumental production was no less concerned with the expression of lineage and, since it already had at its disposal a rigidly codified sign system to this effect, it went on using it to advantage. Thus every monument in the corpus under study⁹³, whether erected before or after the princes' at Batalha, displays one or more coats of arms⁹⁴. Lineage heraldry was not only ever-present but also managed to retain its pride of place notwithstanding the increasing complexity of decorative programmes in 15th and early 16th century monuments, as exemplified in the tomb of João de Almeida (fig. 52).

Heraldry, therefore, was arguably the most stable signifying constituent of 15th century monuments, maintaining throughout its capability to express the idea of lineage in commemorative programmes.

Role in society

Late medieval society had a strong sense of hierarchy, with each one of its members being defined, to a large extent, by the role he or she played in it. The expression of this role was therefore another major concern of commemorative programmes, and it found its most effective signifier in the recumbent effigies that topped tomb chests. An effigy allowed its patron to display him or herself as what they had been in life: a monarch, a knight, a lady, a bishop, a jurist, etc. And it did so through the use of conventional signs that would have been easily read by a

⁹³ I am referring here to those monuments that are complete and have not been removed from their original location.

⁹⁴ The only exceptions to this are two monuments built a posteriori for important local figures from a distant past in which heraldry had not yet developed in Portugal (knights Gonçalo Oveques, who lived at turn of the 12th century, buried in the monastery of São Pedro de Cete in a tomb dated 1500-1525, and Sesnando Davides, from the 10th, interred at Coimbra's Old Cathedral in a monument dated 1450-1500).

contemporary onlooker. These were the figure's costume and ancillary attributes - such as a crown for a king, a sword for a knight, a book for a lady⁹⁵, a crosier for a bishop, a roll for a jurist, among others - that unmistakably placed the person represented by the effigy in their rightful place in society⁹⁶.

The effigy, though, was not the only signifying constituent of a late medieval monument that was used to communicate its occupant's role in society; this was increasingly reinforced by the presence of inscriptions which traditionally identified the deceased by their first name and parentage, before proceeding to describe, again, the role they had played in society (their official posts, nobility titles and, occasionally, life feats). In Portugal, this particular memory building mechanism had been used occasionally in 14th century commemorative programmes, often on wall-mounted slabs (Silva and Ramôa 2011, 66–68)⁹⁷. By the early 15th century, however, it was taking on an increasingly central role by featuring on the monument itself; of the eleven specimens approximately dated between 1400 and 1435, six feature inscriptions, of which four on the tomb chest and two still on wall-mounted slabs.

By the time king Duarte devised the Batalha monument for his brothers, therefore, both the effigy and the inscription were well established signifying constituents of a commemorative programme, used to communicate a crucial message about the deceased: their role in society. However, as we have seen in section 2b, Duarte deliberately forewent both of these elements in his drive to present the four Avis princes as clearly subordinate to their parents⁹⁸. But the princes' role in society had to be expressed in their tombs nonetheless, so Duarte resorted to a different outlet: heraldic elements that encoded messages other than lineage. That is, thanks to the development and sophistication of heraldry, the princes could now convey their

⁹⁵ In Portuguese effigies, the book is an exclusively feminine attribute.

⁹⁶ For an overview of representational devices in effigies of bishops in Portugal up to the 14th century, see (Silva and Ramôa 2009). For the representation of noblemen in the same period, see (Silva 2009).

⁹⁷ The same authors cite as examples the tombs of Bartolomeu Joanes and Lopo Fernandes Pacheco, at Lisbon Cathedral, and that of bishop Pedro I at Évora Cathedral.

⁹⁸ Duarte's intention was to emphasize the difference in status between the parents and the sons. Thus, while the parental monument features a prominent set of recumbent effigies holding hands (a first in Portugal), and the longest glorifying inscription ever carved into a monument until that moment (composed by Duarte himself), the sons' tombs are deprived of both of these signs (effigy and inscription) thus gaining a degree of self-effacement that went against the current of commemorative strategies at the time.

'positions' in society – their princely status, governorship or membership of military orders, and dukedoms (in the case of princes Pedro and Henrique) – through ancillary and additional heraldic elements: individual labels added to the Portuguese royal arms, coats of arms of military orders, and ducal crowns.

In terms of constituents to signify a deceased's role in society, therefore, the princes' monument at Batalha marked a complete break with preceding practice, eschewing two key components of most late medieval commemorative monuments and replacing them with more elaborate heraldic signifiers. These could actually be more precise than the conventional effigy attributes described above, but they were also harder to read, requiring the observer to be familiarised with a more complex semiotic system. For this reason, the meaning they codified has tended to get lost in time, gradually becoming unreadable to all but a diminishing minority of informed onlookers.

Whether subsequent 15th century patrons were aware or not of these limitations, the fact is that hardly any of them opted *exclusively* for the sophisticated but largely cryptic ancillary heraldic markers used at the princes' monument to signify, by themselves, their own social role. To be sure, these markers were incorporated into their monuments where appropriate, but unlike what happened at Batalha, this was not done at the expense of both the effigy and the inscription which, on the contrary, remained effective signifiers of social role for the whole period under study⁹⁹. Thus, the proportion of monuments with effigies stays the same throughout the century – that is both before and after Batalha - as does the proportion of tombs with inscriptions (just under two thirds in both cases), with, if anything, a slight increase after Batalha in the percentage of tombs displaying both signifying components simultaneously.

For its part, the half-cylinder shape replacing the effigy in the princes' monument must have really stretched the limits of what contemporary patrons could accept aesthetically or conceptually, as it was almost unanimously ignored in subsequent monuments. In fact, it was only used in two instances: the conjugal

⁹⁹ On the changing features of effigies of various social groups (royalty, nobility, jurists) from the 14th to the 15th century, see (Silva and Ramôa 2011)

monument of Lopo de Almeida and his wife Brites da Silva (fig. 53) and the double tomb of Rui Gomes de Alvarenga and Mécia de Mello Soares (fig. 54). In both of these instances, in any case, the absence of effigies is unsurprisingly made up for by identifying inscriptions.

Conversely, the number of monuments post-Batalha displaying neither effigy nor inscription is minimal, with only four specimens out of forty-eight listed in the corpus under study¹⁰⁰.

Social standing

A third idea that 15th century patrons were keen to convey in their monuments was their social standing. This was to a large extent tied in with the patron's role in society as has been explored in the previous point. But even within one and the same social group, say that made up of noblemen, members occupied different hierarchical places depending, for instance, on their wealth, prestige and royal favour. Throughout the 14th century, monuments in Portugal had resorted to various means to signify these nuances of social standing of their occupants. Once again, the effigy could play a major part in this through the refinement of its attributes, but wealth was also clearly expressed in the overall degree of elaboration and ornamentation that the patron could afford for his or her tomb, as well as in the quality of its material and execution.

As indicated before, the effigy was intended to represent first and foremost the role that the deceased had played in life. But while most elements in it followed a conventional code that allowed for the reading of such role, there was still a considerable margin for the depicted figure to convey a greater or lesser degree of wealth through, for example, the representation of rich clothing or expensive accessories and jewellery items. Moreover, the accurate carving of such details

¹⁰⁰ One of these is a rather humble tomb that remains unidentified, in Batalha, thought to house the remains of one of prince Henrique's servants. Of the other three, one is the rather peculiar monument built *a posteriori* for Gonçalo Oveques, already mentioned in the section on lineage; another is the tomb-chest of prince João, son of king Afonso V who died in his infancy, now located in the Unfinished Chapels at Batalha; and the last and maybe more unexpected in its signifying austerity is that of Afonso de Albuquerque, a major figure in the history of Portugal (d. 1515) whose remains were placed in a chest marked only with heraldry in Lisbon's Graça convent.

required the hand of a more skilled, and therefore more costly, stonemason, so the general degree of detail and elaborateness of the effigy and its attributes can be said to have worked as a signifier for social standing too. The same applies to the overall quality of execution and ornamentation of the tomb chest, as well as the material the monument was carved in.

However, unlike earlier 14th century monuments which often showed rather elaborate iconographic compositions on tomb chests, with the depiction of a great many figures – indicating a costly commission – late 14th and early 15th century tombs had actually shifted towards simpler choices when it came to tomb chest decoration, which was often limited to coats of arms over a plain background, leaving mostly the effigy as the conveyor of messages on social standing.

This changed radically at Batalha. As the princes' tombs were deprived of effigies, their occupant's high social standing had to find other avenues of expression. And it did so through sheer grandness, through the skilfully carved ornamentation that covers and frames the monument: the elaborate and decorative combination of heraldry and badges on the front slab, flanked by blind tracery panels; the plant-based motifs that line the inner and outer edges of the pointed recess arches; and more significantly, the imposing rectangular structures of blind tracery that enclose the recesses, a complete novelty in Portugal at the time. All of these signs of wealth and social status were added to, in the princes' monument, by the depiction of personal badges. As discussed in section 2b, aside from the specific, and often undecipherable message that badges were meant to communicate, their mere presence had a meaning of its own: it signalled that the deceased had been a high-born person, familiar with sophisticated court culture.

Now, unlike the two previous points – lineage and role in society – where the proposals brought in at Batalha did not significantly alter contemporary and subsequent commemorative practice, the devices used on the princes' monument to signify social standing had a major effect on the ensuing production. This does not mean that later patrons neglected the meaning-bearing properties of effigies; these continued to be used to great effect to convey the social standing of the deceased through accessories indicative of wealth. But taking a leaf from the Avis book, now

patrons had a wider range of options at their disposal to effectively 'show off' their status.

The most highly positioned nobility in the kingdom did not hesitate to emulate and even outdo the Avis princes' monument, by commissioning grand wall-mounted compositions for themselves. The wish to project their status while visually associating themselves to the Avis royals becomes evident in specimens such as Lopo de Almeida's conjugal tomb (fig. 53), and that of his father Diogo Fernandes de Almeida (fig. 55), as well as in the monument of Duarte de Meneses (fig. 56), all erected in the second half of the 15th century. Of all the contemporary commemorative production, the Almeida monuments are those that more faithfully follow the new aesthetics introduced at Batalha, down to the use of half-cylinder markers instead of effigies in Lopo's case. It is interesting to note, however, that their faithfulness stops short of also omitting an inscription, which features prominently on the front slab of both monuments.

Not all patrons could afford to go for such sumptuousness. But the new idea of raising the profile of a tomb – and therefore of its occupant – by enclosing it in one form or another of pseudo-architectural framing was keenly taken up by wealthy patrons. It was thus adopted in fifteen of the forty-eight monuments under study, albeit with far more modest means in some cases, such as the father and son tombs of Fernando and Diogo de Castro (fig. 57).

Even for those who did not have access to an elaborately carved arcosolium to have themselves buried within the walls of a chapel, the Avis princes' monument offered other status-signalling devices from which to draw inspiration. Heavy ornamentation and the use of personal badges were two signifiers of social standing that were readily embraced by contemporary patrons. More or less skilfully carved (according to the quality of execution that the patron could afford) a wealth of decorative motifs begin to proliferate on tomb chests alongside personal badges, the new markers for cultural sophistication. These had originally been the reserve of princes and the highest nobility, often related to the royal family, but were later gradually adopted with aspirational purposes by the lower nobility.

The rather austere aesthetics of early 15th century monuments was thus abandoned by most patrons wishing to denote their social standing through the use of

highly ornamental compositions based on plant motifs (mostly, but not exclusively, as animals also began to creep in) and personal badges (featured in twenty-six, and twenty-three monuments, respectively, out of forty-two).

Individual identity

One of the most reliable means of effectively identifying for posterity the occupant of a monument at the turn of the 15th century in Portugal was textual, that is, through an inscription that was carved either on an adjacent wall-mounted slab or on the monument itself. Given the vicissitudes to which monuments have been subjected over time it is difficult to quantify this inscription-carving practice, as many specimens have been moved from their original location, where they may have left a wall inscription behind. Judging from the inventory data, at any rate, inscriptions seem to have been a fairly common identifying device. But they were not universal; a number of patrons at the time do not seem to have felt the need to include this kind of textual signifier in their commemorative programmes, which suggests that they must have been confident that their identity would be preserved by other means.

In effect, the memory of the individual for whose soul prayers were to be said, could alternatively be carried by a combination of heraldry, effigy and written records. Of the eleven specimens in the inventory that preceded the Batalha monuments, only four have no inscriptions. All four, however, do feature coats of arms. Their occupants must have been confident that the mere presence of their sepulchre, recognisable by lineage, in a religious house which had benefited from their patronage – as registered in official records – would suffice for their identity to be remembered without recourse to textual aids on the tomb.

This assumption may have been over-confident. In fact, it was not unusual for inscriptions to be added nonetheless at a later time, to ensure prayers were still being said for the appropriate patron even after their memory had begun to fade.

As already pointed out in section 2b, the 15th century witnessed a proliferation of identifying inscriptions, with increasing laudatory purposes, now often directly incised on the monument. This signals a growing preoccupation with individual

identification, and even characterisation¹⁰¹, which one would expect to have been continued or even reinforced at Batalha. And it was, but only, as we have seen, on the monarchs' tomb. In contrast to this, and in a deliberate attempt to mark the princes as subordinate to the king, Duarte omitted from their monument any explicit reference to their identities. Instead, the princes' tombs had to rely on a complex, individualised heraldic code in order to convey the identity of their occupants, and on badges in order to communicate some of their personal traits. The individual identity of the four princes resting in otherwise identical tombs would have consequently only been recognisable to those familiarised with the cryptic sign system that covers their front slabs.

Though contemporary nobility would have been among those capable of reading these signs, it seems as though at a time of growing self-awareness, the inscription-less proposal at Batalha proved to be too erudite even for this social group. Indeed, with a number of exceptions¹⁰², most subsequent patrons opted for a richer and more explicit identification system for their own tombs: adding the new identity-signifiers introduced at Batalha (ancillary heraldry and personal badges) to a long-standing and proven means of identification, inscriptions.

Finally, it is worth noting that despite the development of portraiture generally in Europe, and despite the increasing realism displayed by commemorative effigies, in 15th century Portugal these were only just beginning to seek a physiognomically truthful rendition of patrons, and so their role as individual identifiers through physical traits must be considered with caution.

¹⁰¹ Examples of the growing detail contained in inscriptions in the first decades of the 15th century are provided by the monuments of João das Regras (c. 1404) whose inscription specifies his identity and date of death, but also indicates that he was a knight, a jurist, a close advisor to king João I and founder of the monastery housing his tomb; and that of Fernão Rodrigues Sequeira (c. 1430) whose wall-mounted inscription gives his name and rank, and goes on to state that he was raised by king João I to whom he succeeded in the post of Master of the Order of Avis after his accession to the throne.

¹⁰² In the corpus under study only ten out of forty-eight monuments built after the princes' carry no visible inscription. All of them, however, display heraldic markers. In at least one case (Isabel of Urgell, wife of prince Pedro) the heraldry is so individualised and exclusive that it would have sufficed to identify the occupant. Five of the inscription-less monuments also feature personal badges while the remaining five would have relied on the aforementioned combination of heraldry, effigy and written records for their identification.

Piety

A person's piety was also a key idea that needed to find expression in their monument. Unlike the other signifiers covered so far – those for lineage, role in society, social standing and individual identity – piety markers can be seen as contributing to both the commemorative and the funerary role of monuments; they helped fashion an image of the deceased as a committed Christian who had led a virtuous life devoted to God, which was both the image that patrons wished to perpetuate of themselves and that which would make them seem deserving of the prayers of the living for the salvation of their souls.

Earlier on, this purpose had been amply achieved with the depiction of a range of religious characters and biblical episodes on tomb chests. By the late 14th century, however, the growing trend towards heraldry-only chest decoration left only the effigy as a vehicle for the expression of piety. Noblewomen, for example, could have themselves represented clad in religious habit and/or holding an open book of prayers. Noblemen, for their part, could be represented with their hands together in a gesture of prayer.

At Batalha, however, the omission of effigies and the choice of heraldry and emblematics as exclusive markers on the tomb chests leaves little room for the explicit expression of the princes' piety. As we have seen in Section 2c, though, the idea of piety is actually there, but just like those of 'role in society' and 'individual identity' it is implicit in the heraldry and personal badges. Moreover, the princes' monument was part of a broader programme that included the altars on the East wall recesses, complete with all the conventional iconography (images of Christ and saints) that gave the princes and unequivocal mantle of piety.

Once again, the signifying mechanisms at Batalha – in this case for the idea of piety – proved to be too cryptic for the majority of patrons subsequently commissioning monuments for themselves or their relatives. Moreover, most of them could not rely on private altars to visually express their devotion. So, while heraldry and personal badges were duly incorporated as new piety markers, the burden of signifying the deceased's religious compliance continued to fall on the effigy. And in

line with common practice during the earlier part of the century, the majority of monuments (at least twenty-nine out of forty-two) produced after Batalha continued to be devoid of religious characters.

However, in a significant number of cases (thirteen out of forty-two) the expression of piety is aided by the reappearance of some traditional iconography and the appearance of new spiritual themes. In rare cases, such as the tombs of Fernão Gomes de Gois, (fig. 58), and bishop Fernando de Brito Colaço (fig. 59) monuments could still adopt compositions that were a complete throwback to mid-14th century iconographical programmes. In others, patrons now took advantage of the new pseudo-architectural framing of the tomb to restore religious figures to commemorative programmes.

Thus, the more traditional iconographic choices – Christ and saintly figures – found their way to the back of the tomb recess or to the top of its arch, as well as being placed on small side niches, in compositions that give these monumental framings the look of retables (see for example the tombs of Duarte de Meneses, fig. 56, the twin monument of Diogo and Lourenço da Silva, fig. 60, and the joint sepulchre of João Afonso and his wife Iria Afonso, fig. 61 and fig. 62). Less grand commemorative programmes, without the benefit of such ambitious architectural monumentalisation, could also rely on new signifiers of piety brought about by the process of heraldry sacralisation described in section 2c. An illustrative example of this phenomenon is provided by the already mentioned tomb of Rui Gomes de Alvarenga and Mécia de Mello Soares (fig. 54), entirely decorated by heraldry and personal emblems, in which one of the coats of arms carries the first sentence of the Hail Mary incised on its border (fig. 63). Also as part of this process, coats of arms were now occasionally supported by religious or angelic figures, as is the case in the joint tomb-chest of Rui Vasques Ribeiro and Violanta de Sousa (fig. 64) and that of João de Albuquerque (fig. 65).

