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The Tomb of King Henry I at Reading Abbey: New Evidence Concerning its Appearance and the Date of its Effigy

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The tomb of King Henry I at Reading Abbey has long been an object of speculation, due to the paucity of relevant surviving documentation concerning it.¹ This short article examines a hitherto unconsidered piece of evidence for the tomb's appearance: a marginal drawing of the fifteenth century in British Library Ms. Royal 20 A XVIII, at fol. 172^r (Fig. 1). The manuscript, a chronicle of English history in French, has never been linked to Reading, and it may be that whoever executed the drawing had never seen the tomb. However, while not particularly detailed, the drawing is rather remarkable in showing a type of effigy much closer in design to those made for royal tombs in France during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than to English ones. If it is not a product of direct observation, then it could have been based on written or verbal description of what was by the fifteenth century a prestigious and probably widely known monument. The matter is admittedly conjectural, and the drawing is offered to readers here on the principle that any fresh evidence relating to such an important object as Henry I's tomb is worthy of scholarly consideration.

Henry I was 'regally buried' at Reading on 5 January 1136 *ante majus altare*.² The same position was chosen elsewhere for other royal burials during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (e.g. Henry I's brother Robert 'Curthose' at Gloucester in 1134; King Arthur at Glastonbury in 1191; King John at Worcester in 1216), and became increasingly popular with the aristocracy in monastic



Fig. 1. Marginal illustration possibly representing the tomb of King Henry I at Reading Abbey in British Library Ms. Royal 20 A XVIII, fol. 172r. (Reproduced by permission.)

and collegiate churches during the later Middle Ages. The sanctuary at Reading soon attracted other royal burials: the king's second queen Adela of Louvain (d. 1151) was interred on the north side of the high altar, his great grandson William (d. 1156) was buried at his feet, and his bastard son Reginald, second earl of Cornwall (d. 1175), was laid to rest *iuxta patrem suum*.³ Subsequently, three other minor royal burials took place at Reading.⁴ Henry I's tomb thus became the central element of a very important mausoleum. However, we have no description of its appearance. John of Worcester states that the king was buried in a monument of 'customary' or 'fashionable' design (he writes of *tumulo ex more compositio*), but this is as close as we get.⁵ The chronicler's statement accords with what is known of Henry's opinions on the issue of sepulchral decorum, i.e. that a church should be suitably magnificent to receive the benefit of royal burial; an attitude that presumably extended to sepulchral monuments.⁶ If, as has been thought, the fragmentary arcaded coffin unearthed at Reading in 1815 was originally that of Henry I then this presumption receives material support.⁷ However, how *ex more compositio* might translate in terms of tomb design is uncertain, given our hazy general picture of the tombs of the Norman kings of England. John Crook's convincing reattribution of the supposed tomb of William II at Winchester to Henry of Blois (d. 1171) has left us with nothing definite to go on in terms of material evidence.⁸ Many sepulchral monuments are mentioned in the Reading Abbey demolition accounts of 1549, but, while the royal tomb was almost certainly sold off during this period, it cannot be recognized among the job lots of 'marble stones' and 'gravestones' carried away by local opportunists.⁹

Reading Abbey is renowned for the quantity and quality of its Romanesque figure sculpture. The cloister and chapter house in particular are known to have been richly embellished, and a tympanum containing the Coronation of the Virgin above the central west portal has been convincingly conjectured by George Zarnecki.¹⁰ However, nothing survives to show that this extended

to the abbey church's Romanesque tombs. The earliest known effigial monuments of members of the English royal family are the bier tombs of Henry II and Richard I at Fontevrault which date to the early thirteenth century.¹¹ Thus, if Henry I's original tomb was built around the time of his burial, as John of Worcester testifies, then it would be hazardous to assume that it was effigial. More probably it was either an incised graveslab (flat or coped), or else resembled that of the king's illegitimate son Robert, first earl of Gloucester (d. 1147), which stood in the middle of the choir of St James's priory at Bristol. The sixteenth-century antiquary John Leland described this as 'a sepulchre of gray marble set up upon 6. pillers of a smaull hette [i.e. height]'. Early to mid twelfth-century French parallels for such monuments are represented among the Gaignières drawings.¹² The only other piece of evidence to have been adduced which has a bearing on the tomb's design is the series of ten couplets 'written for the burial of the glorious King Henry I, founder of our monastery' in the 1160s by the Reading monk-poet Robert Partes (d. after 1181).¹³ It has recently been suggested that these verses constitute a record of the epitaph on the royal tomb, which if true would argue for the incorporation of a field large enough to contain the 131 words they comprise.¹⁴ However, this is almost certainly a mistake. Stylistically they are of a piece with Partes's other poems, and are the product of elegiac retrospection rather than any direct involvement in the funeral rites of 1136, or in the design of the tomb.¹⁵

