

MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS: The tomb of Maria of Hungary

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The tomb of Maria of Hungary (d. 25 March 1323), wife of King Charles II of Anjou (d. 5 May 1309), was completed in the workshop of Tino di Camaino, with the help of the Neapolitan architect Gagliardo Primario, between February 1325 and May 1326 (plate IX).¹ The dating and attribution are known from a number of documentary sources: the record of the execution of Maria's will, an order of marble made by her son Robert of Anjou on 21 February 1325, as well as the payment made to the artists.² The monument is in very good condition and its dense programme and artistic quality make it one of the most important works among the Angevin tombs in Naples. The design and the material of this central Italian wall-tomb have been orchestrated in order to express the *splendour* of the anointed royal house, the *virtues* of the dead Queen, and the legitimacy of the rule of the reigning King Robert of Anjou. This is the major achievement of the Angevin tombs made in the workshop of Tino di Camaino under the patronage of Robert of Anjou: not only do they commemorate the individual, they also offer a resplendent memorial to the entire ruling family. In this way, the image of the dynasty is present in a number of prominent locations in Naples including several of the city's churches, many of which were founded at the instigation of the female members of the family. It is important to recall this context in order to understand the design and programme of Maria's tomb. Charles I had envisioned a central mausoleum in the cathedral of Naples. The renunciation of this project by the next generation of Angevins resulted in the need to develop a dynastic iconography for each single monument.³

Maria's was the second tomb made during Robert's rule. The earlier tomb of Catherine of Austria provided a model after which Maria's tomb was more carefully planned and designed.⁴ The sculptural presentation of permanent memory is staged within the well-proportioned baldachin of white marble which encloses the sculpture. The sarcophagus hovers above the heads of the four cardinal virtues as if carried by invisible forces. Above the sarcophagus, angels ceremonially open a curtain for the onlooker, which reveals the *camera funebris*, in which the dead Queen lies in state under an artfully draped cloth decorated with her insignia (figs 17 and 21). On the roof of the *camera funebris* the enthroned Virgin and Child receive Maria's soul, presented by an angel

to the left carrying a crown indicating Maria's status. On behalf of her namesake, the Virgin Mary intercedes with Christ who has already turned towards the kneeling figure of Maria of Hungary. To the right, in support of Maria's hopes for salvation, a model of the church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, as a sign for her donation, is presented to the Virgin Mary by another angel (fig. 19). From the trefoil of the gable, God the Father blesses the scene, and the crossed keys of St Peter, his representative on earth, decorate the shield of the figure standing on the apex of the gable.

In this chapter, I will discuss three separate facets of this multivalent monument: religious and liturgical concerns relating to Maria and her personal salvation, dynastic and political aspects, and the expressive qualities provided through the expertise of Tino di Camaino and his workshop.