Kinship

A final trait of great interest in some of the monuments produced after Batalha, is their clear intent to signify immediate family relations by means of formal uniformity in the design of monuments for different members of the same family. The impact of the princes' monument in this respect seems unequivocal. As discussed in section 2d, in the conception of his brothers' tombs king Duarte had made a point of presenting them as equal brothers submitted to their parents; a model royal family, an example for the nobility and the whole kingdom to follow. To this effect, and for the first time in Portugal, four members of the same family (in this case, the royal family) were placed in largely matching tombs.

The concept of matching tombs was not entirely new at the time; the 14th century offers some examples of monuments that were clearly designed as a pair for married couples¹⁰³. The princes monument at Batalha, however, takes this concept further by introducing two new elements into it: a greater, more immediately visible degree of uniformity, achieved through the use of identical pseudo-architectural structures framing the various tombs; and the possibility of thus displaying familial relationships other than conjugal.

Whether or not Duarte's moralizing campaign actually bore fruit in the behaviour of the kingdom's noble families, it seems undeniable that at least *in form* the emphasis on family did catch on to a certain extent in subsequent commemorative production. We are not talking here about displaying family as lineage - a signifying process already well served, as discussed, by heraldry - but rather about the visual expression of immediate family links – conjugal, but now also paternal-filial and fraternal – through the use of matching sepulchres.

This new development took shape in a number of monuments (twelve out of forty-eight) that house pairs of members of the same family. Two of these pairs of monuments were made for married couples: Rui Gomes de Alvarenga and Mécia de Mello Soares (fig. 54); and João Fernandes Cabral and Joana de Castro (fig. 66). An

¹⁰³ See those of Lopo Fernandes Pacheco and Maria de Vilalobos, in Lisbon's Cathedral; Domingo Joanes and Domingas Sabachais in Capela dos Ferreiros, Oliveira do Hospital parish church; and king Pedro and Inês de Castro, in Alcobaça Monastery.

additional three were designed for father-and-son pairs: the already mentioned Diogo Fernandes de Almeida and Lopo de Almeida (fig. 67); Fernando de Castro and Diogo de Castro (fig. 57); and Diogo da Silva and Lourenço da Silva (fig. 60). The last pair of the list is unique in that it contains the remains of two brothers (João and Martim de Océm, (fig. 68)¹⁰⁴.

Finally, the conjugal theme¹⁰⁵ found a further iconographic model in the joint chest with husband-and-wife effigies that was commissioned by king João for his dynastic chapel. This particular composition was used in a further four monuments, including that of king Duarte and Leonor of Aragon (of which only the original effigies survive) in the Unfinished Chapels, Batalha; Pedro de Meneses and Beatriz Coutinho (c. 1450) at Nossa Senhora da Oliveira collegiate church, Guimarães; Fernando de Meneses and Brites de Andrade, counts of Cantanhede, (c. 1440) at S. Clara church, Vila do Conde; and Pedro de Meneses and Beatriz Coutinho, counts of Vila-Real (1440-1450) at Graça church.

Summary of findings

The findings of this section of the dissertation are summarised in Table 1 below. For each one of the concepts discussed as ideas that monuments would have sought to convey – lineage, role in society, social standing, individual identity (and characterisation), piety and kinship – the table lists the signifying elements used in tombs preceding the Avis princes' monument (column 1), at Batalha (column 2), and in later monuments (column 3).

¹⁰⁴ The dating of this last pair of monuments is not conclusive. It has been variously dated to 1422 (Santos 1948, 1:41), 1435 (Goulão 2009, 4:100), and early 1440s (David 1989, 41). Given that it is the only extant example of matching tombs for brothers, other than that of the Avis princes, a more precise dating might clarify whether this monument is inspired by that of the princes or, on the contrary, it precedes it, therefore raising the possibility that it might have acted as a source of inspiration for king Duarte's programme.

¹⁰⁵ I am excluding here those monuments that house a married couple, such as that of Rui Vasques Ribeiro and Violante de Sousa (Figueiró dos Vinhos parish church) in what appears to be a single occupant tomb, with the presence of the two deceased expressed, at most, through heraldry.

Table 1: signifiers and meanings before, on, and after the princes' monument

Meaning conveyed	(1) Signifiers in preceding monuments	(2) Signifiers in Avis princes' monument	(3) Signifiers in later monuments
Lineage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lineage heraldry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lineage heraldry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lineage heraldry
Role in society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effigy • Inscription 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Additional heraldry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effigy • Inscription • Additional heraldry
Social standing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effigy costume and other attributes • Overall degree of ornamentation • Quality of carving and material 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectural monumentalisation • Overall degree of ornamentation • Quality of carving and material • Badges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectural monumentalisation • Effigy costume and other attributes • Overall degree of ornamentation • Quality of carving and material • Badges
Individual identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inscription • Heraldry (partial identifier) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ancillary heraldry & badges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inscription • Ancillary heraldry & badges • Individual heraldry
Piety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effigy costume and other attributes • Religious iconography (uncommon) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Badges • Additional heraldry (military orders) • Altars 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effigy costume and other attributes • Religious iconography • Badges • Additional heraldry (military orders) • Profane/spiritual figures
Kinship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Matching conjugal tombs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Matching tombs other than conjugal • (Joint conjugal tomb for the monarchs) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Matching conjugal tombs • Joint conjugal tombs • Matching tombs other than conjugal

Organised in table form, the combinations of meaning-bearing components reveal a fairly consistent pattern. Leaving aside the idea of lineage – where the well-established code of heraldry remained effective and stable throughout – column 3 tends to bring together, for each one of these concepts, all the signifiers in column 1 and all those in column 2. Which effectively means that patrons ordering their monuments after the princes' were keen to adopt the novelties brought in by the Avis royals, but rather than using them on their own, they added them instead to the variety of signifying mechanisms that conventional commemorative practice put at their disposal. Thus, 15th century monumental production post-Batalha is characterized by its eclecticism (David 1989, 260): patrons resorted to a combination of increasingly elaborate architectural framings and novel emblematic displays, with more traditional devices such as inscriptions and richly characterized effigies, but also returned their attention to religious iconography, while incorporating new profane-looking but spiritually-inspired themes.

4 – From royal pantheon to national monument: the chapel through the ages

On the relevance of reception history

In their 1991 article, *Semiotics and Art History*, Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson addressed, among others, the issue of the reception of works of art, as well as the relevance of its study to art history (Bal and Bryson 1991). Based on Roland Barthes' enunciation that semiotics does not intend to attribute a definite meaning to a particular work, but rather determine the logic according to which meanings are engendered (Barthes 2007, 31), Bal and Bryson proceeded to explore the ways in which meaning-attribution is conditioned by the historical context. In this sense, they argued that "since readers and viewers bring to the images their own cultural baggage, there can be no such thing as a fixed, predetermined, or unified meaning" (Bal and Bryson 1991, 207). On the contrary, they contended that the meaning of any given work of art could vary subject to the context of its reception at different times in its history. This led the authors to claim that "what art historians are bound to examine, whether they like it or not, is the work as effect and affect, not only as a neatly remote product of an age long gone" (Bal and Bryson 1991, 175).

The first three chapters of this dissertation have done just the latter, examining the Avis princes' monument and the King's Chapel at Batalha as a 'neatly remote product of an age long gone', that is, the late medieval world in Portugal. Indeed, in order to offer a plausible interpretation of the monument, it was essential to place it within the time that brought it into existence. Why would that not be enough? How are relevant to art history any other meanings of the monument or the chapel that might have been read at a later time?

This is precisely the kind of question that was posed to Bal and Bryson in a heated response to their article by Francis H. Dowley (Wolf et al. 1992). Dowley counter-argued that "if a work of art arouses different responses from different viewers at different times, it must have some lasting identity of its own. Even at the same time and the same circumstances, a work of art must have an independent identity, if it is the object of conflicting responses". Based on the existence of this

independent identity, Dowley then questioned the need for, or the relevance of considering an object's multiple readings as in any way constituents of the object. To illustrate his point, he used the example of Giorgione's *Tempesta* (1506-1508), a painting well known for having given rise to a long range of interpretive responses, and asked whether it consisted only of its many interpretations, whether its composition and colours had changed with every new interpretation of it (Wolf et al. 1992, 526).

Bal's reply to these questions highlighted that the semiotic approach proposed, the history of an artwork's reception, did not exclude or replace other art historical methodological approaches to it, but rather opened up new ways of looking at it (Wolf et al. 1992, 528). In other words, a work did *not* consist only of its many interpretations, but these are present in the object, and they should also matter to the art historian .

It is worth considering how this would apply to the specific case of the King's Chapel at Batalha. Having been created in the 15th century with the aim of conveying very specific political messages, the chapel and its tombs are still with us. Their permanence through time was, in fact, very much part of their original intent; a commemorative monument is, by definition, an object whose specific purpose is to perpetuate a particular image, a particular message, ideally forever. By having survived through to the 21st century, then, this particular artistic object can be said to have succeeded in its intent. The chapel is there today and it certainly means something for the contemporary viewer. But can the original messages be expected to have carried through almost six hundred years intact? Not really. As pointed out by Bal and Bryson "once launched into the world, the work of art is subject to all of the vicissitudes of reception" (p. 179). Indeed, while most viewers today might recognise an overall dynastic sense for the chapel, as intended by its initial patron, king João I, the more elaborate propaganda message created for it by his successor, king Duarte - the portrayal of an exemplary royal family - seems to have been lost in time, as it was never referred to in any subsequent literature. Conversely, however, other meanings have been ascribed to the chapel by viewers at different times in its history, as we shall see in the following pages.

Bal argues the relevance of studying these further interpretations of a work of art, and the contextual factors that intervene in their generation, because “second meanings are developed out of first, previous meanings, and are therefore not vague, not arbitrary, and not less important than first interpretations”; and because given the impossibility to consider any interpretation ‘exhaustive’, ‘certain’ or ‘objective’, that first interpretation cannot be assumed to be ‘the right one’, or the only relevant one (Wolf et al. 1992, 529). Back to Batalha, my interpretation of the meanings of the chapel as intended by its original patron and his successor, does not presume to exhaust all of this object’s signifying potential. On the contrary, the subsequent intervention on prince Henrique’s tomb illustrates how out of one of the intended original meanings – Duarte’s notion of an ideal royal family: brotherly equality and harmony, filial submission – developed a further message: Henrique’s ‘we are not all that equal, after all’.

Moreover, and this is a key aspect of my methodological justification for the purposes of this exercise, the final part of Dowley’s question to Bal and Bryson seems particularly pertinent here; in questioning the relevance of studying further attributed meanings, Dowley asked whether an artwork’s composition and colours change with every new interpretation of it. The answer, in the case of the King’s Chapel at Batalha, is undoubtedly affirmative; the general appearance of the chapel has been altered significantly over time on the back of its successive interpretations. None of these changes are random, they respond to different agents’ need to project their own perception of the object onto it, that is, to make the object fit their own understanding of it.

My purpose in this chapter will therefore be in line with a key text of art reception theory by Nikos Hadjinicolaou who argued the need to “put forth another conception that sees the work of art as a relationship ... between an object and all the ways it has been perceived through history down to the present day; ways of perceiving that have untiringly transformed the work in a thousand and one ways. The work of art we have before us is the history of its consumption which has been determined 'each time' by the aesthetic ideologies of each present, these being in turn conditioned by the ideologies of contemporary social groups” (Hadjinicolaou 1978,

12)¹⁰⁶. It follows that the more attention an object receives - the more it is looked at, written and talked about - the more it becomes subject to what Bal and Bryson call the “ineradicable fact of semiotic play” (Bal and Bryson 1991, 179). The pertinence of exploring an artwork’s reception history is therefore closely linked to that object’s degree of public exposure, especially when this results in the object’s elevation to a sort of ‘iconic’ status¹⁰⁷. This is very much the case at Batalha. The central place that this monastery occupies in Portuguese history has inevitably resulted in a myriad gazes being posed on it, reinterpreting it over and over, and thus turning it into a particularly suitable subject for this kind of analysis.

Consequently, even in a dissertation about a 15th century object, tracing at least a brief history of its later perception seems to be in order, if only to allow the contemporary viewer to connect what they see today with what has been presented earlier as its late medieval reality.

It is not, however, the purpose of this chapter to provide a thorough compilation of every visual and textual reference to Batalha that illustrates a different meaning given to it. Such an endeavour would be well beyond the scope of this study, and would merit a dissertation on its own. What is proposed here is rather an overview of the changing perception(s) of this particular artistic object and how these have been projected onto it, effectively shaping its physical appearance.

Though the work conducted so far in this dissertation has focused almost exclusively on the actual commemorative monument of the four Avis princes, this section will necessarily widen the scope to the whole of the chapel that houses it. And this for two reasons: it would be unmanageable to trace the history of the reception of the actual princes’ monument on its own, due to the scarcity of documented references to it; it would also be reductive given that the princes’ monument derives its meaning(s) from its interaction with the parental conjugal tomb at the centre of the chapel, and from its insertion in the pantheon itself.

¹⁰⁶ As quoted in Bal and Bryson (1991, 179).

¹⁰⁷ Such is the case, for example, of Velazquez’s *Las Meninas*; its various designations as a “theology of painting”, “culmination of modern illusionism”, and “masterpiece of painting and metapainting”, led art historian Fernando Marias to write a book, aptly entitled *Other Meninas*, solely on the subject of this painting’s reception through time (Marias 2007).

This exercise will therefore consider the reception history of the entire chapel, rather than that of the Avis princes' monument by itself. At times, though, even this may not be enough, as most recorded interpretations, especially from the 19th century, refer to the monastery as a whole, rather than specifically to its royal pantheon. In such cases the perception of the chapel will have to be inferred, as needed, from the understanding of the overall monastery of which the royal pantheon constitutes, to a large extent, the *raison d'être*.

A final note on the chronological scope of this exercise. The process of semiotic play referred to above is ongoing and its study would require considering the perception of the object all the way to the present. However, given the operative limitations also mentioned before, the analysis conducted here ends at the very beginning of the 20th century. This cut-off point has been decided on as the time by which the most significant meaning-changes had already taken place that would define, by and large, subsequent 20th century perceptions as well as the physical appearance of the monument as we know it today¹⁰⁸.

The royal pantheon, as seen in the 15th century

The chapel came into existence with a very clear intended meaning given to it by its patron, king João I. The first Avis monarch wished to build a sumptuous royal pantheon as a *symbol of power and legitimacy of the dynasty*¹⁰⁹ he had founded. He ordered its construction adjacent to the nave of the monastery he had also commissioned to *commemorate his victory* in the decisive battle of Aljubarrota that had put him on the throne. In order to visually express the continuity of the dynasty, João I had envisioned himself surrounded in his final resting place by the monuments

¹⁰⁸ This is by no means to say that the process of reinterpretation ended at the time stated. A study of 20th century perceptions of Batalha would be of great interest, considering its intertwined art-historical and political dimensions, in particular at a time like that of the Estado Novo regime. In this regard, it is worth noting for example the nationalist-religious exaltation of the chapel as “relicário sagrado onde se conserva a memória imperecível da independência da Pátria e da integridade do território português” (Soares 1959, intro.), or the 1960 initiatives to commemorate prince Henrique as a national hero on the 500th anniversary of his death, which resulted in the placing of an additional inscription in his tomb recess.

¹⁰⁹ Italics will be used in this chapter as a way to highlight the various meanings intended for, or attributed to the royal chapel over time.

of succeeding Avis kings as well as non-reigning descendants. This dynastic commemoration purpose would have effectively made the chapel a kind of ‘work in progress’, changing with the addition of every new monument which would not have had restrictions as to its appearance, none at least imposed by the king himself; it would have been an open-ended process which could have lasted as long as the dynasty itself, only limited in every instance by the remaining available space.

This intended sense of dynastic continuity was cut short after João I’s death when his immediate successor, king Duarte, chose to be buried elsewhere in the monastery, in a pantheon of his own. Duarte had other purposes in mind for the chapel; his political programme required the elevation of king João to a mythical status, and the chapel was an ideal vehicle to convey such a message. As discussed in Chapter 1, by ordering a carefully thought out collective monument for his four brothers (king João’s non-reigning sons) he wished to project a sense of family harmony - brotherly equality and filial submission - that reflected well on their father. The chapel thus presented the *royal family as the ideal* that the whole kingdom, and the nobility most of all, should strive to achieve. The effectiveness of king Duarte’s ambitious propaganda campaign – which included several other initiatives besides the chapel - succeeded in wrapping the memory of king João in a mantle of near-sanctity¹¹⁰. Designed around a virtually holy figure, therefore, the chapel effectively turned into something akin to a *shrine to a model monarch* and his exemplary family.

Duarte’s intended message of unity and equality among the four princes was, nevertheless, equally short-lived. Prince Henrique must not have been in agreement with the degree of self-effacement imposed by the uniformising design. On the contrary, he wished to set himself apart from his brothers and did so by ordering, for his own tomb only, a recumbent effigy and an inscription that brought it visually closer to king João’s own monument. For prince Henrique, therefore, the chapel may have meant everything that king João and king Duarte envisaged for it, but it was also the

¹¹⁰ The perception of king João I as a saintly figure early on after his death is confirmed by the ‘Wax miracle’ recorded in 1437. According to formal declaration by the Archbishop of Lisbon, during the memorial of the third anniversary of the king’s death, the lit candles did not burn down but grew instead, in what was seen as a sign of divine confirmation that the monarch’s soul had entered heaven. The miracle was attributed to God but managed to raise João I’s status from hero to saint (Sousa 1984, 459).

setting for his own aggrandisement, and he introduced the necessary alterations to suit his discourse.