Late fourteenth century documents provide what until now has been the only substantive evidence for the tomb's appearance. In 1397 Richard II made the 'appropriate repair' of the 'tomb and image' of Henry I a condition of reconfirmation of Reading Abbey's franchises, liberties and quittances (*sic quod ... abbas et conventus ... tumbam et ymaginem Henrici quondam Regis Anglie ... honeste facerent reparari*). This, he stipulated, must occur within a year. On 24 May 1398 the abbot and convent notified the king of their compliance, and the next day – evidently taking the matter on trust – Richard informed the treasurer and barons of the

Exchequer that the monks had fulfilled the condition imposed on them.¹⁶ The monks claimed to have renovated or remade (*factura*) the royal tomb: this may refer to an extensive restoration (so much at least must have been necessary to generate such royal concern), perhaps involving replacement, or installation *de novo*, of the tomb chest. Alternatively, but less probably in light of what will be said hereafter, a new retrospective monument such as that built during the same period at Malmesbury Abbey to commemorate King Æthelstan (d. 939) may be indicated.¹⁷ Whichever was the case, this documentation shows that Henry I's tomb was effigial in 1397. While there is a faint possibility that it was effigial to start with, it is much more likely to have acquired an effigy at a subsequent date. If the evidence provided by the marginal sketch is reliable, then this would seem to have occurred at some stage during the thirteenth or fourteenth century. That the monument was decayed in 1397, and in all probability when Richard II visited the abbey in 1381 and 1389, may suggest an earlier rather than a later date within this period.

It will be helpful to outline the manuscript and iconographic context of the drawing before describing it in detail and analysing its credibility as a witness to the tomb. The medieval provenance of Royal 20 A XVIII is unknown. It is unambiguously English – the script is Anglicana and the textual sources drawn on are all insular – and would seem, from the nature of the marginalia, to be of southern or midlands provenance rather than northern; but this is the most that may safely be ventured.¹⁸ The chronicle is a compilation of extracts from popular history texts. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, John of Worcester, Roger of Howden, and Peter of Langtoft are the main authorities employed. It provides an account of English history from Brutus to 1329, the material concerning Edward II's reign (copied from the prose *Brut* chronicle) being added in a different but contemporary Anglicana hand.¹⁹ To this early fourteenth-century manuscript, a fifteenth-century reader has added page headings plus various marginal notes and drawings (a number of the notes and drawings were

obviously inserted together, and the ink is the same). The notes are in French and English, and are in an Anglicana formata hand. Most of the drawings are armorial, or else of swords, to signify the accession of new monarchs. However, some twelve represent more complex iconography: the Nativity (fol. 20^f), the baptism of King Ethelbert of Kent (fol. 80^v), the holy lance and nail acquired by King Æthelstan (fol. 127^v), scenes of cruelty (fols 134^v, 203^v), castles (fols 165^f, 183^v, 218^v) etc. Three non-armorial drawings embellish the account of Henry I's reign (more, it may be noted, than the number occurring in the account of any other ruler's reign). These show the destruction wrought by an earthquake in Lombardy in 1117 (fol. 168^f), the wreck of the White Ship in 1120 (fol. 168^v), and, in the lower margin of fol. 172^f, the tomb of Henry I. The latter is drawn below a description of the decomposition of the royal corpse, and its eventual burial at Reading, abbreviated from the admonitory account of Henry of Huntingdon.²⁰ In no other case is a drawing introduced to signify the demise of a monarch.