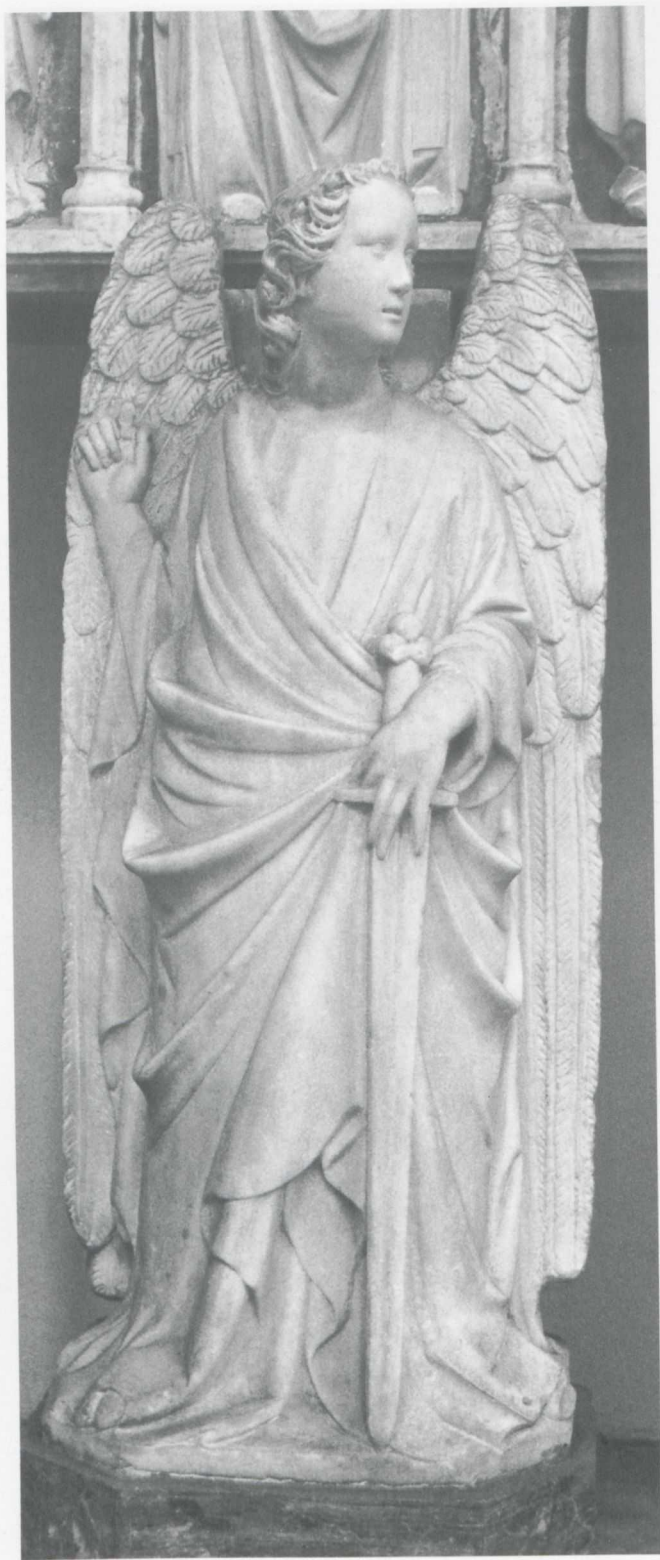
The tomb's primary function is as a dignified resting place for Maria of Hungary. Maria's hopes for salvation are expressed in the iconography of the tomb. The figures above the *camera funebris* indicate that the Queen hoped for a personal intercession for her soul, a *commendatio animae*, because of her donations to the convent, which included the tomb itself. The care of Maria's salvation was officially regulated, in part through the foundation of annual exequies for which a payment of six gold ounces fifteen *tareni* is documented.⁵ The visual programme of the tomb is therefore based on the belief that salvation is obtained by following the precepts of the Church, which alone ensured a place in heaven. The main tenet of this faith was the belief in the resurrection of the body and soul. Therefore, the sarcophagus of the dead Queen is supported by caryatids representing the cardinal virtues: *Prudentia*, *Temperantia*, *Iustitia* (fig. 20) and *Fortitudo*. By personifying Maria's virtues, they appear to cause the sarcophagus to hover above them. As already mentioned, the persuasive arguments for the *commendatio animae* are visualized on the roof of the *camera funebris*, where the angel to the left holding the crown and the angel to the right holding the model of the church address the enthroned Virgin Mary and refer to Queen Maria's status and donation. The *gisant* enclosed by the *camera funebris* concerns the commemoration of the deceased and the specific liturgical *memoria* (fig. 21). Significantly, the part of the inscription carved on the elegantly sloping surfaces of the chamber refers to the day of Maria's death and the relevant readings of the mass. Maria 'who died in the year of the Lord 1323 (sixth indiction) on 25 March, may her soul rest in peace'.⁶ Following Italian tomb tradition Maria is shown dead, dressed in her royal vestments and holding the royal insignia in her hands. Her youthful, idealized face is slightly turned to the right, allowing it to be seen more easily by the viewer. A comparison of the carving of her head with the other surviving female effigies from the workshop of Tino di Camaino – Catherine of Austria in San Lorenzo Maggiore and Maria of Valois in Santa Chiara – clearly shows that in all three cases the stylization of the soft regularity of the features was considered more important than individual characterization. It could be said that the body is represented as the earthly frame of the virtuous and



19 Tino di Camaino, *Angel Presenting a Model of Santa Maria Donna Regina*, detail of the Tomb of Maria of Hungary

therefore beautiful soul, but it also functions as the repository of royal symbolism and should not be seen as the body of an individual.⁷ The first part of the inscription, on the platform beneath the Virgin, makes it clear how strongly Maria was defined by her dynastic position. The inscription traces her genealogical connections with powerful Angevin and Arpád rulers:

20 Tino di Camaino, *Justice*, detail of the Tomb of Maria of Hungary





Here rests in honourable memory the most excellent Lady, Lady Maria, through God's grace Queen of Jerusalem, Sicily and Hungary, daughter of the magnificent Count Stephen, formerly through God's grace King of Hungary, and widow of Count and Lord Charles II of bright memory and mother of his serene highness Count and Lord, Lord Robert also through God's grace the illustrious King of the aforementioned Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Sicily.⁸

The liturgical context of the placing of the body on the bier is emphasized by the two deacons with holy water and incense standing behind the *gisant*. This motif had been known since the thirteenth century in central Italian tombs and serves to visualize the imaginary celebration of the mass. The iconography of the sarcophagus is innovative in that it does not portray the arms of the Queen unlike, for example, the heraldry found on the tombs of Roman clerics,⁹ or Passion scenes as a well-known sign of salvation, as in the tomb of Cardinal Riccardo Petroni in Siena (fig. 22).¹⁰ In fact, the sarcophagus can be linked only indirectly to Maria's personal hopes of salvation. Eleven of the Queen's children are enthroned in Gothic niches around the sarcophagus. These include Charles Martel (d. 1296), Robert of Anjou, several living and several dead dukes, and Saint Louis of Toulouse (plate x), whose canonization in 1317 bestowed particular honour on the royal house.¹¹ As the mother of the Saint, Maria of Hungary had no need to rely on a distant intercessor, but had the honour of being able to turn to her own son for

21 Tino di Camaino, *Gisant of Queen Maria from above*, detail of the Tomb of Maria of Hungary

22 Tino di
Camaino, Tomb
of Cardinal
Petroni, Siena
Cathedral, 1317



intercession in the next world.¹² Pope John XXII wrote to the Queen in 1317 that she should rejoice, because from her womb had sprung such a saint who could now pray for her to God.¹³

The sculpture and the inscriptions on the tomb build a case for Maria's salvation which can be summarized as follows: Maria of Hungary was descended from royal ancestry and her virtues were an expression of her noble birth, she was married to a king and had given birth to a ruling king as well as a saint, and she was a patron of the Clarissan convent of Santa Maria Donna Regina. Her memory is preserved on the tomb in sculptural and liturgical terms. The demand for intercession forms part of the pictorial programme. In this sense the iconography has its place among contemporary

central Italian effigial wall tombs.¹⁴ This type of tomb offered, moreover, a perfect vehicle for political and dynastic expression.

The tomb of a Queen serves to commemorate the whole dynasty. Maria of Hungary's tomb achieves this task in a highly innovative manner. The reliefs on the sarcophagus as well as the caryatids are used to make a dynastic and political statement. On the front as well as on the shorter sides of the sarcophagus Maria's sons can be seen seated on thrones. This representation refers not only to Maria's maternal role, but also to the concept of the power drawn from the continuity of the royal dynasty over several generations. The argumentation is built on the relation between memory and legitimacy because the commemoration of the dead and the legitimacy of their status are established within the context of the continuation of the generations. In the case of the tomb of Maria of Hungary, this serves to exalt the dead Queen and her successors.¹⁵ The Angevin monuments are particularly successful because this level of meaning was incorporated at the design stage to make the political structure of aristocratic *memoria* visually evident using a new language of imagery. It is therefore likely that the seven relief figures on the front of Maria's sarcophagus represent those sons who succeeded to dynastically important positions, though a lack of attributes makes their individual identification difficult (plates IX, X). It is clear, however, that the saint bishop *Louis of Toulouse* has been given the central place of honour. He welcomes the audience with a blessing. If there is a heraldic order to the programme the figure to the right of Louis is the ruling king, Robert of Anjou, holding a raised sceptre. To the left of the saint, Maria's firstborn Charles Martel holds a lowered sceptre which probably indicates his early death. Further to the left and the right are enthroned the less important sons of Maria who wielded ducal power.¹⁶ Louis of Toulouse is flanked by the heirs to the throne of Hungary and Sicily, and the importance of the figures diminishes towards the outer sides. The worldly hierarchy is thus secondary to the heavenly hierarchy. The fact that Louis of Toulouse takes the place of honour on the sarcophagus shows that this is not merely a representation of the descendants of the Queen. Specific emphasis is placed on the sanctity of the dynasty as demonstrated by Louis. The only exception to the precedence accorded to the heavenly hierarchy is the special place of honour given to the Queen, as befitting the mother of a saint.¹⁷ These concepts were expressed for the benefit of an audience that remains difficult to define.¹⁸ It is clear that such a pictorial programme on a royal tomb serves to underline the concept of the *beata stirps*, according to which the descent from a chosen dynasty blesses the specific regent and justifies his royal power. The Angevins were a branch of the Capetians and it is well known that they adopted the Capetian concept of sacred kingship and imported it to Italy when they replaced the government of the Hohenstaufen.¹⁹ Research on the *sainteté du lineage* since the 1970s has shown that the concept of sacred kingship among the Capetians developed in the previous centuries and was broadly accepted by the thirteenth century.²⁰ According to Vauchez, the alliance between the French Angevins and the Hungarian Arpáds through marriage is one reason why the idea of a