Independently of the various perceptions already discussed, the chapel was from the beginning, to all effects and purposes, *a royal pantheon*. As such, it was *a place of worship and prayer* for the salvation of its occupants' souls, and also *a place of regal remembrance*, all of it bathed in late medieval aesthetics. This translated into a chapel that looked very different from its current appearance. The site was awash with colour: religious paintings and sculpture on the altars since gone, rich textiles and precious liturgical implements, all of it lit through vibrantly coloured stained-glass windows by day, and by candlelight at night, helped build a profoundly reverent and spiritual atmosphere.

A place where the memory of certain Portuguese royals was honoured and where prayers were said for their souls: this was to be the underlying meaning of the chapel for the following centuries. But not the only one. When one of its occupants, prince Fernando, died in Fez at the hands of his Moorish captors, he came to be seen, almost instantly, as a Christian martyr¹¹¹. For his part, prince Henrique contributed to this perception of his younger brother by ordering a triptych for his own altar which featured prince Fernando in chains, flanked by small scale representations of episodes of his captivity¹¹². Thus, where the remaining princes had ordered retables for their altars depicting holy figures of their special devotion, prince Henrique commissioned an image of Fernando and gave it pride of place on his altar, effectively treating the youngest Avis prince as a saint himself. As discussed below, this celebration of Fernando, the Holy Prince, would take hold¹¹³ and it would also effect subtle changes to the chapel and its meaning.

¹¹¹ A few years after prince Fernando's death, his personal secretary writes an account of the prince's life and feats which already includes mentions of miracles performed by his intercession (Álvares 1960).

¹¹² This triptych can be seen at Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 1877 Pint.

¹¹³ On the cult to prince Fernando, the Holy Prince, see (Cristino 1991).

16th to 18th centuries

In the early 16th century, queen Leonor, widowed wife of king João II commissioned a renowned artist, Cristóvão de Figueiredo, to paint a retable for prince Fernando's altar¹¹⁴. This particular piece did not go as far as portraying the prince as the main figure – the central panel was taken up by a depiction of the Assumption of Our Lady – but episodes of his captivity once again adorned the side panels, giving the prince a saintly status by association. The belief in the prince's holiness, fostered here at the highest level through iconic commissions by prince Henrique and queen Leonor, gave rise to a lasting unofficial cult among all social groups. It is difficult to pinpoint when exactly it began, but the cult was still very much in force in the early 17th century. As related by an anonymous author, prince Fernando "is considered a saint, and they put beads through a hole in his tomb to touch his bones, and it is believed that, because of his merits, God makes miracles through him" (*O Couseiro, Ou Memórias Do Bispado de Leiria* 1868, 2)¹¹⁵.

The hole in Fernando's tomb is still visible in the original frontal slab, confirming yet a new layer of meaning which was given to the chapel for well over a hundred years: a *place of popular veneration for a particular member of the Illustrious Generation whose tomb acquired the miracle-working properties of a reliquary*.

And this may well have been the overriding perception of the chapel for many of its visitors at the time, especially those from social strata less sensitive to the subtleties of royal political propaganda. A propaganda agenda in which, at any rate, the Batalha monastery began playing a diminishing role. Indeed, due to changing priorities in representational patronage, from the early 16th century Batalha started

¹¹⁴ This retable was lost. See (Baião 1921) for the documentation regarding its commission, contains a further document which seems to suggest that the retable was meant to be placed on the tomb itself, rather than on the altar as part of the prince's chantry, but subsequent descriptions of the chapel only refer to paintings on the altars, not on the tombs. See, for example (Sousa 1868, 2:273–274).

¹¹⁵ Translated from "É tido por santo, e com uma cana tocam contas, por um boraco, na sua sepulture e ossada, e se crê que faz Deus, por seus merecimentos, milagres". The text goes on to describe how the holy prince was the subject of numerous religious feasts until they were banned by Martim Afonso Mexia (bishop of Leiria, 1619-1623) on account of Fernando's lack of official beatification or canonisation. This, however, did not stop the dominican friars from including him, every year, in the eight-day Feast of the Saints.

falling out of favour among Portuguese kings, in the process losing some of its shine as a dynastic monument.

With the unexpected arrival of king Manuel to the throne in 1495 from a secondary branch of the Avis family tree (Beja), the need to legitimise his position led him to commission a new Hieronymite monastery in Belém, just outside Lisbon, that he would come to use for his own pantheon. The kingdom's masons were summoned to Belém and to other new projects, and work being carried out at the time in Batalha slowed to a halt, as attested by the fittingly called Unfinished Chapels that are the incomplete pantheon of king Duarte.

By 1580 the Avis-Beja bloodline had been replaced on the throne by the Spanish Habsburgs, in turn ousted in 1640 by the Portuguese Braganças. In these circumstances, the dynastic significance of Batalha, and of its first royal pantheon, was dimmed. This is not to say that monarchs from these successive dynasties completely neglected the monastery. On the contrary, royal protection to the monastery can be considered to have been consistent, even under the Spanish Habsburgs (Gomes 1997, 215–217), but clearly insufficient. Overall, the Avis-Beja, Habsburg and Bragança monarchs were aware of the dynastic significance of Batalha, they appreciated its magnificence and showed a will – in various degrees – to do something about its increasingly precarious state¹¹⁶. However, they also had other, more pressing representational and political priorities to fund elsewhere in the kingdom¹¹⁷, and the

¹¹⁶ Illustrative of this awareness are king João IV's words on the occasion of his 1653 visit to the monastery, which he finds in a state of ruin, and fears irreparable damages unless something can be done about it. Noting that "sendo muito para sentir que um edificio tão magnifico, deposito dos corpos de tantos e tão grandes reis e seus Filhos, se possa arruinar de todo por falta que ainda agora poderá ter remédio" he proceeds to stipulate a yearly sum of one thousand *cruzados* until 1659 for necessary works (Gomes 1997, 217). The insufficiency of this funding is, in turn, illustrated by his successor's observation, only a few years later, in 1665, that the tombs of the kings and princes were in an "indecent" state, and that the friars had to perform their funerary services with the poorest of ornaments. Afonso VI therefore ordered a 200,000 *réis* grant over four years to help with repairs (Gomes 1997, 264).

¹¹⁷ The role of the Dominican community as keepers of the Avis memory, is undermined, for example, by the Avis-Beja king João III's grievous demand of the sale of a large part of the monastery's silver in order to fund his defensive campaigns of the North African possessions, in 1539-40 (Gomes 1997, 231). The same king orders the transfer of highly skilled masons who were still working at Batalha, presumably on the Unfinished Chapels, to another site, the Convent of Christ in Tomar, whose ambitious programme of refurbishment and enlargement he personally patronised (Gomes 1997, 215). Other examples of major building projects that would monopolise successive kings' attention and resources include the convent of S. Vicente de Fora (under the Habsburg Filipe I) and the Mafra Convent (under the Bragança João V).

upkeep of the Batalha monastery, let alone its further embellishment, inevitably took second place.

Thus the job of keeping the Avis dynastic memory alive and ensuring the salvation of its members' souls fell largely on the Dominican community of the Batalha monastery. In 1623, one of its friars, Luís de Sousa, took it upon himself to restore the glory of the monastery by writing a detailed account of its foundation and history, exalting the memory and virtues of the illustrious royals there interred, and singing the praises of its buildings, which he described in great detail (Sousa 1868, 2:259–335). It was an attempt to bring Santa Maria da Vitória back to fore, which led Sousa to write: “Many convents are distinguished and famous for having the tombs of Kings, but for having holy Kings and Princes there are very few like Batalha, where we have so many, that we can call it a *sacrarium of royal holiness*”¹¹⁸. Sousa then proceeds to relate the miracles performed not just by the Holy Prince Fernando, but by several other members of the dynasty, most notably king João I, thus reinforcing the thaumaturgical dimension of the monastery. This new layer of meaning attributed to Batalha by the Dominican community does not seem to have operated further physical changes in the chapel, at least none that are recorded. In any case, the importance of Sousa's writings on the monastery cannot be overstated, as they would play a central role in its ‘rediscovery’ in the late 18th century. Additionally, in Sousa's account the term ‘founder’ already appears associated to the name of the royal pantheon which would, in time, become known as the Founder's Chapel¹¹⁹.

However, it is not only the royal and Dominican perception of Batalha that defines it. During the long period of progressive decadence just described, between the early 16th century and the late 18th century, the monastery was seen and experienced by other people who did not necessarily leave a written record of what it meant to them. It has already been discussed how, for a considerable number of viewers, the chapel became a place of miracle-working properties centred mostly, but

¹¹⁸ Translated from “Muitos Conventos ha insignes, e famosos por sepulturas de Reis, mas por Reis, e Principes santos ha mui pouco como este da Batalha, onde temos tantos, que o podemos chamar sacrario de santidade Real” (Sousa 1866, 2:328).

¹¹⁹ Sousa entitles chapter XV thus: “Descreve-se a Capella particular, em que el-Rei jaz, e que pera si escolheo como fundador” (Sousa 1866, 2:267)

not exclusively, around prince Fernando's reliquary-tomb, at least until the early 17th century. Throughout this period, however, a radically different perception of the monastery is offered by other, indirect sources.

In 1611, 1784 and 1796 there are records of regulations being passed in Batalha dictating penalties of prison and fines for damages caused to the monastery's stained-glass windows by people hunting birds perched on it¹²⁰. The repetitive nature of these regulations suggests that this was a common practice for at least the 17th and 18th centuries. The awe and respect that the imposing building of Batalha was meant to inspire on the kingdom's subjects seems to have been lost on people who may have had in these small birds a key source of protein. In these circumstances, the political propaganda messages and the architectural magnificence of the monastery failed to inspire the desired degree of reverence among deprived locals who appear to have treated it, instead, as a *convenient hunting ground*.

Even more revealing of popular feeling towards the monastery by some of the inhabitants of the small town of Batalha, is a 1791 regulation dictating penalties for vandalism against the building¹²¹. Here it was not a case of locals hunting for food, but rather of young people intentionally damaging the monastery under what is described as parental indifference. Rather than fostering respect, the magnificence of the building may have been felt by disaffected locals as illustrative of the social gap between the Dominican community and the very modest town surrounding it. At a time of growing hostility towards religious orders, these actions may have been an expression of some of the locals' perception of the monastery as a *symbol of church privileges to rebel against*.

Almost simultaneously, the arrival of a foreign visitor to Batalha would give rise to a completely different perception of the monastery. The Gothic revival was gaining momentum in England. One of the institutions behind it, the London-based Society of

¹²⁰ Arquivo Distrital de Leiria – *Fundo Monástico: Batalha*, 19-C/8 [No. 79], 1611 Apr. 17; Arquivo Distrital de Leiria – *Fundo Monástico: Batalha*, 19-C/8, doc. Avulso não numerado, 1784 Dec. 22; both transcribed in Gomes (1997, 218–222). This author also points out the existence of a similar regulation issued by king Manuel in the early 16th century, which indicates that the practice was in fact much older, but the actual reference of such a document is not given and has therefore not been consulted for the purposes of this chapter.

¹²¹ Arquivo Distrital de Leiria – *Fundo Monástico: Batalha*, 19-C/9 [No. 14], 1791, May to Jul. 4, transcribed in Gomes (1997, 223–226).

Antiquaries, was keen to promote the study of its most relevant architectural specimens both at home and abroad. As part of this endeavour, James Murphy was sent to Batalha in 1789 on a data collecting and drawing mission. Highly appreciative of the artistic value of the monastery, Murphy declared that “the excellence of its architecture justly entitles it to rank with the most celebrated Gothic edifices of Europe”¹²² (Murphy 1795, preface).

Aside from the various meanings already discussed, Batalha now gained a new relevance as an *object of great art-historical interest*. Murphy’s work was originally published in instalments between 1792 and 1795, under the title *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha*, and his view of the monastery was amply divulged among the European elites¹²³.

This foreign positive perception of the monument may have struck a chord with the Portuguese elites too, but in a context of generalised crisis it did not have any immediate effect as to the state of disrepair of the monastery. It must, however, started to wake up the country to the value of the monastery, an awareness which would, in time, have a major effect in the mid-19th century decisions to initiate its restoration.

19th century

Before that, however, the monastery would still have to go through a traumatic period. As is the case throughout Europe, the Portuguese 19th century was marked by major political, ideological, military and social upheaval to which the Batalha monastery could scarcely stay immune.

In 1810, the monastic complex suffered grave damages at the hands of the Napoleonic armies. For these soldiers, the royal pantheon embodied everything – the absolute power of monarchy and Church - that the French Revolution had fought against. As such, apart from *a place to be looted*, it was also a *symbol of the Ancien*

¹²² In page i of the Preface to Murphy’s *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha* (...) as reproduced in Murphy (2008).

¹²³ On the dissemination of Murphy’s work and its impact on British gothic revival, see the most recent critical edition of *Plans, Elevations* (...), edited by Maria João Neto in Murphy (2008).

Regime to be destroyed. The actual damage inflicted is difficult to determine, as it was not accurately recorded at the time, but rather generally related to have been serious by later authors¹²⁴. It appears, in any case, that apart from the portable objects on the altars and cabinets, it was mostly the recumbent effigies that took the brunt of the soldiers' resentment.

Paradoxically, the destructive action of the Napoleonic troops actually reinforced the symbolic value of the monastery. An object that just over a decade before had been declared of great art-historical value by a foreign expert, had now suffered an attempted destruction at the hands of an equally foreign invader. A nationalist awareness of the need to safeguard it began to take shape.

This process of revalorisation becomes evident in the writings of friar Francisco de São Luís¹²⁵. Having read both Sousa's and Murphy's work on the monastery, São Luís also reiterated its architectural worth as well as its symbolic value as royal pantheon and monument to the Aljubarrota victory, but he did so in a more marked tone of patriotic and religious exaltation. Thus, he referred to king João I's intent as having been erecting this *monument in honour of religion, but also in honour of courage, independence and the glory of the monarchy* (Saraiva 1872, 279)¹²⁶. Subtle new layers of meaning were being added to the monastery as a whole, and to its royal pantheon by association. On the one hand, the mention of Portuguese independence was charged with the nationalist values so dear to the period, in particular in the wake of the Napoleonic invasions. On the other, the reference to the glory of the monarchy broadened what had been the Avis founding king's scope (the affirmation of his dynasty) to the monarchy as an institution.

In 1834, shortly after São Luís' stay at Batalha, and as a result of the liberal victory in the Portuguese civil war (1828-1834), a decree was passed ordering the dissolution of all religious orders. At Batalha, as in all monastic houses in the country, this decree translated, among others, in the loss of all assets. Portable assets, such as

¹²⁴ See, for example, (Saraiva 1872, 314).

¹²⁵ This Benedictine friar, who would later become Cardinal Patriarch Saraiva, wrote in 1827 during a forceful stay at Batalha where he had been banished to for his political views during a period of liberal revolution in Portugal.

¹²⁶ Translated from: "(...) tinha prometido levantar á honra da religião este monumento (que o havia de ser também do valor, da independencia, e da gloria da monarquia)"

all the artwork decorating the royal pantheon, were confiscated or looted (Neto 1997, 49–52). It is difficult to establish when this actually took effect in each monastic building, but a print by James Holland shows the chapel still in use as a place of worship and prayer as late as 1837 (fig. 69). This graphic record offers a precious testimony of a popular religious perception of the chapel by some of its most devout users: women. Women were part of what Bal and Bryson call “those swarms of viewers who left no trace of their ways and moments of seeing” because it was not up to them to “compose a treatise, publish pamphlets, or pen their memoirs” (Bal and Bryson 1991, 186); and yet, the women depicted here illustrate one of the most long-standing meanings of the chapel, already mentioned before, as a place of worship and prayer to the intercessory role of the royals there interred, that sacrary of royal holiness described over two centuries before by friar Luís de Sousa.

Now, however, with the dissolution of monastic orders, the religious dimension of Batalha was nearing its end. One of its latest expressions can be found in the writings of another author, Alexandre Herculano, who had a major impact on this object’s public perception. Through *A abóbada*, a story published in 1839 in a magazine with declared educational purposes¹²⁷, Herculano brought yet further values to the understanding of Batalha and its royal pantheon. Aside from reiterating its national symbolism, calling it “*a great monument to the independence and glory of this land*” (Herculano, 1858, 283), and elevating it to the category of “*eighth wonder of the world*” (p. 234)¹²⁸, Herculano was particularly concerned with characterising Batalha as a religious monument made possible thanks to the contribution of the Portuguese people. In line with the ideological aim of the magazine – that of popular instruction – the story portrayed a devout Portuguese people, committed to the cause of independence from Castile, without whose effort the Aljubarrota victory, and therefore the construction of its commemorative monastery, would not have been possible. The monastery thus turned into *a religious monument of the people* (p. 239).

¹²⁷ Herculano’s story was first published in *O Panorama: jornal literário e instrutivo da sociedade propagadora dos conhecimentos úteis*. The story was subsequently published in a compilation of Herculano’s works (Herculano 1858).

¹²⁸ Translated from: “um grande monumento à independência e à glória desta terra” and “a oitava maravilha do mundo”.

Batalha became finally secularised in the writings of Luís Mousinho de Albuquerque, the man in charge of restoration works in the monastery between 1840 and 1843. His account of activities, first published in 1854, adopted the now common patriotic view of the object. But unlike Herculano and previous authors, Mousinho de Albuquerque barely acknowledged the original religious character of the object. At a time of marked anti-clericalism following the 1835 dissolution of monastic orders (Neto 1997, 95–96), the term ‘monastery’ was practically omitted from the text, with the place appearing instead repeatedly referred to as the Monumental Building of Batalha, with capital letters¹²⁹.

Its symbolic value now leaned heavily on its role as repository of “august ashes”, with the monument housing them being “a blazon of glory, that [the nation] cannot but respect and adore with an almost excusable sense of idolatry” (Albuquerque 1854, ix)¹³⁰. In Mousinho de Albuquerque’s view therefore, Batalha was an *object of secular veneration*; the religious feeling was gone, but the place remained equally sacred. Moreover, on account of holding the ashes of the promoters of the Portuguese Expansion, which would “eventually link the whole of humanity through mutual relations and reciprocal interests”, king João’s sepulchral chapel and with it the entire Building of Batalha were to be seen “not only as a Portuguese monument, but also a European or, even better, a universal one” (Albuquerque 1854, ix)¹³¹. Batalha thus transcended the notion of national monument to reach the status of *universal heritage* (Maia 2007, 141).