Indeed, with the exception of the Holy Sepulchre, tombs are rarely found as marginal iconography in English medieval manuscripts. A careful but clearly invented fifteenth-century drawing of the tomb of St Wulfstan at Worcester has been added to Eton College Ms. 213 at fol. 206^f to illustrate the legend of his miraculous pastoral staff.²¹ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 329 (the Anlaby cartulary, completed 1450) contains coloured drawings of three tombs (at fols 16^v, 17^v, 109^f) introduced to add credibility to the documents they accompany (in this instance the artist did know the monuments he depicted personally, but none is effigial).²² And British Library Ms. Harley 1766 (c.1450-60) has a miniature representation of the tomb of King Arthur at Glastonbury at fol. 219^f embellishing an account of his last battle and mortal injury (Fig. 2). The latter is the only other case known to the author in which a tomb is drawn in a manuscript margin to indicate a passage describing a death. Functionally it is thus analogous to the drawing in Royal 20 A XVIII, but it differs in being an obvious product of its artist's imagination.²³ More broadly, the closest

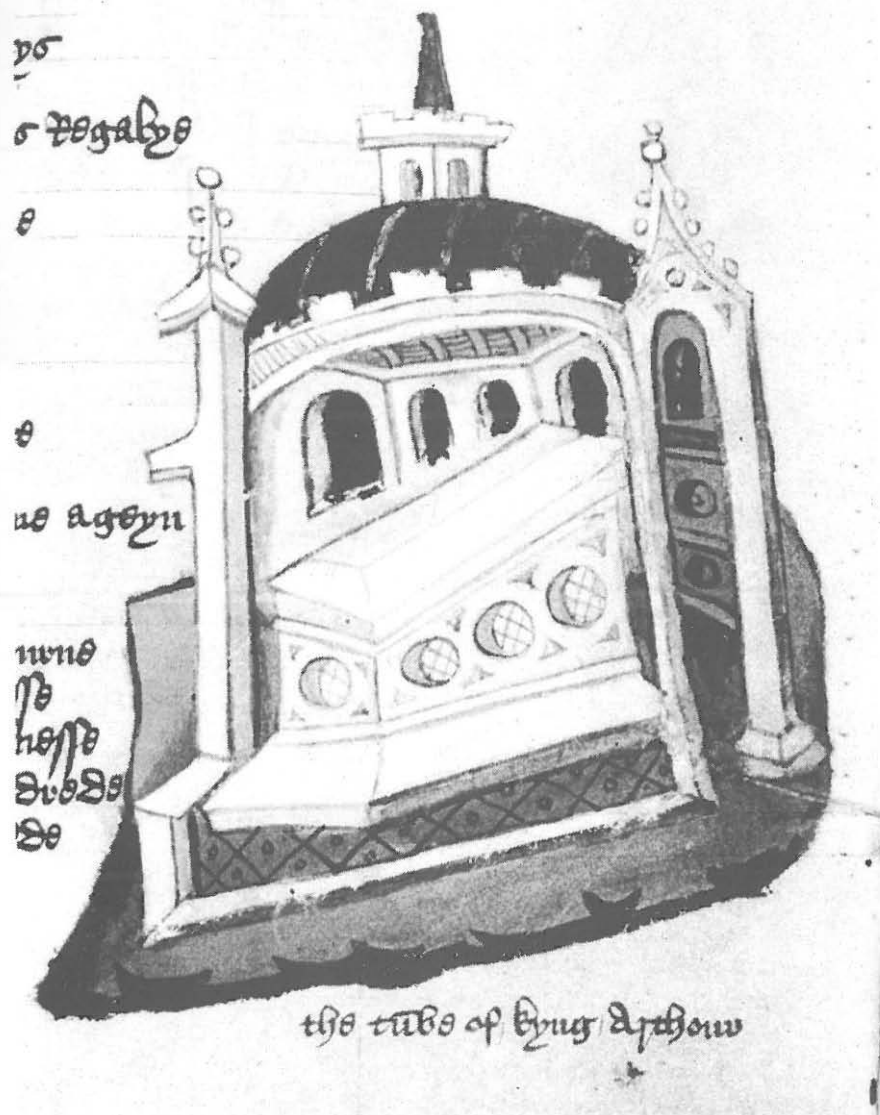


Fig. 2. A fifteenth-century artist's impression of the tomb of King Arthur at Glastonbury in British Library Ms. Harley 1766, fol. 219r. (Reproduced by permission.)