sacred dynasty, otherwise almost outdated, endured longer in those parts of Europe governed by these houses.²¹

The iconographic programme of the sarcophagus can therefore be understood as a political statement by King Robert of Anjou, who justified his own rule through his mother's tomb. Two main concerns are emphasized: Robert's descent from the houses of Hungary and France, and his assumption of power in the place of his older brother Louis of Toulouse, who had exchanged worldly power for a saintly life. Robert was Maria of Hungary's third son and several challenges to his authority made such a justification necessary. For example, his claim to the throne was disputed by Carobert of Hungary, firstborn son of Robert's eldest brother Charles Martel who had inherited the throne of Hungary from Maria. Bartholomew of Capua, in a speech given in 1309 on the occasion of Robert's coronation, exploited every rhetorical possibility in support of Robert's claim to the throne. The theme of the speech was taken from Jesus Sirach's *Coronavit aron in vasis virtutis*. The arguments that were used to support Robert's claim to the throne were that Robert was a descendant from the French royal house – 'he is the son and grandson of two preceding kings of Sicily and other relatives were kings who descended from the royal dynasty of the kings of France'²² – and that Robert of Anjou had been given permission to inherit the Neapolitan throne by Boniface VIII.²³

The celebrated panel of *Saint Louis of Toulouse*, painted by Simone Martini probably in 1317, in the wake of the canonization of the saint (fig. 18), clearly shows that the legitimization of the succession to the throne and the prominent exhibition of the chosen dynasty held a position of immense importance in contemporary Angevin iconography.²⁴ Recent research suggests the painting was first exhibited in the royal chapel of the cathedral in which the tombs of the first generation of Angevins were erected.²⁵ This was the first and, to judge from the remaining evidence, the most important painting of the Franciscan saint. Contrary to traditional Italian representations of saints on altar panels where the saint is portrayed alone, Saint Louis is moved slightly to the left of the central axis of the painting and is depicted crowning his brother Robert. In this way, the *imago* of the saint has been modified to become a scenic representation of the Angevin self-image.²⁶ Although the painting was important as a cult image of the saint, it also depicts a narrative event, that of the coronation. It shows angels setting a heavenly crown on the head of Louis of Toulouse, while Louis passes his worldly crown to Robert, who is kneeling to his right, dressed in his coronation vestments.²⁷ This image can be understood, on the one hand, as a pictorial representation of a hagiographical topos: celestial power given to the saint in recompense for the worldly power that he renounced. On the other hand, it can be understood as a pictorial representation of historical events: Louis's renunciation of the crown of Sicily, which as a result passed to Robert. This pictorial fixing and legitimation of Robert's claim to the throne of Naples is the central motif of the image and affects the representation of the Saint himself. Although, as bishop, Louis merits a throne, all other known