¹²⁹ In her analysis of Mousinho de Albuquerque’s *Memória Histórica* (1854) and his restoration interventions at Batalha, Helena Maia also draws attention to his anticlericalism. According to this author, this translated into Mousinho’s disregard for the conservation of the monastic complex’s conventual facilities (reminiscent of the Ancien Regime and the role attributed to religious orders in the reaction against liberalism) as well as in his insistence on blaming the friars for everything that he found wrong with the buildings’ state of conservation (Maia 2007, 145).

¹³⁰ Fragments translated from “É sem dúvida glorioso guardar em si o deposito de tão augustas cinzas, e o monumento que as encerra é um brasão de gloria, que ella não pode deixar de respeitar e adorar com um sentimento quasi desculpável de idolatria”.

¹³¹ Fragments translated from “A capella sepulchral de D. João I e com ella o Edificio da Batalha podem com razão considerar-se não só como um monumento portuguez, mas como um monumento europeu, ou por dizer melhor um monumento universal. As cinzas veneraveis que alli repousam, se são nossas mais particularmente, em geral pertencem tambem ao genero humano, porque foi d’ellas que partiu o impulso, que se por ventura desvairado em algumas das suas epochas espalhou em regiões remotas o terror e a desolação, terminou por ligar a humanidade inteira por vinculos de mutuas relações e reciprocos interesses, de que as edades anteriores não haviam concebido nem sequer a ideia”.

Centuries of insufficient upkeep followed by a foreign invasion, a civil war and the dissolution of the Dominican order had left Batalha in a precarious condition. There was no doubt now as to its value – artistic, historical, national – and as to the need to repair the damages, and this was in effect one of the first targets of Portugal’s restoration initiatives taken in the mid-19th century¹³². By now, however, the long process of reinterpretation described above had effectively transformed Batalha from Dominican monastery into *secular national monument*, with the royal pantheon as the keystone of its symbolic meaning. Furthermore, in line with Albuquerque’s thinking that “such highly venerable and patriotic monuments must not be sterile for the nations that possess them. They are not vain proclaimers of past memories, they are *moral stirrers of civic virtues and patriotic love*” (Albuquerque 1854, ix)¹³³, Batalha now had to embody edifying values for the people.

In the repair and restoration process, therefore, the chapel became the object of substantial alterations to make it fit the new collectively accepted discourse on its secular, nationalist meaning and pedagogical purpose. Additionally, and consistent with restoration practice at the time, the building needed to be returned to what was understood to have been its ‘original’ state¹³⁴. In consequence, all elements ancillary to the basic structure were seen as additions in bad taste that undermined its ‘true’ architectural value¹³⁵.

As these additions were mostly of a religious nature – be it for liturgical or worship purposes – their removal also accomplished another goal of the restoration process: the secularization of the monument. The chapel was thus stripped of whatever vestiges of religious practice there may still have been left after the

¹³² It is not within the scope of this discussion to offer a detailed account of all the restoration works carried out at Batalha, a critical analysis of which can be found in Neto (1997) and Maia (2007).

¹³³ Translated from “Os monumentos tão altamente veneráveis e patrióticos não podem reputar-se estereis para as nações que os possuem. Não são um pregão vanglorioso de memorias passadas, são um excitante moral de virtudes civicas e amor da patria”.

¹³⁴ Mousinho de Albuquerque’s understanding of what the monastery must have looked like in its origins was largely based on James Murphy’s 1789 drawings (Neto 1997, 100; Maia 2007, 136).

¹³⁵ Mousinho de Albuquerque states that when James Muphy visited the monastery in 1789, there were “ruinas consideráveis, e sobre tudo já a falta de gosto a mais imperdoável se tinha atrevido a deturpar algumas partes do Monumento com o intuito de embelezal-o [...] Homens sem conhecimentos e sem gosto se arrojam a juntar o parto mesquinho e apoucado de suas imaginações ás obras do talento e do genio, alterando com ellas os primores da verdadeira arte.” (Albuquerque 1854, 17).

Napoleonic war and the looting that followed the dissolution of monastic orders, including the various altars that had been part of the original 15th century layout.

The new historical celebratory dimension of the chapel, for its part, would lead to the (undocumented) decision to bring together, in the chapel, the various figures of the Avis dynasty, as if conjuring up, in a most solemn setting, the great deeds of illustrious men. In essence, this choice followed the kind of thinking later expressed by Anselmo Braamcamp: “Within the four walls of that chapel there will be gathered almost all the memories of what is purest, and noblest, and grandest and most memorable in the history of Portugal. Outside will remain the degenerate and bastard races. It is just a pity that the austere, melancholy king Eduarte cannot be brought from the presbytery to join his own” (Freire 1910, 140)¹³⁶. Thus, aside from repairing the damaged tombs of the four princes, this endeavour translated into the creation of three new tombs in the royal chapel, between 1891 and 1901 to house the remains of a further two Avis kings, a consort queen and one additional prince that had hitherto been laid to rest in other locations of the monastery¹³⁷. With this intervention, the chapel regained the meaning originally given to it by its patron, king João I, who had expressed his wish to rest surrounded by the dynasty’s successive kings and non-reigning descendants, though with the notable exception of king Duarte, who was left in the pantheon he had created for himself.

The addition of these three new tombs significantly altered the message projected by the chapel. By being closely modelled on the original four tombs of the Avis princes, the three new tombs (fig. 70 and fig. 71) created an illusion of even greater uniformity that went a long way to reinforce the image of dynastic continuity so dear to its founder.

On the other hand, and in line with the period’s monumental aesthetics, the three new sepulchres were carved on pale limestone, with no hint of the polychromy

¹³⁶ Translated from “Dentro das quatro paredes daquela capella vão-se reunir quasi todas as recordações do que mais puro e nobre, mais grandioso e memorável, existe na história de Portugal. Fóra d’ali ficarão as raças degeneradas e bastardas. Só é pena que da capella mór não possa ser trazido para ao pé dos seus o austero, o melancólico rei Eduarte” as quoted by Neto (1997, 136).

¹³⁷ King Afonso V and his wife queen Isabel, king João II and his son, prince Afonso, had been originally buried in temporary tombs in the Chapter House and the Chapel of Our Lady of Piety, while awaiting completion of the Unfinished Chapels.

that would actually have brought them closer to the ‘original appearance’ ostensibly pursued¹³⁸. On the contrary, in their sober whiteness, the three new tombs visually validated the bare-stone appearance of the four original ones which, by now, through wear and cleaning, had lost virtually all trace of their original colourfulness.

Now devoid of any religious paraphernalia and conscientiously cleaned of any remaining vestiges of colour, with the dynasty’s founding couple at its centre surrounded by seven of its members in matching tombs, the royal pantheon finally offered the edifying solemn image required by the new sacralised historical perception of Batalha.

*

The diagram in Fig. 72 brings together the different meanings given to or perceived from the Batalha royal chapel, as have been discussed in this chapter. Each bubble shows one interpretation, followed in brackets by the person or group of persons for which it held true. The arrangement of the bubbles is only roughly chronological, as the meanings are not neatly successive in time; some overlap, some are ephemeral, some are long-lasting, some replace previous ones, and some others still seem to fade into the background to resurface at a later time. Meanings in the diagram are also visually displayed according to their approximate degree of pertinence: those in force for a longer period of time and for a larger number of people are shown closer to the centre in bubbles with thicker edges, and vice-versa.

The diagram brings us back to the initial debate on the relevance of reception history for the study of artistic objects. Having explored the various perceptions of the Batalha royal chapel over time, one would feel inclined to agree to some extent with Dowley’s claim about a work having some lasting identity of its own even when it arouses different responses from different viewers at different times. We could say that the identity of the chapel is that of a royal pantheon. It was created as such in the 15th century (though it is worth noting that it was never referred to with these exact

¹³⁸ The restorer’s preference for bare, uniformly-coloured, undecorated stone becomes apparent in Mousinho de Albuquerque’s remarks that “Todo o interior do templo é revestido do mesmo calcareo branco de grão fino e homogêneo, que reveste o exterior do edifício. Não existe em toda a igreja um só mármore de cor diversa polido ou lavrado, nem se vê que ali existisse no seu estar primitivo ornato algum de madeira ou metal, destinado a enriquecê-la com o esplendor e brilho de algum trabalho particular mais carregado” (Albuquerque 1854, 7).

words at the time) and it has indeed remained a royal pantheon throughout, to the present day. In this case, the identity 'royal pantheon' has stayed valid because it is function-based: it is a place where kings and princes are buried, and that has not changed. However, what this royal pantheon signified - and continues to signify - to its viewers is far less stable, as shown by the variety of interpretations given to it by different groups at different points in time. And this variation is there from the very beginning: the royal chapel did not mean the same to king João, to the Dominican monks he put in charge of it, and to his immediate successor king Duarte.

However, accepting that an artwork can have many interpretations still does not answer the question as to the relevance of studying them and the factors that intervene in their generation. It is true, as Dowley points out, that a work of art does not consist only of its many interpretations. On the contrary, it can have an intended meaning as well as material, aesthetic and social dimensions that art history concerns itself with. But second and successive meanings are there too; they are closely associated with the first or intended meaning because they derive from it, and they incorporate themselves into the object from the moment they become collectively accepted. Their acceptance does not need to be universal; the larger the group for which a meaning holds true, the more this meaning incorporates itself into the object, and the more likely it is to be projected onto it through changes to its physical appearance.

When viewers enter today the royal chapel, they are not just seeing what king João I wanted to say about his dynasty, or even what king Duarte tried to convey about the royal family. Both of these meanings are certainly there and it is the job of the art historian to offer them up for scrutiny, as thoroughly contextualised as possible; but what the viewer, including the same art historian, is actually faced with is a far richer picture made up of all the meanings represented in the diagram (and possibly several others) which can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the object as it has reached us. Our knowledge of an art object can never be fully exhaustive, but it is deeper, richer and more relevant to our time when it includes the history of its reception.

Conclusion

The collective monument of the Avis princes in the Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória, Batalha, is a fascinating, complex object that presents art historians with a plethora of potential research avenues. Given the absence of previous studies on it, this dissertation has ventured down but a few of those avenues, trying to provide answers to what could be considered the most pressing of the issues the monument raises: what purpose was it commissioned with, by whom and when; who might have intervened in its execution; what did it bring to the period's commemorative practices and how did this impact on subsequent monumental production; and finally, how has its perception evolved through the ages. In choosing to focus on these particular themes, I knowingly had to leave aside a variety of issues that felt beyond the scope of the dissertation. At the same time, the research conducted has opened up a number of additional issues, sometimes unexpected, the future study of which could greatly broaden our multidisciplinary understanding of this particular monument and the chapel housing it. These final pages of the dissertation will aim to provide an overview of the findings of my research while drawing attention to related areas of scholarly interest that remain to be further explored.

1

The princes's monument at Batalha is a unique specimen whose interpretation requires taking into account its interaction with the parental monument at the centre of the Founder's Chapel, and with the chapel itself as a whole. Its study, in any case, is hampered by the scarcity of specific documentary evidence. Although the only references found as to its commission - two 16th century sources - specifically mention king João I as the patron of the princes' monument, I have argued instead that this unusual commemorative programme must have been instead the brainchild of his son and successor, king Duarte. This hypothesis is supported by ancillary documentary evidence which suggests that the execution of the monument must only have started in the late 1430s, therefore in Duarte's reign, with the bulk of the work probably being completed by no later than 1449.

Based on a number of documents by Duarte's own hand or written at his behest – a royal chronicle, a sermon outline, a long epitaph and a letter – I have placed the monument as part of a comprehensive political propaganda drive by this king with the purpose of forging an ideal image of João I, the Avis dynasty founder, as a model monarch. The campaign involved bringing into the picture his equally exemplary wife and children in order to portray king João as the head of a perfect royal family meant to act as a model for the kingdom. In the specific case of the royal pantheon at Batalha, this purpose was achieved by a clever formal and spatial treatment of the monument within the chapel which aimed at presenting the four Avis princes as equal between them and subordinate to their parents.

2

Some of the strategies used in the Founder's Chapel to convey this sense of brotherly love and filial obedience constituted significant novelties in monumental practice at the time in Portugal.

The princes' tombs were unified through the use of an overarching pseudo-architectural framing, modelled on the monastery's main portal, which sought to dignify their presence in the chapel without allowing their monument to compete with the magnificence of the parental conjugal tomb and its own architectural framing. As a first in Portugal, this tomb aggrandising device had a positive reception among the kingdom's nobility, who were subsequently keen to adopt it in their own commemorative monuments.

Both the princes' and the monarchs' programmes introduced a key innovation through their sophisticated use of emblematics, including conventional heraldry but also, for the first time, personal badges. On the princes' tombs, these were used to great decorative effect, introducing a variety of new motifs that would be developed in late gothic architectural sculpture. For operative reasons, this dissertation has only lightly touched upon the role played by badges in late medieval visual culture, their ubiquity in courtly and noble environments, and their role in the migration of forms between different kinds of media, from manuscripts to textiles, metalwork, sculpture and painted wall decoration. This remains a vast, mostly untapped field of study, that could in the future give rise to very rewarding research.

The erudite emblematic display on the princes' tombs worked as a kind of aniconic, or allegoric portrait for each one of the occupants. Based on the ostensible comprehensiveness of this portrayal, king Duarte deprived instead his brothers of another two key vehicles of personal representation at the time: effigies and inscriptions. It is my understanding that their absence on the princes' monument was an intentional attempt by Duarte to express the sons' subordination to the parents', whose conjugal tomb does rely heavily on the glorifying potential of these two individualizing signifiers.

The radical aniconicity of Duarte's proposal, however, does not seem to have been easy to accept at a time of growing search for individualised personal representation. This is illustrated by prince Henrique's intervention on his own section of the collective monument, where both an effigy and an inscription were later added. This alteration to the original programme brings to light yet another large field of potential research only hinted at in this dissertation; that of the dialectical relationship - simultaneously complementary and competing - between the various forms of personal representation in the late medieval and early renaissance period: highly developed heraldry now with the individualising potential of badges, increasingly descriptive inscriptions on tombs, and the emergent forms of physiognomic portraiture, painted on panels or sculpted on effigies.

The relevance given to emblematics in the royal pantheon – with both the princes' and monarchs' monuments exclusively decorated with this kind of device – can easily lead to a profane interpretation of the overall Avis commemorative programme in the Founder's Chapel. However, with faith and salvation being a central concern of late medieval societies, their expression could hardly have been absent from the place where it arguably mattered the most, a funerary chapel. I have therefore proposed instead that the princes' piety found two different ways to manifest itself: in the sacral dimension of the polysemic signs that make up their emblematic displays; and in the conventional religious imagery that adorned their altars, an integral part of their commemorative programme of which no trace can be seen today.

Lastly, and this is in my view the most interesting aspect of Duarte's design to idealise the Avis royal family, the princes' monument brings forth a new concept that would catch on among the kingdom's nobility: that of a collective commemorative programme, with individual tombs unified through formal means to visually express family ties. Though pairs of evidently matching tombs had been sculpted in 14th century Portugal for married couples, nothing like the princes' monument had been attempted before in terms of the number of tombs involved, the degree of uniformity achieved, and the type of kinship relationship existing between its occupants, that is, other than conjugal.

Duarte's emphasis on the notion of family and its use for political and moralizing purposes is a particularly interesting feature of his short reign. This dissertation has only briefly considered a possible source of the *Eloquent King's* interest in the subject, which may have been channelled through his mother, Philippa of Lancaster. Without in any way ruling out potential sources of influence in other geographical regions, a further area of future research could therefore focus on the possible links between Duarte's concerns and the concept of family within English court culture. In this regard, this dissertation has drawn attention to the role and depiction of family in English commemorative strategies through what is known as kinship tombs – with all the children of the deceased represented on the chest – and at least one example of a triple familial monument.

3

Judging from extant 15th and early 16th century Portuguese monuments, the new concepts brought forth at Batalha can be said to have received mixed reviews. While some of the features introduced at the princes' monument caught on quite successfully, others seemed to overstretch the boundaries of what was expected and acceptable in a funerary commemorative setting.

Pseudo-architectural frames around recess tombs constitute one of the most obvious formal legacies from the princes' collective monument. Taken up in a number of subsequent monuments, this type of enhancing device was creatively developed by later patrons and sculptors into a variety of different proposals, each one offering an original formal and iconographical composition. A growing decorative investment and

the later addition of traditional religious iconography onto the structure, took some of these framing devices closer to the look of a retable around the tomb.

The collective nature of the princes' monument also met with some acceptance among the kingdom's nobility who now proceeded to commission pairs of uniform tombs not only for married couples, but also for father and son burials and, in only one known case, for the commemoration of brothers.

Additionally, the extensive use of highly developed heraldry and badges at Batalha was another feature that the kingdom's nobility eagerly adopted for their own commemorative strategies. Here, however, it seems as though Duarte's move to exclude effigies and inscriptions, and let only emblematics speak for his brothers' identity and personality, may have proven too bold at the time.

In effect, the signifying strategy on the Avis princes' monument – limited to emblematics - was so cryptic and sophisticated that for some later viewers it may have bordered on the unintelligible. What we see in subsequent production, therefore, is a tendency for patrons to broaden their reference base of signifying devices. In order to express the kind of ideas a monument must convey about its occupant - lineage, role in society, standing within a social group, individual identity, piety and now kinship – patrons could now pick from all the novelties offered by the princes' monument but also by that of their parents – in particular the idea of a single conjugal tomb, sophisticated effigies and long laudatory inscriptions. This breadth of choices, in turn, could be enhanced with a renewed use of traditional religious iconography and the incorporation of new references from the emerging Renaissance aesthetics.

All of this results in a highly eclectic late 15th and early 16th century monumental landscape which remains largely unstudied; a landscape including outstanding single specimens and pantheons belonging to the kingdom's most prominent families, such as the Silvas, Almeidas and Meneses, which are crying out for scholarly attention.