English analogy for the drawing of Henry I's tomb in general iconographic terms is the well-known, integral miniature of a royal monument at fol. 33^v of Westminster Abbey Ms. 38, the *Liber regalis*. While not precisely reproducing an existing tomb within Westminster Abbey (for which the manuscript was indeed made), this is unambiguously based upon royal monuments located in the sanctuary (particularly but not solely that of Edward III), with which the illustrator must have been acquainted, probably at first hand.²⁴ In their details the two miniatures are quite distinct, however, for while the *Liber regalis* shows a recognizably English type of effigy, Royal 20 A XVIII shows one that is apparently more French.

The drawing of Henry I's tomb is relatively detailed for its modest size (4×2.2 cm). It represents a Gothic table tomb with a crowned and sceptred effigy on it. The tomb, which has been slightly reduced in size by cropping of the leaf, is of straightforward design. It comprises a high plinth with a sloping upper course terminating at a moulding of one order running around the base of the chest. This chest is not decorated with either niches or panelling, but is inscribed *Rex* on the west end and *Henricus p[r]im[us]* on the south side. Resting on the chest is a coped slab on which the effigy lies. The king is clad in a long, broadly folded mantle which obscures his feet. No footrest is represented. The upper part of the body is not covered by the mantle, so that both arms can be seen. The left arm is folded at right angles across the body with the hand closed, while the right hand holds a sceptre extending diagonally over the right shoulder, with a large floral head and a bulbous knob at the base of the shaft. The face is beardless, the eyes apparently wide open, and the hair short and wavy. The effigy wears an open crown with three floral peaks on its head.

As it is, the drawing is clearly a simplification of the object it purports to represent. Moreover, the inscription on the tomb at Reading is most unlikely to have been abbreviated in the manner shown here. However, if a continuation such as *fundator hujus*

monasterii (or similar) on the east and north sides is envisaged, then it was conceivably this straightforward. An analogy exists in the (much smaller) inscription on the east end of the early sixteenth century cenotaph of 'King' Osric at Gloucester Cathedral, which reads simply *Osricus rex primus fundator hujus monasterii 681*.²⁵ In any case, allowing for simplification by the artist, there is nothing inherently impossible about either the form of the tomb or the inscription it carries.

Neither is the effigy impossible or even unlikely, although as suggested previously it does not correspond to local models. Rather, it displays a combination of characteristics found in royal effigies made in France throughout much of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but on the effigy of no English ruler. The relevant comparanda begin with the retrospective effigies of the English monarchs Henry the Young King (d. 1183) (Fig. 3) and Richard I formerly in Rouen cathedral, which have been dated alternatively to the first decade of the thirteenth century and post-1250, but are more likely to have been made *c.*1220-40.²⁶ Broadly contemporary with these is the effigy of Clovis I from Sainte-Geneviève in Paris (*c.*1220-30): the sequence also includes the trumeau figure of Childebert from the refectory of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (*c.*1240), and most French monarchical effigies up to that of Charles V (1364-80), including the series of retrospective *gisants* made for the royal abbey of St Denis *c.*1263-4.²⁷ Not all of these sculptures furnish equally good comparisons. The Rouen effigies, particularly that of Henry the Young King, and a selection of the retrospective monuments at St Denis are formally closest to the effigy shown in the drawing. The form of the crown is generally similar, the hair is of the same length and wavy character, the eyes are as obviously open (a common characteristic in England as well as France), and, significantly, the effigy of the drawing, like (for example) those at Rouen, that commemorating Philippe son of Louis VI at St Denis (Fig. 4), and the statue of Charles V made for the Louvre palace is clean-shaven. Beards were a feature of English royal effigies from that of John (made *c.*1232)



*TOMBEAU de pierre à gauche en entrant par la petite porte
dans l'Eglise de N. D. de Rouen.*

*D'après celui de
Gaignières.*

catalogue conforme à l'original

J. M. Luxford

Fig. 3. Drawing of the tomb of Henry the Young King at Rouen Cathedral, from the collection of François-Roger de Gaignières. (Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.)