4

Lastly, my research interests have taken me beyond the period that created the King's Chapel at Batalha and all its original monuments. Based on my understanding

that art objects do not belong in their time alone, but also to all the subsequent periods that enjoy them, I have wanted to stress the relevance of studying their perception through the ages. To this end, I have considered the writings of authors with opposing views to reception history and I have explored how these apply to the case under study.

Reception history and aesthetics seemed a particularly fitting approach to current understanding of what is now known as the Founder's Chapel. The Batalha monastery plays a central role in the history of Portugal and in the construction of its national identity. As such, it has been looked at, talked and written about extensively. In this process, according to the logic of 'semiotic play', every new reading of the object has done something to it: sometimes, it just added a new layer of significance to all the preceding ones; other times it forewent previous understandings and managed to endow it with a completely new meaning that made better sense to the people of its time. And in so doing, these successive construals operated actual changes to the appearance of the monument by adding to or removing elements from it, neglecting and deliberately damaging it, or even overhauling it completely to make it fit a new collectively accepted discourse.

In the last chapter of this dissertation, therefore, I have wanted to summarily trace the various meanings given to the chapel and its monuments by the myriad viewers that have looked at and tried to make sense of it over five centuries. What I have found is that, while always retaining its most fundamental meaning as a royal pantheon, king João's chapel at Batalha has been the repository of various other interpretations conditioned by each period's and viewer's thinking. These, in turn, have operated relevant changes to the object's physical appearance. It is a wealth of readings – from a site of dynastic commemoration, to a shrine to a model monarch, a reliquary with miracle-performing abilities, a symbol of the *Ancien Regime* to be destroyed, and more recently an object of great art-historical interest, and a secular patriotic monument, to name but a few – that I believe greatly enrich our understanding and enjoyment of the chapel as it stands today.

Illustrations

Photographic credits: photographs by the author unless otherwise stated in the caption

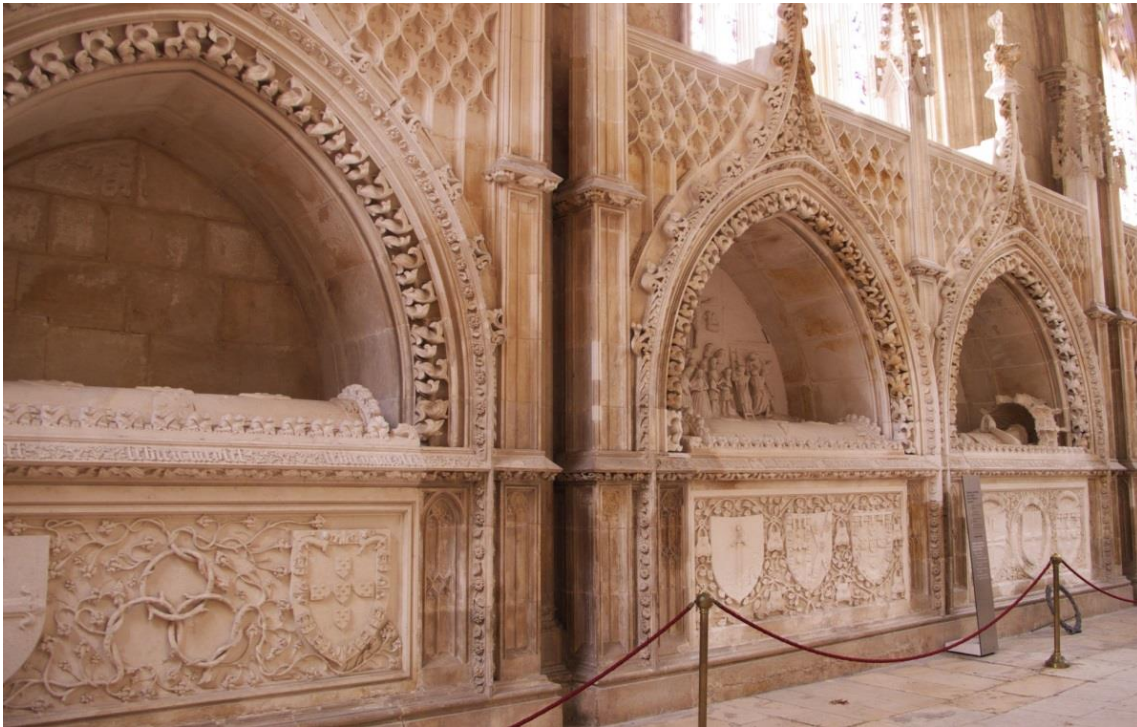


Fig. 1 – Side view of the princes' monument in the Founder's Chapel, Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória, Batalha. Current state after restoration campaigns in the 19th and 20th cent.

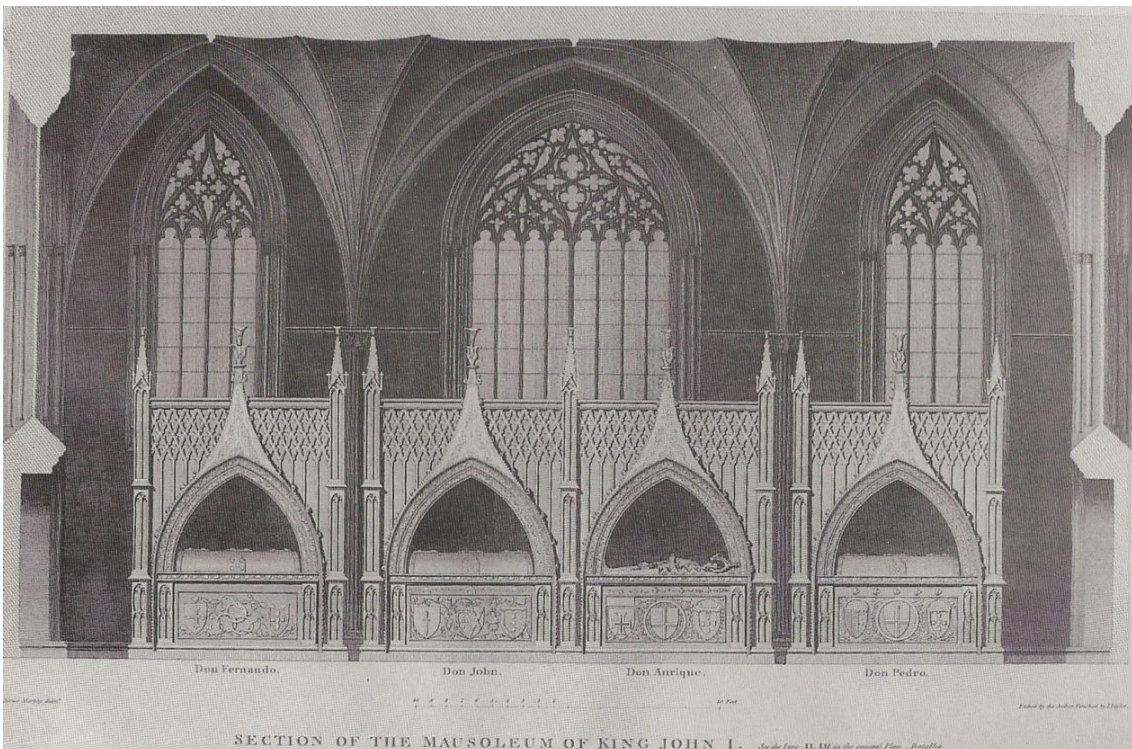


Fig. 2 – Front view of the princes' monument, 1789 drawing by James Murphy, before any restoration campaigns. Published in Murphy (1795); Neto (1997); Murphy (2008).

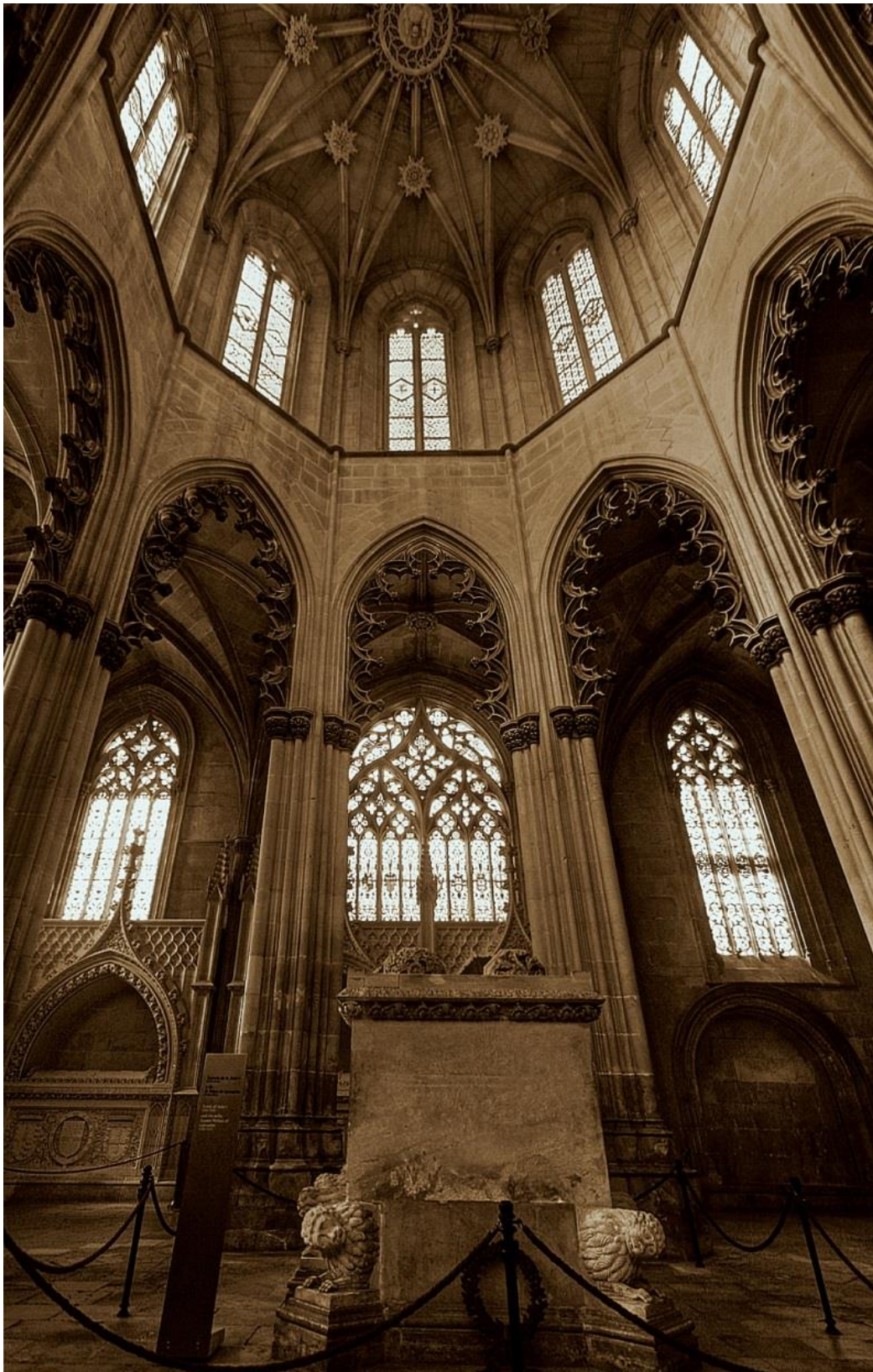


Fig. 3 – Octagonal vault erected over king João I' and queen Philippa's conjugal tomb at the centre of the King's Chapel, showing the contrast in scale with the wall monuments on the background (in this case, the 19th century reproductions, on the West wall, based on the princes' tombs located against the South wall). © Francisco Mendes/Olhares/VMI.

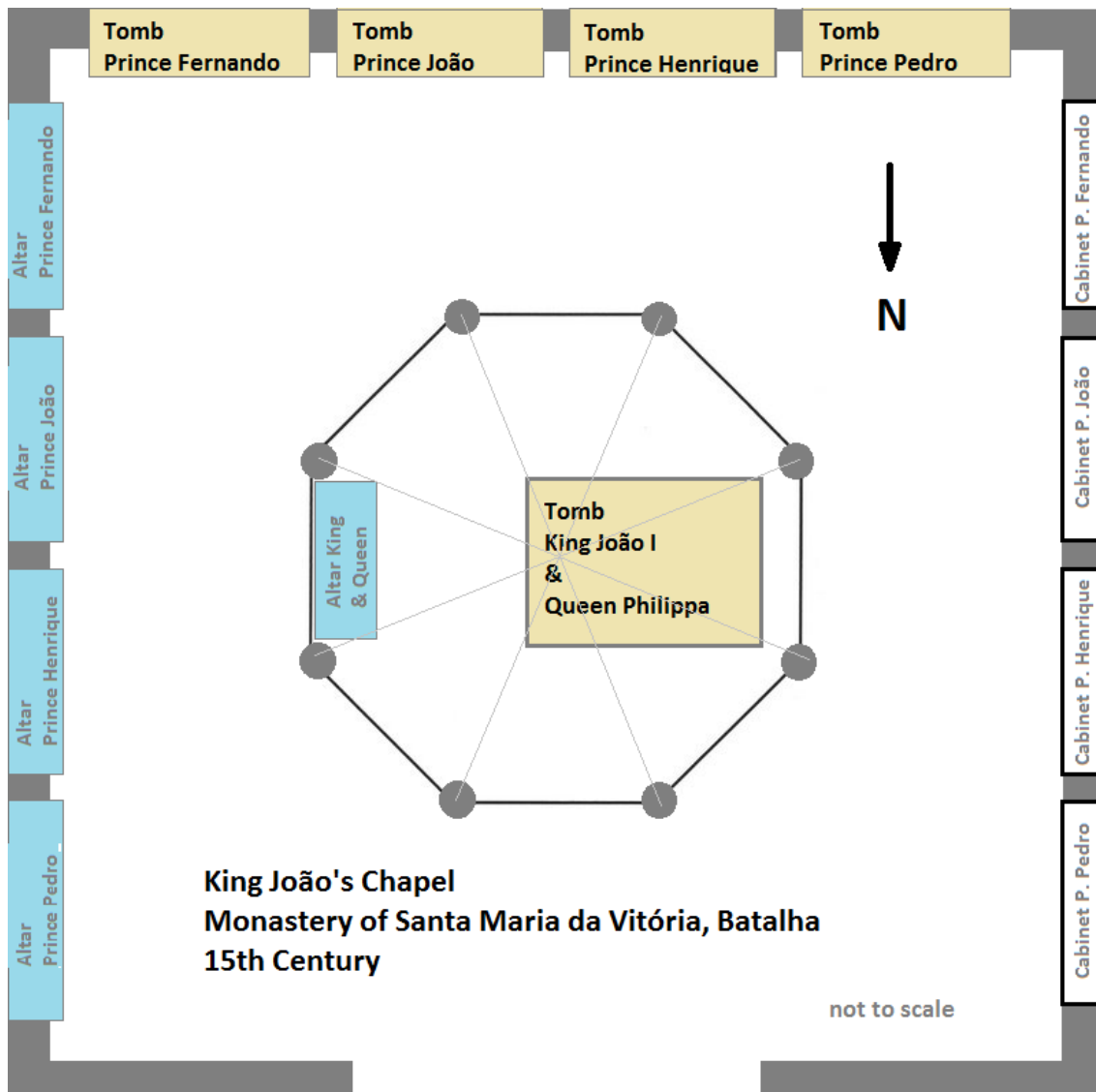


Fig. 4 – Floor plan of the chapel in the 15th century

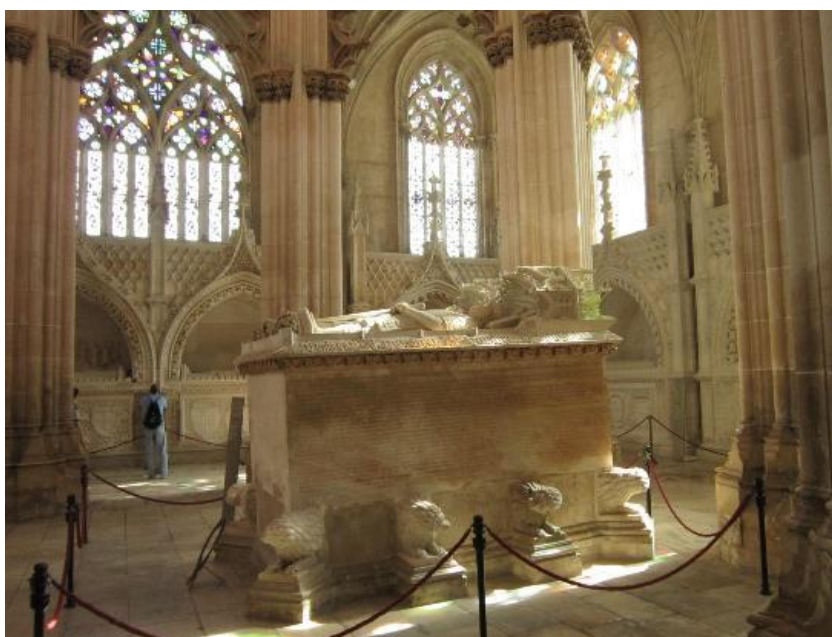


Fig. 5 – Overall view of the chapel from near the entrance. Three of the princes' tombs are visible through the columns at the back (the two monuments on the right hand side are 19th century additions). Image downloaded from www.tripadvisor.com.br



Fig. 6 – Recess tomb of Egas Fafes, c. 1268, at Coimbra's Old Cathedral. © Imago: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>



Fig. 7 – Recess tomb of Pedro Martins, c. 1301, at Coimbra's Old Cathedral. © Imago: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>



Fig. 8 – Monument of king Pere II of Aragon (1240-1285), late 13th century, Santes Creus Monastery. Image downloaded from www.calidos.cat.



Fig. 9 – Batalha Monastery, main portal with salient rectangular framing. Image downloaded from http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mosteiro_da_Batalha.

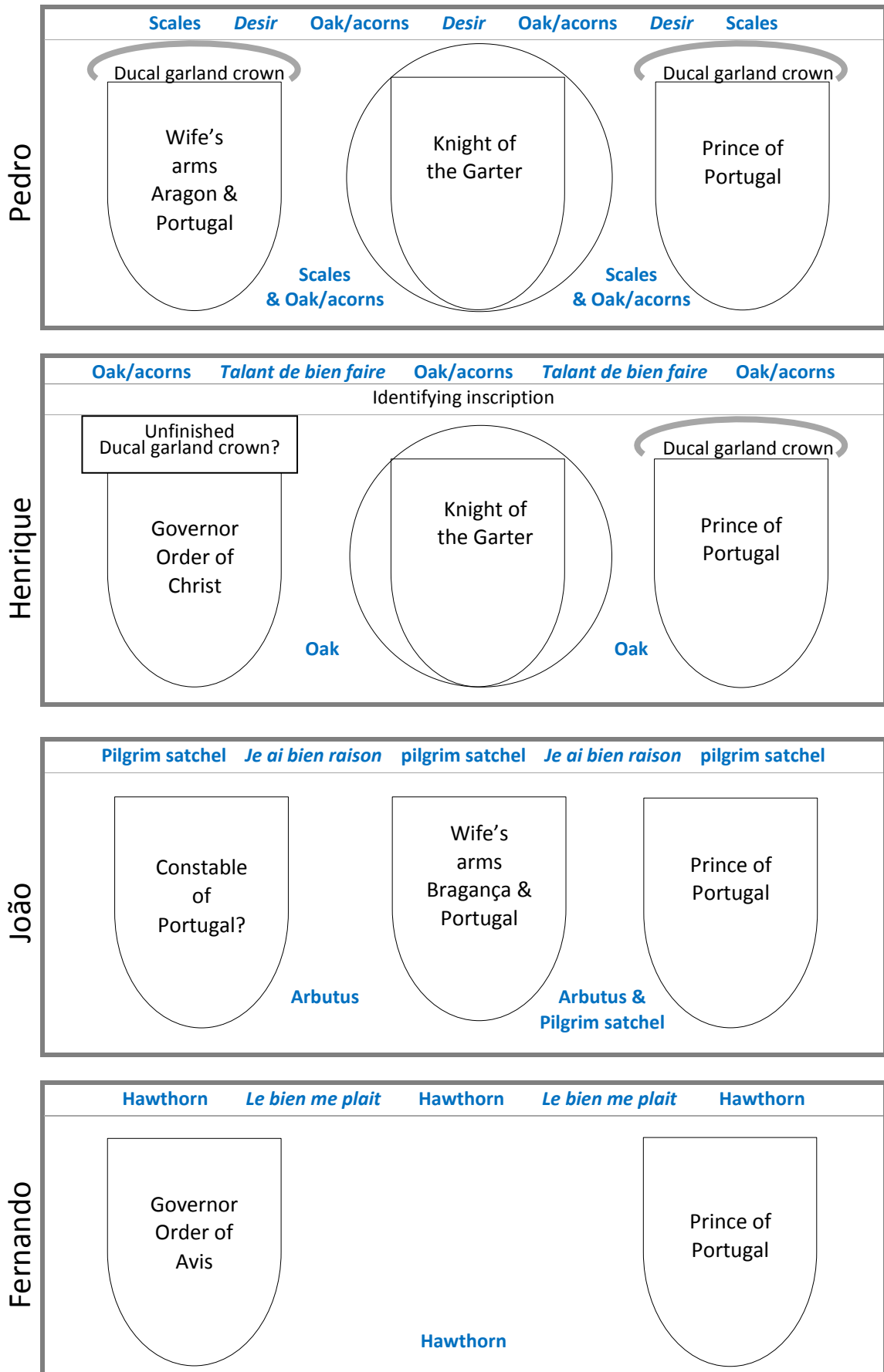


Fig. 10 – Sketch of the emblematic displays on the princes' front slabs, showing heraldic devices in black, badges in blue.



Fig. 11 – Monument of bishop Tibúrcio, c. 1253, Coimbra's Old Cathedral. The earliest extant Portuguese tomb-chest exclusively decorated with heraldry. © Imago: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>



Fig. 12 – Monument of Bartolomeu Joanes, c. 1326, Lisbon Cathedral. Tomb chest carved with a combination of heraldry and decorative plant motifs. © Imago: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>



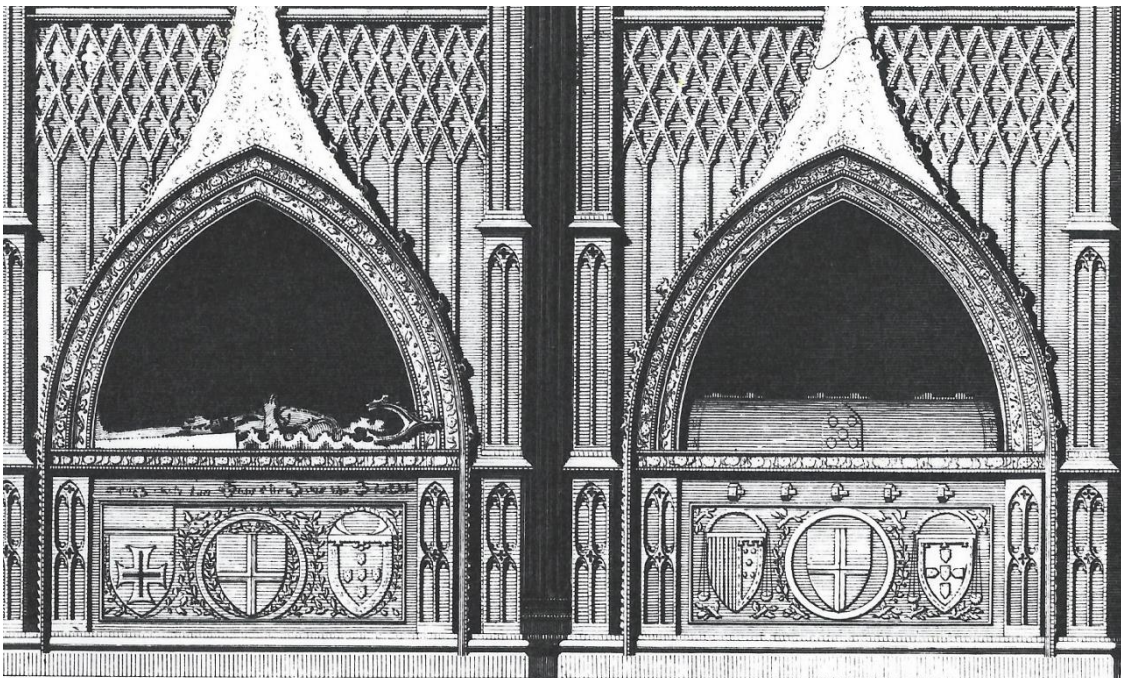
Fig. 13 – Monument of prince João or prince Dinis, both sons of king Afonso IV, 1st quarter 14th century, former convent of S. Dinis and S. Bernardo, Odivelas . Tomb chest carved with a combination of heraldry and decorative plant motifs. © Imago: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>



Fig. 14 – Monument of Brites Pereira, Santa Clara Church, Vila do Conde, 1st quarter 15th century. © SIPA: www.monumentos.pt



Fig. 15 – Monument of Vasco Esteves Gato, c. 1363-1384, church of Saint Francis, Estremoz. Tomb chest carved with a combination of heraldry and hunting scene. © Imago: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>



Don Henrique.

Don Pedro.

Fig. 16 – James Murphy's 1789 rendition of the Avis princes' monument (detail of princes Pedro's and Henrique's tombs).

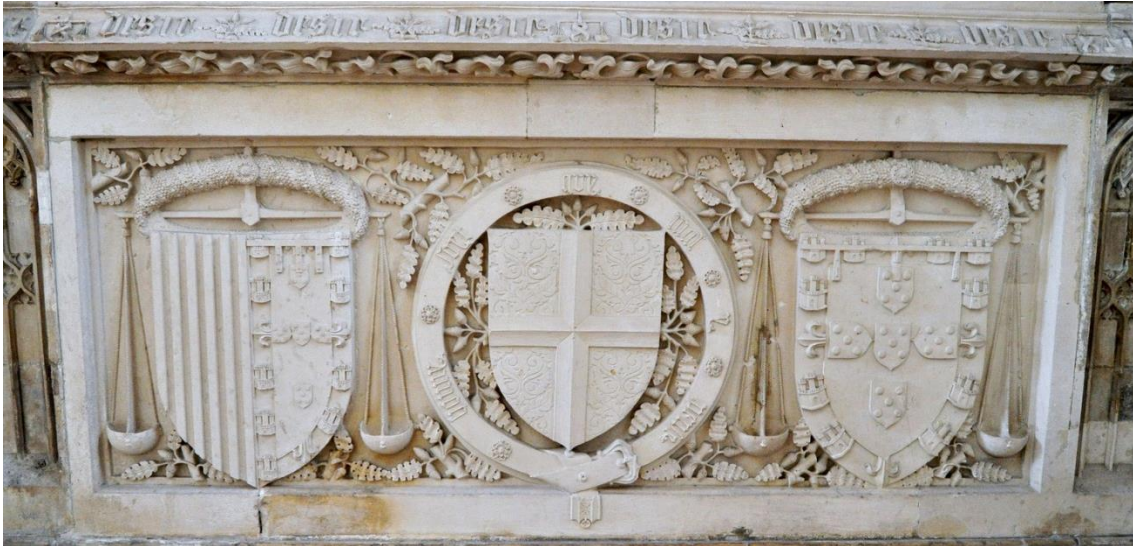


Fig. 17 – Front slab of prince Pedro's tomb, 19th century copy of 15th century original.



Fig. 18 – Front slab and frieze of prince Henrique's tomb, 15th century original removed from the monument. The central part was carved subsequently carved out.



Fig. 19 – Front slab of prince Henrique's tomb, 19th century copy of 15th century original.



Fig. 20 – Front slab of prince João's tomb, 15th century original removed from the monument.



Fig. 21 – Front slab of prince João's tomb, 19th century copy of 15th century original.



Fig. 22 – Sword-cross of the Order of St. James



Fig. 23 – Left hand shield on prince João's tomb, depicting a sword.

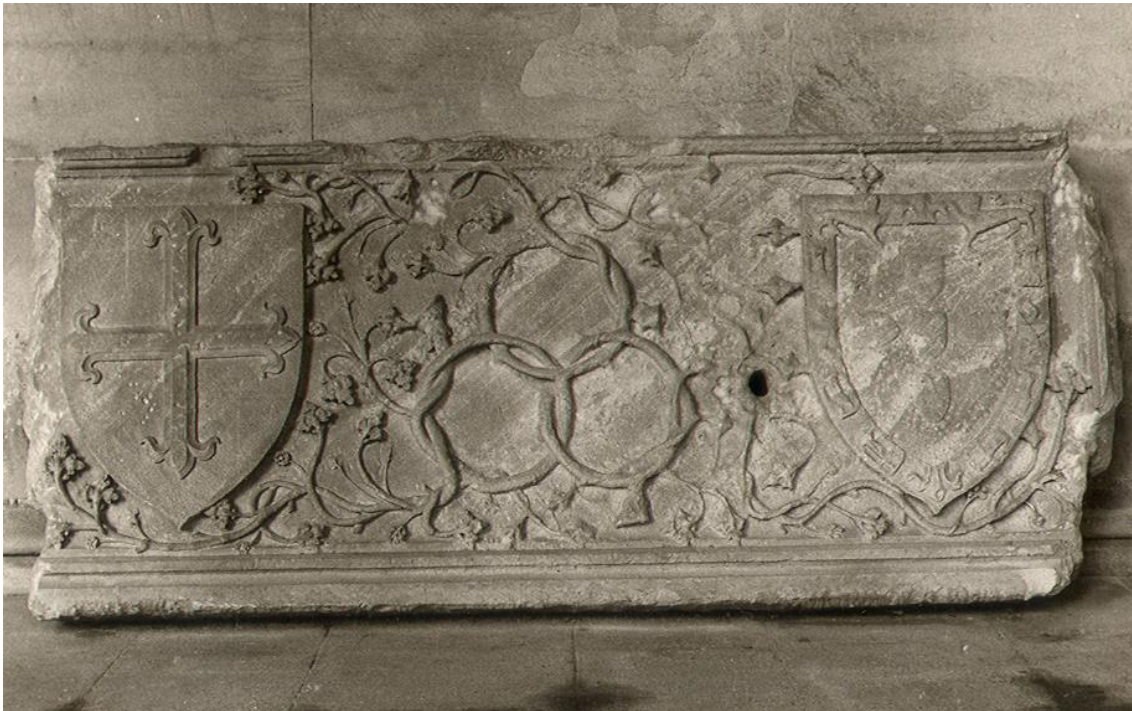


Fig. 24 – Front slab of prince Fernando's tomb, 15th century original removed from the monument. Image supplied by Mosteiro da Batalha.



Fig. 25 – Front slab of prince Fernando's tomb, 19th century copy of 15th century original.



Fig. 26 – Prince Pedro's motto and device on his tomb frieze, 19th century copy.



Fig. 27 – Prince Henrique's device on his tomb frieze, 15th century original.

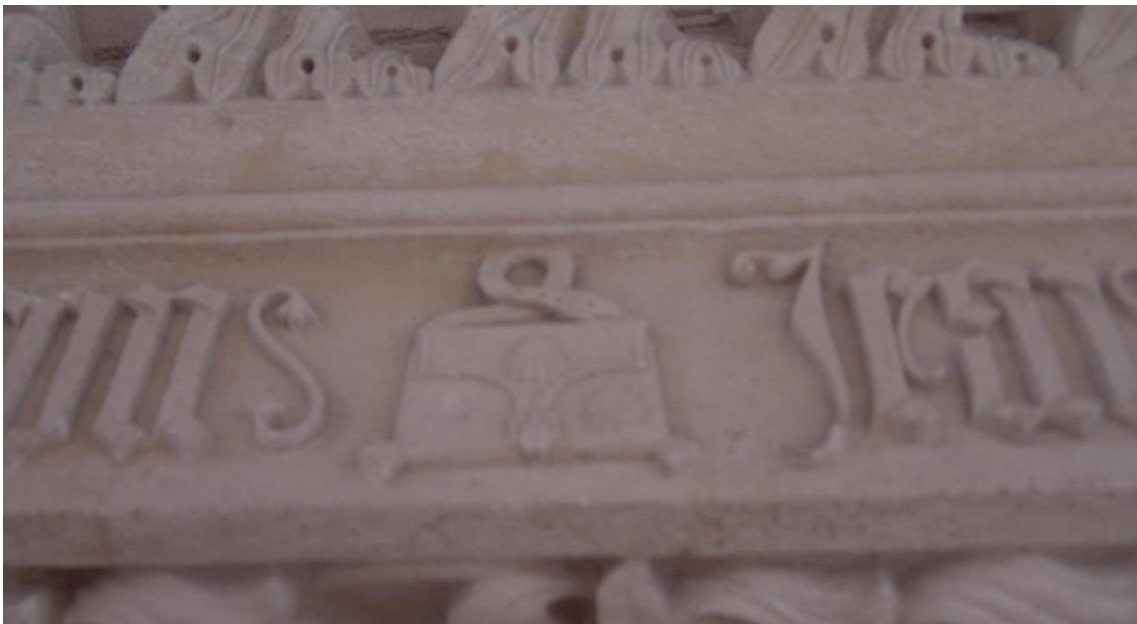


Fig. 28 – Prince João's motto and device on his tomb frieze, 19th century copy.



Fig. 29 – Prince João's badge – arbutus with pilgrim satchels, surrounding the prince's heraldry, 15th century original.



Fig. 30 – Prince João's front slab – vestiges of removed pilgrim satchel from the left-hand side of the slab, around Isabel of Bragança's coat of arms, 15th century original.



Fig. 31 – Partial view of prince Fernando’s front slab, 19th century reproduction, featuring thorns on the branches not visible in the 15th century original (fig. 25).



Fig. 32 - Prince Fernando’s motto and device on his tomb frieze, 19th century. Possible copy of 15th century original with added motto.



Fig. 33 – Formal parallels between tomb sculpture and illuminated manuscripts: Manuscript MSA 1 of *Crónica Geral de Espanha*, early 15th century, and prince João's original front slab. © Catarina Tibúrcio.



Fig. 34 – Vestiges of prince Henrique's badge painted on the inside surface of his tomb arched recess.



Fig. 35 – Vestiges of prince Pedro's badge painted on the back wall of his altar's recess.



Fig. 36 – Prince João's pilgrim satchel badge painted on the wall above the monument.