Fig. 4. Effigies of Philippe, son of King Louis VI of France, and Constance of Castile at St-Denis. (Reproduced by permission of the Centre des monuments nationaux.)

to that of Henry IV (made *c.*1415-25) at least.²⁸ Prior to the sixteenth century, only French representations of English monarchs - the Rouen examples and one of the Fontevault effigies - have clean-shaven countenances.²⁹ Indeed, the beard was such a widespread feature of English monarchical iconography in general by the fifteenth century, particularly where sculpture was concerned, that representation of a clean-shaven effigy seems a rather unlikely initiative on the part of the person responsible for the drawing of Henry I's tomb.³⁰

There are further straightforward similarities to be noted. The form of the sceptre represented in the drawing corresponds to those of the French effigies: it is necessarily simplified, but is essentially the same. That it is held in the right hand is a point of departure from the Rouen effigies of Henry the Young King and Richard I, but not from the aforementioned effigies of Clovis I, Childebert, Philippe son of Louis VI or Charles V (or indeed other effigies of English kings from those at Fontevault onwards). Another comparison with French practise, and contrast with that of England (except in the case of Henry IV's effigy at Canterbury) is the fact that the free hand does not hold an item of the regalia. Rather, French kings were commonly represented holding their mantlecords, or else with their free hand held at right angles across the body, as in the drawing.³¹ Moreover, a number of the St Denis effigies, and that of Henry the Young King, lack theriomorphic footrests, as does the effigy shown in the drawing. Long mantles covering the feet are not, however, found in the French monarchical effigies being considered. This motif appears to have been reserved for effigies of queens, and indeed of aristocratic women more generally (Fig. 4). That the effigy in the drawing lacks a pillow is a departure from monument design on both sides of the channel.

The points of resemblance noted here should not be overstated, for they may be more apparent than real. A large and obvious problem with linking the drawing of Henry I's tomb to French royal monuments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries resides

in explaining why the abbot and convent of Reading might have been influenced and attracted by a French model rather than an English one. While the monuments at St Denis have been cogently put forward as the catalyst for the introduction of alabaster to English fourteenth-century royal tomb design,³² explicit formal parallels have never been drawn. What we have here may after all be simply an extempore sketch; although if so, then it is practically unique both functionally and iconographically. However, when taken together, the points of similarity identified above at least suggest a connection to French prototypes, and a corresponding eschewal of English ones. We are dealing here with a hypothesis which it is hard to test further, given the nature of the drawing concerned. The judgement on whether the correspondences to the French royal effigies noted in this article are due to the artist's personal knowledge of Henry I's tomb or rather to coincidence rests, for the time being at least, with the reader.

NOTES

The author thanks Dr Paul Binski for commenting on a draft of this article.

¹ For a summary of current received opinion on Henry I's tomb see M. Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud, Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2003), pp. 51-2.

² F. Madden (ed.), *Matthæ Pariensis monachi sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum* (London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1866-9; 3 vols.), I, p. 250. Cf. D. Greenway, ed., *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 704-5 and K. R. Potter, ed., *The Historia Novella of William of Malmesbury* (London, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1955), pp. 16-17.

³ See O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307* (Munich, Prestel Verlag, 1955-60; 5 vols.), II, p. 373 (3637: Adela, ex Giraldu Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*), p. 374 (3639: William, ex Roberti de Torigneio, *Chronica*; 3643: Reginald, ex *Annales Cambriae*). Adela of Louvain is otherwise said to have been buried at the Benedictine abbey of Afflighem in Brabant.

⁴ Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, p. 52.

⁵ P. McGurk (ed.), *The Chronicle of John of Worcester. Vol. III: The Annals from 1067-1140 with the Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 214-15. In the early fourteenth century Robert Mannyng of Bourne stated that Henry I's bones were buried by King Stephen at Reading 'in a tomb of honour'; but this is perhaps chronicler's licence rather than a statement based on any direct knowledge of either the tomb or a now-lost account: I. Sullens (ed.), *Robert Mannyng of Brunne: The Chronicle* (Binghamton, N.Y., Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), pp. 555-6.