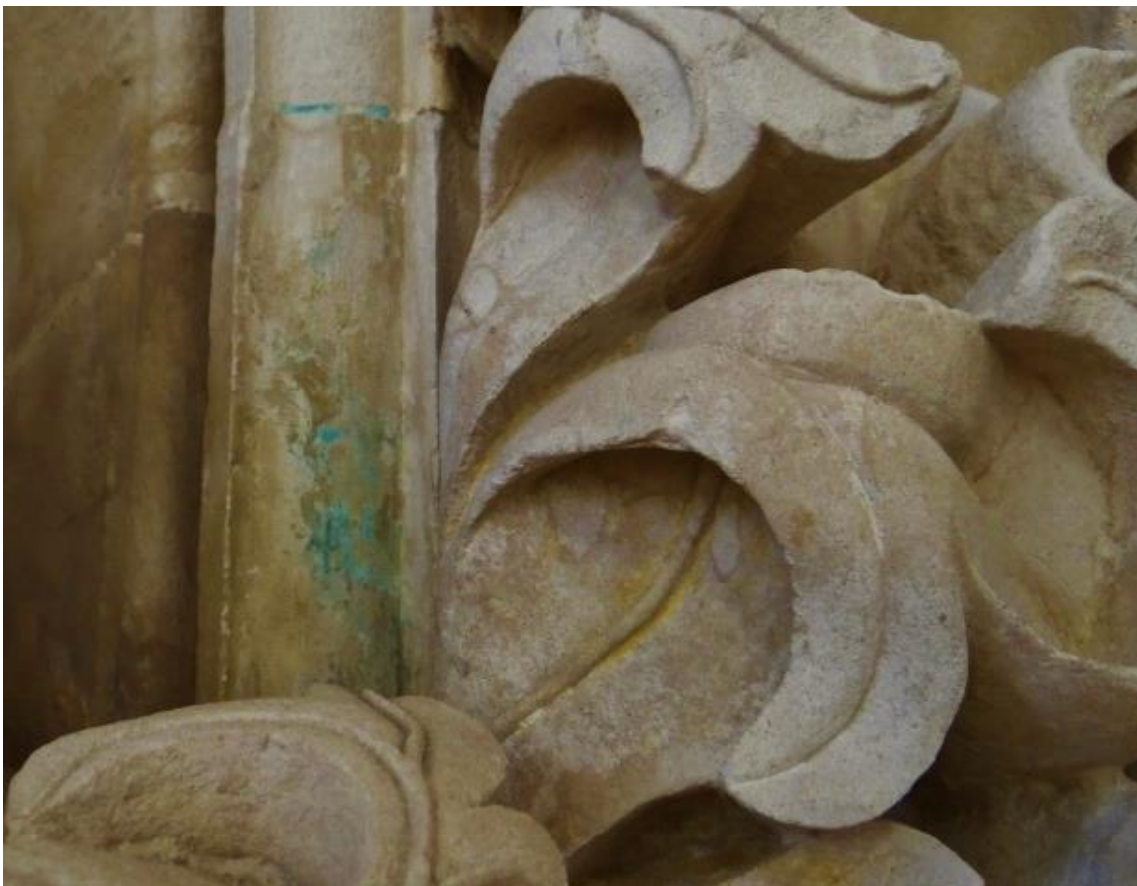


Fig. 37 – Vestiges of polychromy on elements of prince Henrique's tomb.



Fig. 38 – Vestiges of polychromy on elements of prince Pedro's tomb.



Fig. 39 – Vestiges of polychromy on elements of prince Henrique's tomb.



Fig. 40 – Half-cylinder markers topping the tomb of prince Pedro and Isabel of Urgell.



Fig. 41 – Detail of king Fernando's monument lid, showing a similar shape and decoration to the half-cylinders topping the tombs of the Avis princes (above). Late 14th century, Museu Arqueológico do Carmo, Lisbon.

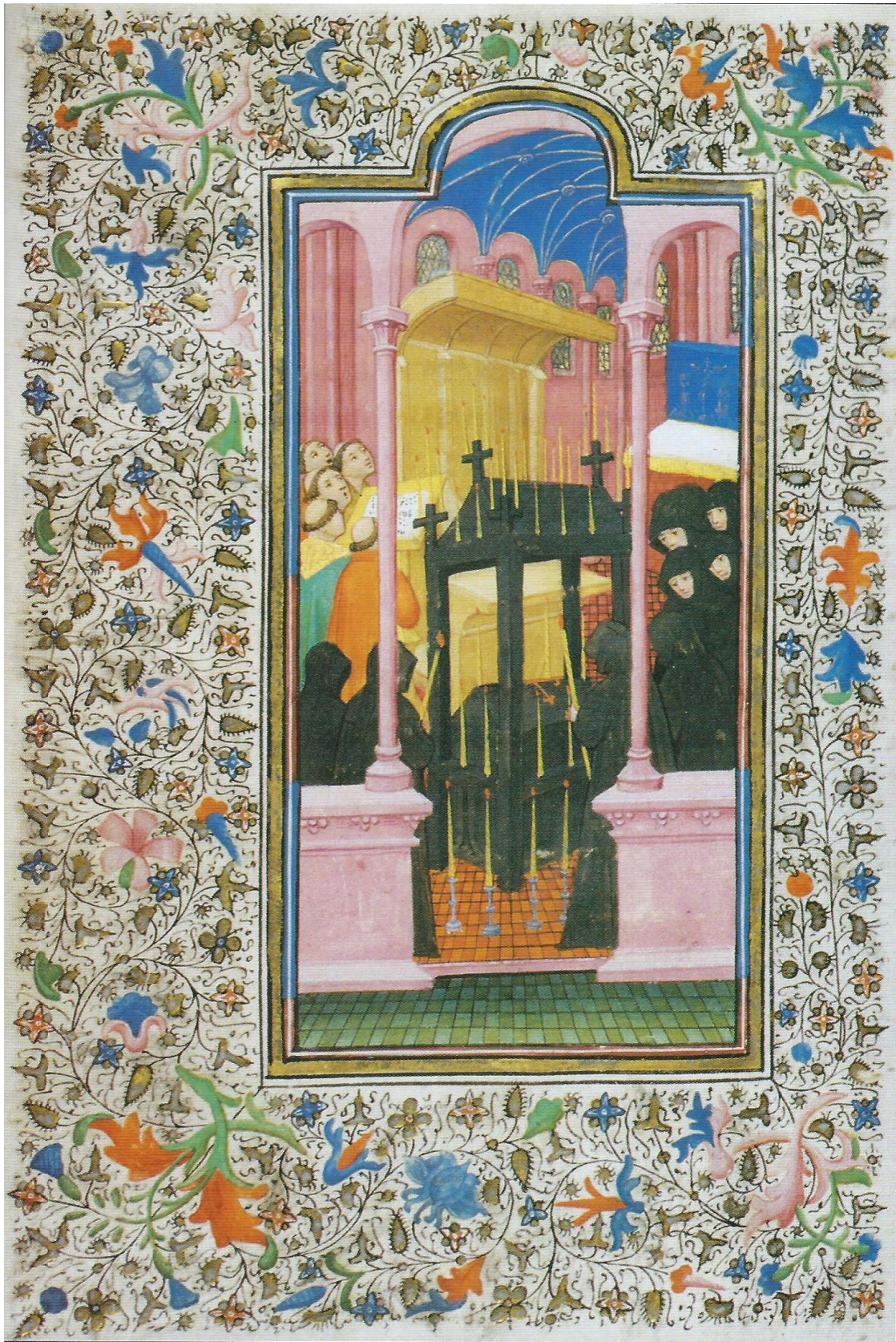


Fig. 42 - Book of Hours of King Duarte, fl. 323 v: "Exéquias pelos defuntos." Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais-Torre do Tombo. Photographed by José António Silva/Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais-Torre do Tombo. Reproduced in Luís Miguel Duarte, *D. Duarte, Réquiem Por Um Rei Triste, Reis de Portugal* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005)



Fig. 43 – Prince Henrique’s tomb with recumbent effigy and baldachin. The identifying inscription, not visible on this picture, was incised on the narrow strip between the front slab and the frieze that tops it.



Fig. 44 – Prince Fernando's triptych, 1450-1460. Commissioned by prince Henrique for his own altar. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Inv. 1877 Pint. Image downloaded from www.matriznet.dgcp.pt



Fig. 45 – Relief of the Passion, Calvary and Descent from the Cross at the back of prince João's tomb recess, 19th century copy of 15th century original.



Fig. 46 – Prince João’s tomb recess showing the relief of the Passion, Crucifixion and Descent of the Cross. Detail of the relief’s interference with Isabel of Bragança’s half-cylinder.



Fig. 47 – Fragment of 15th century original Passion relief from the Founder’s Chapel, currently preserved at the Batalha Monastery.



Fig. 48 – 1860 photograph of the princes' monument, with the stone relief already placed at the back of prince João's recess, before prince Henrique's front slab had been replaced © SIPA: www.monumentos.pt.

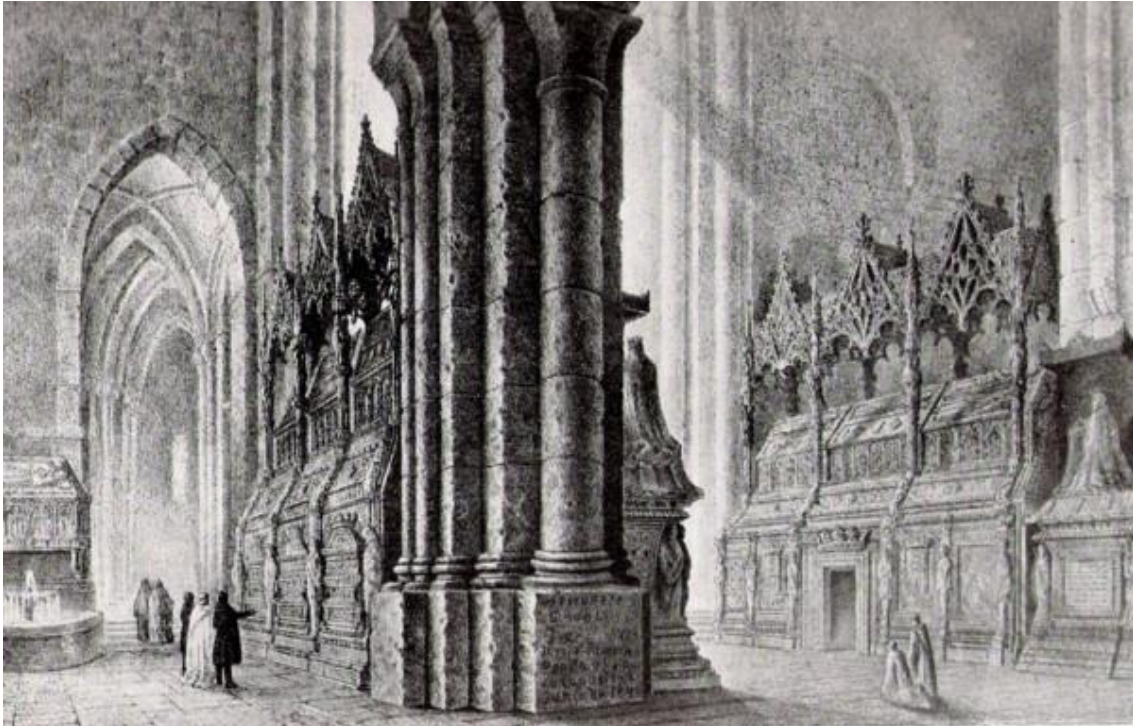


Fig. 49 – Double royal pantheon in the Poblet monastery, 1839, by Francisco Javier Parcerisa, originally published in *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España: Principado de Cataluña*, Barcelona, J. Verdaguer. Image downloaded from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Panteons_Poblet_Parcerisa.jpg



Fig. 50 – One of the burial structures of the double royal pantheon at Poblet, current view after major 19th century restorations to open up the original arched passage underneath. The canopies had by then suffered major damages and were never rebuilt. Picture downloaded from http://ca.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reial_Monestir_de_Santa_Maria_de_Poblet.



Fig. 51 – Collective monument probably for three members of the Godfrey family, 13th century, St. Thomas the Martyr Church, Winchelsea, Sussex. © Julian P. Guffog. Image downloaded from www.geograph.org.uk.



Fig. 52 - Monument of João de Almeida and his wife, Inês de Noronha, early 16th century, church of Santa Maria do Castelo, Abrantes. The Almeida coat of arms, complete with helm and mantling, occupies the most prominent place in a highly elaborate decorative programme.
© Imago: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>



Fig. 53 – Monument of Lopo de Almeida and Brites da Silva, mid-15th century, Santa Maria do Castelo Church, Abrantes, with half-cylinder heraldic markers in lieu of effigies. © Imago: <http://imago.fchs.unl.pt>.



Fig. 54 – Monument of Rui Gomes de Alvarenga and Mécia de Mello Soares, second half 15th century, Graça Church, Lisbon, with half-cylinder heraldic markers in lieu of effigies.



Fig. 55 – Monument of Diogo Fernandes de Almeida, mid-15th century, Santa Maria do Castelo Church, Abrantes.



Fig. 56 – Monument of Duarte de Meneses, second half 15th century, Santarém, Museu de São João do Alporão.



Fig. 57 – Monument of Fernando and Diogo de Castro (father and son), mid-15th century, S. Francisco Church, Covilhã. © SIPA www.monumentos.pt



Fig. 58 – Monument of Fernão Gomes de Gois, c. 1440, Carregal do Sal Parish Church, Oliveira do Conde. © Imago: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>



Fig. 59 – Monument of bishop Fernando de Brito Colaço, c. 1483, Mouços Parish Church, Vila Real. © SIPA: www.monumentos.pt



Fig. 60 – Twin monuments of Diogo and Lourenço da Silva, father and son, early 16th century, S. Marcos Convent Church, Tentúgal. © SIPA: www.monumentos.pt



Fig. 61 – Joint monument of João Afonso and his wife Iria Afonso, early 16th century, S. Nicolau Church, Santarém. Image downloaded from www.igespar.pt



Fig. 62 – Partial view of the joint monument of João Afonso and wife Iria Afonso, early 16th century, S. Nicolau Church, Santarém, showing religious iconography arranged as in a retable. Image downloaded from www.igespar.pt



Fig. 63 - Detail of the tomb of Mécia de Mello Soares, 1450-1500, Graça Convent, Lisbon, showing a coat of arms with the first sentence of the Hail Mary incised on its border.

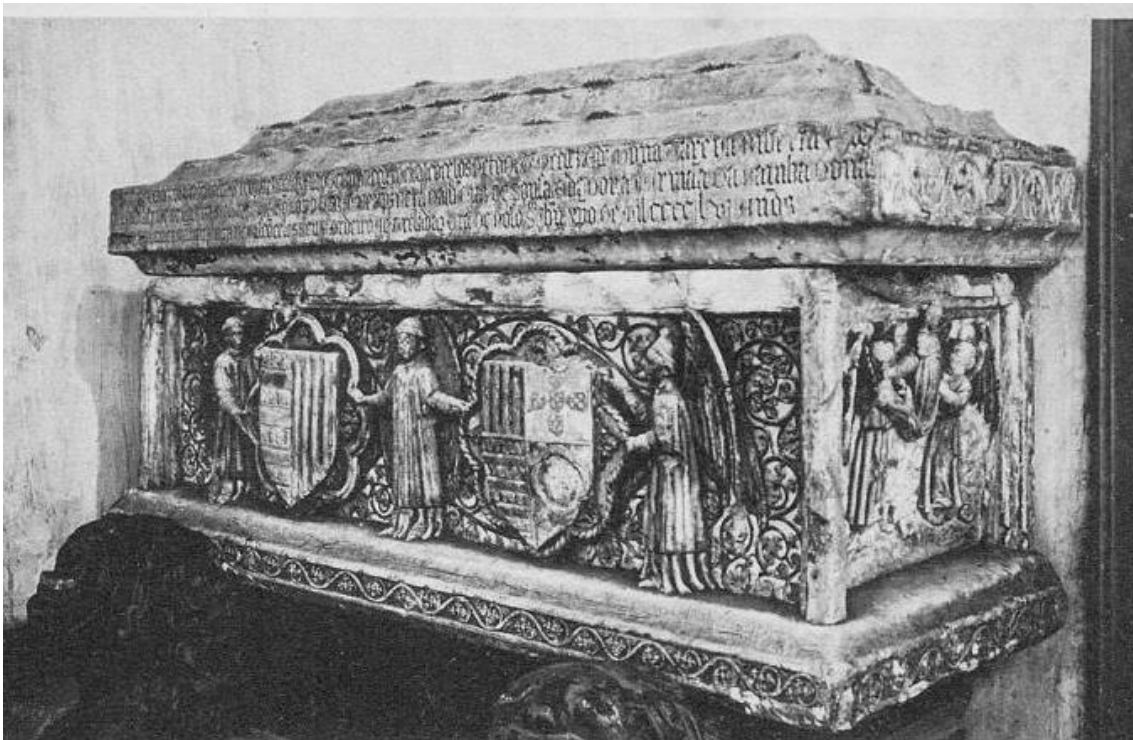


Fig. 64 - Tomb-chest of Rui Vasques Ribeiro and Violanta de Sousa, c. 1456, Figueiró dos Vinhos Parish Church, showing coats of arms supported by religious figures. Image downloaded from <http://www.flickr.com/photos/bmfigueirodosvinhos/3231551368/>



Fig. 65 - Monument of João de Albuquerque, 1475-1500, Museu de Aveiro, showing coats of arms supported by angels. © Museu de Aveiro.



Fig. 66 Matching tombs of husband and wife João Fernandes Cabral and Joana de Castro, second half 15th century, São Francisco Church, Covilhã.



Fig. 67 - Matching tombs of father and son Diogo Fernandes de Almeida and Lopo de Almeida, 1450-1475, Santa Maria do Castelo Church, Abrantes. © Imago: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>



Fig. 68 - Joint tombs of brothers João and Martim de Océm, c. 1440, Museu Arqueológico de São João do Alporão, Santarém. © Museu Arqueológico de São João do Alporão

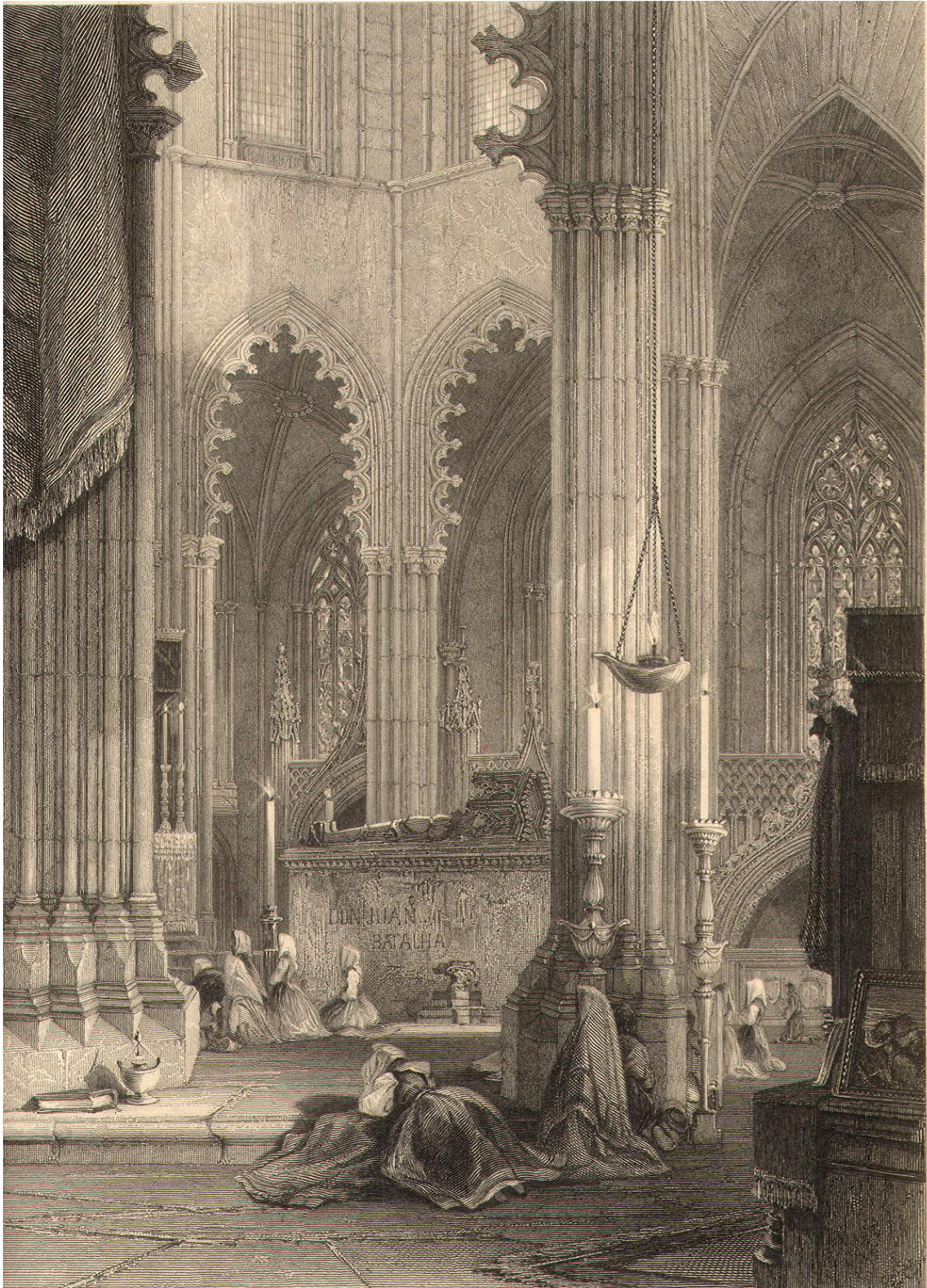


Fig. 69 – James Holland's view of the royal chapel in 1837, originally published in *The Tourist in Portugal* by W. H. Harrison, London 1839. More recently published in Neto (1997, fig. 47).



Fig. 70 – One of the three new monuments added at the turn of the 20th century, on the West wall of the Founder's Chapel.



Fig. 71 – The Founder's Chapel at Batalha, with the Avis dynasty founders at the centre and the descendants' matching tombs on the surrounding walls. To the left of the picture, the restored 15th century Avis princes tombs. To the right, the tombs of successive Avis kings and prince added at the turn of the 20th century. Image downloaded from: www.taxicity.com.pt

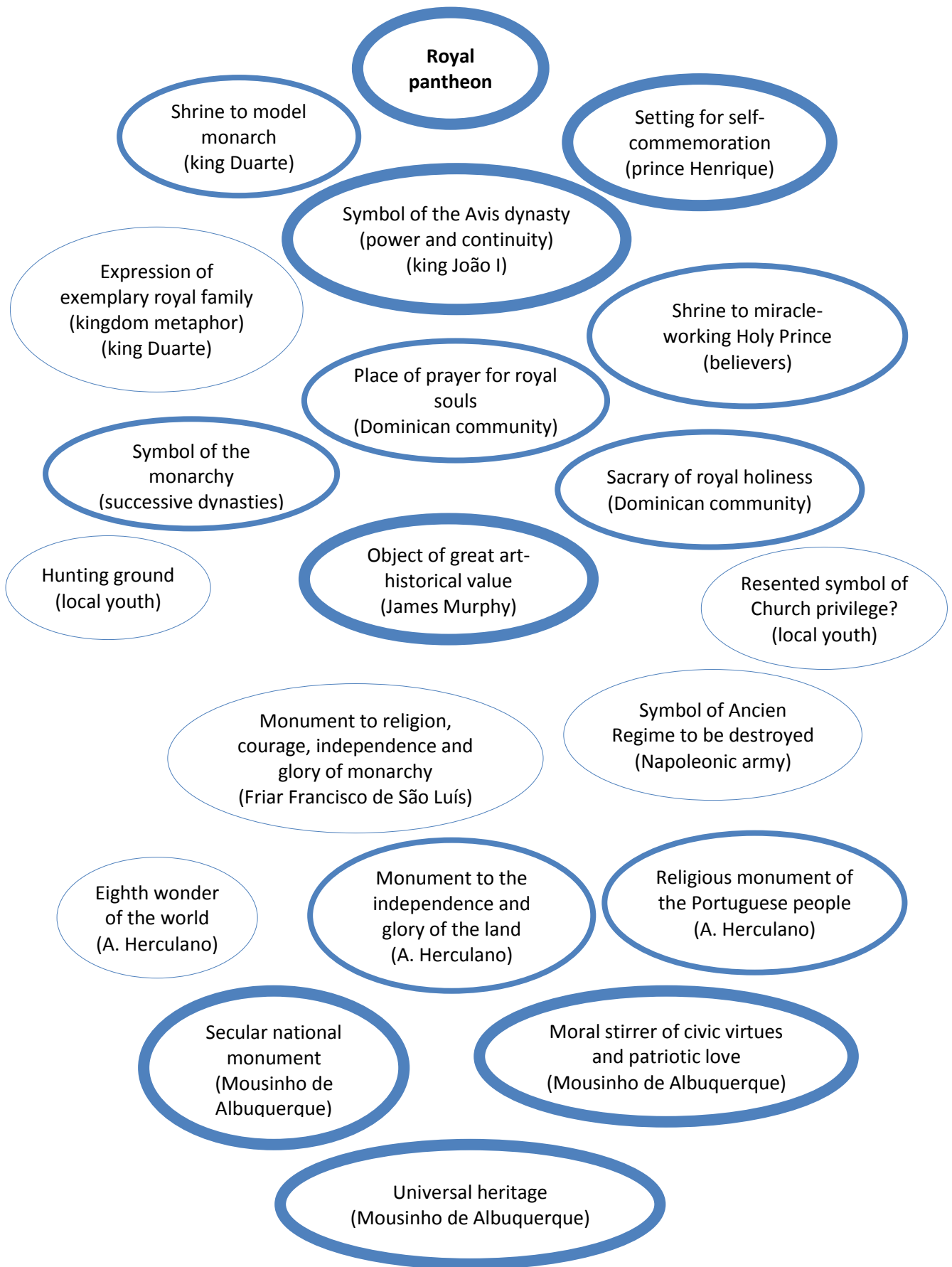


Fig. 72 – Royal pantheon meanings diagram

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Appendix 1

Inventory of 15th century monuments in Portugal

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Monument identification	Approx. date	Location	Effigy	Inscription	Recess (R) or Free-standing (F)	Architectural monumentalisation	Visible kinship *	Heraldry	Personal badges	Religious iconography	Angels/Winged figures	Condition
Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira (d. c. 1379) father of Nuno Alvares Pereira	1400-1425	Flor-da-Rosa Monastery, Crato	N	N	F	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Complete in situ
Brites Pereira (d. 1415) (Countess of Barcelos, daughter of Nuno Alvares Pereira)	1400-1425	S. Clara Church, Vila do Conde	N	N	F	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Partial/Moved
São Frei Gil de Valadares	1400-1450	Museu Arqueológico Carmo, Lisbon (from S. Domingos Convent, Santarém)	Y	—	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	Partial/Moved
Vasco Esteves Gato (or Gatzuz)	1401c	S. Francisco Church, Estremoz	Y	Y	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Complete in situ
João das Regras (d. 1404)	1404c	S. Domingos de Benfica Convent, Lisbon	Y	Y	F	N	N	Y	N	N		Complete in situ
Martim Aires (d. 1434) abbot of Santo Tirso monastery	1412-1422	S. Tirso Monastery, S. Tirso	Y	Y	F	?	—	Y	—	?	?	Partial/Moved
Alvaro Gonçalves de Freitas (husband of Beringela Gil)	1419-1421	Museu Alberto Sampaio (from Nossa Senhora da Oliveira Collegiate Church) Guimarães	Y	N	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Partial/Moved
Beringela Gil (wife of Alvaro Gonçalves de Freitas)	1419-1421	Museu Alberto Sampaio (from Nossa Senhora da Oliveira Collegiate Church) Guimarães	Y	N	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Partial/Moved
Gil de Océm (father of Martim and João de Océm)	1422c	Museu Arqueológico S. João Alporão, Santarém	N	Y	F	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Partial/Moved
Prince Afonso (d. 1400) first-born son of king João I	1425-1450	Braga Cathedral	Y	Y	F	Y	N	Y	N			Complete in situ
Fernão Rodrigues Sequeira (d. 1431) last elected master of Avis	1430 c.	Avis Convent Church, Avis	N	Y	F	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ
Unknown	1400-1500	Museu Alberto Sampaio (from Nossa Senhora da Oliveira Collegiate Church) Guimarães	N	Y	R	N	—	N	N	N	N	Partial/Moved
João de Océm (d. 1442) (brother of Martim de Océm)	1435-1443	M. Arqueológico S. João Alporão, Santarém	Y	Y	F	N	Y (BB)	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ?

* (C) Conjugal monument; (HW) Husband and wife pair of tombs; (FS) Father and son pair of tombs; (BB) Brother and brother pair of tombs

On gray background: monuments preceding those at the Founder's Chapel; On white background: monuments built after those at the Founder's Chapel

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Martim de Océm (d. 1431) (brother of João de Océm)	1435-1443	M. Arqueológico S. João Alporão, Santarém	Y	Y	F	N	Y (BB)	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ?
King Duarte (d. 1438) and wife Leonor of Aragon	1435-1450	Unfinished Chapels, Batalha Monastery	Y	–	F	–	Y (C)	–	–	–	–	Partial/Moved
Fernando de Meneses and wife Brites de Andrade, counts of Cantanhede	1440 c.	S. Clara Church, Vila do Conde	Y	N	N	N	Y (C)	Y	Y	N	Y	Complete in situ
Fernão Gomes de Gois (d. 1459)	1440 c.	S. Pedro Church/Parish Church, Oliveira do Conde, Carregal do Sal	Y	Y	F	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Complete in situ
Pedro de Meneses (d. 1437) and wife Beatriz Coutinho, counts of Vila-Real	1440-1450	Graça Church, Santarém	Y	Y	F	N	Y (C)	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ
Pêro Esteves Cogominho and wife Isabel Pinheiro	1450 c.	Nossa Senhora da Oliveira Collegiate Church, Guimarães	Y	?	N	N*	Y (C)	Y	Y	N?	–	Damaged
Fernando de Castro (father of Diogo de Castro)	1450 c.	S. Francisco Church, Covilhã	Y	?	R	Y	Y (FS)	Y	Y?	N	N	Complete in situ
Diogo de Castro (son of Fernando de Castro)	1450 c.	S. Francisco Church, Covilhã	Y	?	R	Y	Y (FS)	Y	Y?	N	N	Complete in situ
João Fernandes Cabral (husband of Joana de Castro)	1450 c.	S. Francisco Church, Covilhã	Y	?	R	Y	Y (HW)	Y	Y?	N	N	Complete in situ
Joana de Castro (wife of João Fernandes Cabral)	1450 c.	S. Francisco Church, Covilhã	Y	?	R	Y	Y (HW)	Y	Y?	N	N	Complete in situ
Vasco Martins de Albergaria (d. 1436)	1450 c.	S. Domingos de Benfica Convent, Lisbon	N	Y	F	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ
Aires Gomes da Silva (d. 1454) (husband of Beatriz de Meneses)	1450 c.	S. Marcos Convent Church, Tentúgal	–	Y	–	–	–	–	Y	–	–	Partial/Moved
Lopo de Almeida, (d. 1486) first Count of Abrantes (and Brites da Silva?) (son of Diogo Fernandes de Almeida)	1450-1475	S. Maria do Castelo Church, Abrantes	N	Y	R	Y	Y (FS)	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ
Diogo Fernandes de Almeida (d. 1420), alcaide-mor de Abrantes (father of Lopo de Almeida)	1450-1475	S. Maria do Castelo Church, Abrantes	N	Y	R	Y	Y (FS)	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ

* (C) Conjugal monument; (HW) Husband and wife pair of tombs; (FS) Father and son pair of tombs; (BB) Brother and brother pair of tombs

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Monument identification	Approx. date	Location	Effigy	Inscription	Recess (R) or Free-standing (F)	Architectural monumentalisation	Visible kinship *	Heraldry	Personal badges	Religious iconography	Angels/Winged figures	Condition
João Vicente, bishop of Viseu and Lamego	1450-1475	Viseu Cathedral	Y	N	F	N	N	Y	Y?	N	N	Complete in situ
Sesnando Davides (d. 10th cent)	1450-1500	Coimbra Old Cathedral	N	Y	R	N	N	N	N	N	N	Damaged
Prince Henrique's servant (attributed to)	1450-1500	Unfinished Chapels, Batalha Monastery	N	N	F	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Complete in situ
João (d. 1451) son of Afonso V	1450-1500	Unfinished Chapels, Batalha Monastery	N	N	F	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ
Rui Gomes de Alvarenga (d. 1473) (husband of Mécia de Mello Soares)	1450-1500	Graça Convent Church, Lisbon	N	Y	R	Y	Y (HW)	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ
Mécia de Mello Soares (wife of Rui Gomes de Alvarenga)	1450-1500	Graça Convent Church, Lisbon	N	Y	R	Y	Y (HW)	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ
Duarte de Meneses (d. 1464) 3rd count of Viana, son of Pedro de Meneses	1450-1500	M. Arqueológico S. João Alporão, Santarém (from I. S. Francisco, Capela das Almas, Santarém)	Y	Y	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Complete in situ
Beatriz de Meneses (d. c. 1466) (wife of Aires Gomes da Silva)	1450-1500	S. Marcos Convent Church, Tentúgal	Y	–	R	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Partial/Moved
Afonso Vieira	1450-1500	Museu Alberto Sampaio (from Nossa Senhora da Oliveira Collegiate Church) Guimarães	N	Y	R	N	N		Y	N	N	Partial/Moved
Rui Vasques Ribeiro and wife Violante de Sousa	1456c	Figueiró dos Vinhos Parish Church	N	Y	F	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Complete in situ
Rui Valente	1460-1470	Faro Cathedral	Y	N	F	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Damaged
Isabel of Urgell Aragon, duchess of Coimbra (d. c. 1466)	1466c	S. Clara-a-Nova Church, Coimbra	Y	N	F	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Complete in situ
Frei Gonçalo de Sousa	1469c	Museu Arqueológico Carmo (from Convento de Cristo, Tomar)	Y	Y	F	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Partial/Moved
Vasco Coutinho, Conde de Marialva (d. c. 1450) (also attributed to Teresa Afonso?)	1475-1500	Salzedas Monastery, Tarouca	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	N	?	?	Complete in situ

* (C) Conjugal monument; (HW) Husband and wife pair of tombs; (FS) Father and son pair of tombs; (BB) Brother and brother pair of tombs

On gray background: monuments preceding those at the Founder's Chapel; On white background: monuments built after those at the Founder's Chapel

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Constança de Noronha (d. 1480) first duchess of Bragança	1475-1500	Museu Alberto Sampaio (from S. Francisco Church, Guimarães)	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Partial/Moved
João de Albuquerque (and Helena Pereira?)	1475-1500	Museu de Aveiro	Y	Y	F	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Partial/Moved
Afonso (d. 1460) count of Ourém	1480 c.	Collegiate Church, Ourém (Cripta)	Y	Y	F	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ
Fernão Teles de Meneses (d. 1477)	1481c	S. Marcos Convent Church, Tentúgal	Y	Y	R	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Complete in situ
Fernando de Brito Colaço (d. 1384) abott, related to Pedro de Meneses	1483c	Mouços, Parish Church side chapel	Y	Y	F	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Complete in situ
Francisco de Faria	1500 c.	Museu Arqueológico do Carmo, Lisbon	Y	-	-	Y	-	-	Y	-	-	Partial/Moved
Friar João Coelho	1500-1525	Leça do Balio Monastery Church, Matosinhos	Y	Y	R	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	-
Afonso de Albuquerque (d. 1515)	1500-1525	Graça Convent Church, Lisbon	N	N	F	N	N	Y	Y?	N	N	Complete in situ
Gonçalo Oveques (d. 12th century)	1500-1525	S. Pedro de Cete Monastery, S. Pedro de Cete	N	N	R	Y	N	N	Y?	N	N	Complete in situ
Afonso Sanches (d. 1329) (husband of Teresa Martins)	1500-1525	S. Clara Church, Vila do Conde (founders)	Y	N	F	N	Y (HW)	Y	N	Y	Y	Complete in situ
Teresa Martins (d. 14th cent.) wife of Afonso Sanches	1500-1525	S. Clara Church, Vila do Conde (founders)	Y	N	F	N	Y (HW)	Y	N	Y	Y	Complete in situ
João de Almeida (d. 1512) and Inês de Noronha	1500-1525	S. Maria do Castelo Church, Abrantes	?	Y	R	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ
João Brandão (d. 1501)	1500-1525	S. Francisco Church, Porto	N	Y	F	N	N	Y	Y?	N	N	Complete in situ
João Afonso (and wife Iria Afonso?)	1500-1525	S. Nicolau Church, Santarém	N	Y	R	Y	N	Y	Y?	Y	N	Complete in situ
Diogo da Silva (father of Lourenço da Silva)	1500-1525	S. Marcos Convent Church, Tentúgal	Y	Y	R	Y	Y (FS)	Y	?	Y	N	Complete in situ
Lourenço da Silva (son of Diogo da Silva)	1500-1525	S. Marcos Convent Church, Tentúgal	Y	Y	R	Y	Y (FS)	Y	?	Y	N	Complete in situ
Diogo de Azambuja (d. 1518)	1518c	Anjos Convent Church, Montemor-o-Velho	Y	Y*	R	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Complete in situ

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