⁶ For Henry's concern with sepulchral decorum see E.M. Hallam, 'Royal burial and the cult of kingship in France and England, 1060-1330', *Journal of Medieval History*, VIII (1982): 369.

⁷ See R. Nares, 'Observations on the discovery of part of a sarcophagus at Reading Abbey, in Berkshire, supposed to have contained the remains of King Henry I ...', *Archaeologia*, XVIII (1817): 272-4. For confusion concerning this object, and arguments about its status, see P.H. Ditchfield, '[Report on a paper delivered by J.M. Guiding entitled] Henry I's tomb at Reading Abbey', *The Quarterly Journal of the Berks Archaeological and Architectural Society*, I (1890): 99.

⁸ J. Crook, 'The "Rufus tomb" in Winchester cathedral', *Antiquaries Journal*, LXXIX (1999): 187-212.

⁹ See A. E. Preston, 'The demolition of Reading Abbey', *The Berkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXXIX (1935): 119-21.

¹⁰ See in particular G. Zarnecki, 'The Coronation of the Virgin on a capital from Reading Abbey', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIII (1950): 1-12; idem, 'Sculpture', in *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1984), pp. 146-8, 159, 167-71; R. Baxter and S. Harrison, 'The decoration of the cloister at Reading Abbey', pp. 302-12 in L. Keen and E. Scarff (eds), *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture in the Thames Valley* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XXV; Leeds, Maney Publishing, 2002).

¹¹ W. Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270* (New York, Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1970), pp. 448-9 and pl. 142.

¹² L. T. Smith, ed., *Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales* (London, Centaur Press Ltd, 1964; 5 vols), V, p. 88; J. Adhémar and G. Dordor (eds), 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières (tome I)', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser.

LXXXIV (1974), p. 15 (nos 25-7). However, these examples all stood within arched wall-recesses: they were not freestanding like the tomb at Bristol.

¹³ *Epitaphia sepulture gloriosi Regis Henrici senioris inscribenda, fundatoris domus nostri*: British Library Ms. Egerton 2951, fol. 17^{r-v}; printed in W.H. Cornog, ed., 'The poems of Robert Partes', *Speculum*, XII (1937): 243.

¹⁴ Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, p. 52. An epitaph may conceivably have been displayed on a *tabula* close to the tomb; cf. e.g. A. Way, 'Effigy of King Richard, Cœur de Lion, in the cathedral at Rouen', *Archaeologia*, XXIX (1842): 215-16.

¹⁵ See the comments of Cornog, 'The poems of Robert Partes', pp. 220-1. See further R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2001), p. 569, where all of the verses are attributed to Partes, and A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 76-7.

¹⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Richard II, 1396-1399*, p. 346; B. F. Kemp (ed.), *Reading Abbey Cartularies I* (Camden Society, 4th ser. XXXI; London, Royal Historical Society, 1986), pp. 107-8. The quotation given here occurs in the recapitulation of the letter of 25 May 1398, that of 1397 being lost. Incidentally, the wording of this later letter leaves no reasonable doubt that the image of Henry I referred to was a component of the tomb, and therefore, in all likelihood, an effigy. *Tumbe et ymagine* is used collectively three times.

¹⁷ The Malmesbury monument is datable to c.1400.

¹⁸ The subject matter of the marginalia, and perhaps also the language (where it is in English, e.g. fols 80^v, 120^v, 183^v, 285^f) do not pertain to the north.

¹⁹ For a brief general overview of the manuscript see G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, The British Museum, 1921; 4 vols), II, pp. 358-9; also F.W.D. Brie, *Geschichte und Quellen der mittelenglischen Prosachronik The Brute of England oder The Chronicles of England* (Marburg, N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905), p. 31, where it is listed among French-language copies of the long text of the *Brut*.

²⁰ The text is very close to Greenway, *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon*, pp. 702-5, but omitting the *memento mori* digressions which Henry of Huntingdon indulges in.

²¹ Unpublished. For the legend see E. Mason, 'St Wulfstan's staff: its legend and uses', *Medium Ævum*, LIII (1984): 157-79.

²² These drawings are the subject of a forthcoming article by the author.

²³ Cf. Leland's description of the tomb in Smith, *Leland's Itinerary*, I, p. 288. On the manuscript see also K.L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490* (London, Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996; 2 vols), II, pp. 302-4.

²⁴ On the manuscript and its illustration see P. Binski, 'The *Liber Regalis*: its date and European context', pp. 232-46 in D. Gordon, L. Monnas and C. Elam, (eds), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London, Harvey Miller Publishers, 1997); see illustrations 142, 143.

²⁵ J. M. Luxford, 'Art and ideology on the eve of the Reformation: the monument of Osric and the Benedictines of Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Association*, CXX (2002), p. 182.

²⁶ Adhémar and Dordor, 'Les tombeaux', p. 18 (nos 43-5); Way, 'Effigy of King Richard', pp. 204, 208; Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, pp. 54, 59. Richard I's effigy is now destroyed, while only a fragment of Henry the Young King's survives. For the early dating (referring particularly to Richard's effigy) see Way, 'Effigy of King Richard', pp. 213-14; for the later see Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, p. 54 ('second half of the thirteenth century'). However, these effigies evidently pre-dated the introduction of the broad-fold drapery style (usually said to have arrived definitively with the Sainte-Chapelle apostles, 1241-8), and it thus seems safe to assign them to the second or third decade of the thirteenth century, given that the broad-fold style appeared early at Rouen (cf. Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, pl. 182). Moreover, the tomb-type they occupied, i.e. a rectangular slab supported by four crouching lions, was an early conception used for the monument of King Arthur at Glastonbury, built during the abbacy of Henry of Sully (1189-93: cf. Leland's description in Smith, *Leland's Itinerary*, I, p. 288). It is also found at Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire (retrospective tomb of Philippe I of France, d. 1108: see A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort. Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à à la fin du XIII^e siècle*, Geneva, Droz, 1975, pp. 159-60 and figs 73-6.

²⁷ On these effigies (up to that of Philippe le Hardi, which was made by 1310) see Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, pp. 460, 467-8 and pls 159 (right), 175; G.S. Wright, 'A royal tomb program in the reign of St Louis', *Art Bulletin*, LVI (1974), pp. 224-43, *passim*; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 124-9, 133-7, 149-50, 153, 154, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163-5, 167-8, 171-2 and figs 71, 132-51, 157. The trumeau figure of Charles V made for the Louvre palace (see M. Camille, *Gothic Art: Visions and Revelations of the Medieval World*, London, Everyman Art Library, 1996, p. 166 and fig. 122) and the effigy on his heart tomb at Rouen (described *in situ* in J.F. Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'Eglise*

Cathedrale [sic] *de Rouen*, Rouen, Les imprimeurs ordinaires de l'Archevesché, 1686, p. 61) are/were (the latter is destroyed) formally little different to the earliest effigies in the sequence.

²⁸ On John's effigy see most recently U. Engel, *Die Kathedrale von Worcester*, Munich, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2000, pp. 114-15. On Henry IV's tomb see C. Wilson, 'The medieval monuments', in P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks, eds, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 502, where a date 'fairly soon' after 1413 is convincingly postulated.

²⁹ The beardless effigy at Fontevrault is that assigned to Henry II, and represented in Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, pl. 142 (top).

³⁰ The only obvious exceptions to the rule of beardless kings in later medieval English sculpture are images of Henry VI (see e.g. R. Marks, 'Images of Henry VI', in J. Stratford, ed., *The Lancastrian Court. Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium*, Donington, Shaun Tyas, 2003, pp. 111-24). Further isolated examples do exist; see e.g. N. Smith, *The Royal Image and the English People*, Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing Company, 2001, pp. 21, 24 (sculptures on Duke Humfrey's monument at St Albans). Clean-shaven kings are less unusual in manuscript painting.

³¹ The free hand is, however, usually placed higher on the body than that holding the sceptre. This is unusual, but not unparalleled in French royal sepulchral iconography: see for example Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, fig. 35.

³² By, for e.g., Christopher Wilson: see J.J.G. Alexander and P. Binski, eds, *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987, pp. 416-17. On the subject of French royal tomb design's influence on that of England see also N. Coldstream, *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240-1360*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1994, pp. 187-90.