images of him show him standing upright.²⁸ The throne which Louis occupies on Simone Martini's panel can therefore be understood as the throne of the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem, which subsequently passed to Robert. Louis's pectoral, decorated in paste with the Angevin fleur-de-lis and the cross of Jerusalem, is a magnificent and conspicuous symbol for this throne. The same heraldic colours decorate the stole of Robert's coronation vestments. Louis and Robert are both part of the *beata stirps* but their different roles in the dynastic representation are interwoven in this painting to form a powerful rhetoric. Disregarding the historical reality, Louis of Toulouse appears as reigning monarch – Robert kneels at his side and subordinates himself to the celestial order embodied by the Saint. Both deserve their crown though they are of different kingdoms. The repeated motif of the crown defines them as representatives of a royal lineage that claims spiritual distinction and temporal power. The importance given to the concept of dynasty by the use of heraldic decoration and the tooling of the gilded background demonstrates how closely ostentatious splendour and symbolic statement work together. One could say, metaphorically, that the Angevin dynasty provided the framework for both salvation and coronation.

In the case of Maria's tomb this framework is already provided by the function of the monument, while her lineage is a central argument for the erection of her tomb. Both the centrally placed Saint Louis and his brother Robert came from the same womb, both belonged to the same genealogical tree, which produced several saints and kings in Hungary and in France. On the occasion of the funeral of Philip of Taranto, Giovanni da Napoli expressed this very clearly in a sermon with the image of the good fruits from the good tree.²⁹ The sermon was preached in the church of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples in December 1332, probably in the presence of a large part of the Neapolitan aristocracy.³⁰ The Dominican preacher explained the principle of the *beata stirps* with reference to the gospel of Matthew (7:17), 'the good tree produces good fruits' (*bona arbor bonos fructus facit*). He expounded:

The French house can be called a good tree. It is good in relation to God, that is to say as friend and protector of the church, and it can be regarded as noble among all the houses of the world, since recently two saints of the name Louis were canonized, namely the king of France and the bishop of Toulouse.³¹ Therefore it can be said, that the fruits which come from such a tree, are good not only with reference to God, but also magnificent with reference to the world, that is to say the kings, dukes and counts as well as our lord, who descends from such a house, since his grandfather was the son of the king of France.³²

Two arguments have been cleverly combined here: the genealogy, which has been dressed in the image of the tree and which ensures that the good family will produce further offspring; and the use of the conjunction 'therefore' (*ergo*) which implies causality and suggests that the good 'with reference to God' logically belong to the magnificent of the world. In short, this amounts to saying that he who descends from a good family is himself good, and he who is good is predestined to rule.

This idea of a link between goodness and the Angevin dynasty is

expressed on Maria's tomb by the caryatids representing the virtues which should be interpreted as personifications of the character of the Queen on only one level.³³ The use of virtues on a royal tomb in the 1320s must have created a strong impact, as it was only later that they became the norm in the decoration of Neapolitan tombs. A consideration of the history of Italian tomb sculpture demonstrates that the inclusion of the virtues on Maria's tomb was not only innovatory but also an outstanding solution with historical roots. Before the Angevins began to claim virtues for their tombs they were used only on the tombs of saints. Erwin Panofsky suggested, therefore, that their use on the Angevin tombs was a sign of secularization and indicated the beginning of a modern desire for fame.³⁴ In view of the Angevin notion of themselves as a *beata stirps* it seems appropriate to interpret the use of virtues as an attempt to create a formal link with tombs of saints. Only later, when they were used on the tombs of the Neapolitan aristocracy, did their meaning become secular. In Italy, tombs of saints dating from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century did not conform to a clearly defined type. Jörg Garms has noted, however, that from a certain date onwards tombs of saints could and should be designated and distinguished from 'normal' tombs.³⁵ The use of figures of the virtues had an important role in creating this distinction.

The use of the virtues on the tombs of saints began with the *Arca di San Domenico* (1264–67) in Bologna.³⁶ According to John Pope-Hennessy's reconstruction the sarcophagus was carried by the archangels Gabriel and Michael, two groups of clerics and the three theological virtues.³⁷ Following the model of the *Arca* in Bologna, the Dominicans started to employ figures of virtues to carry sarcophagi. A prominent example is the tomb of Saint Peter Martyr (c. 1335) in Sant' Eustorgio in Milan. The acts of the Dominican General Chapter of 1335 state that the brothers of Sant' Eustorgio desired a monument that in form and material resembled that of Dominic: '*in forma et materiale simile per omnia sepulcro beati Dominici, patris nostris*'.³⁸

Outside Italy, this type of tomb was used as a model for Saint Margaret of Hungary (1335–45) in Budapest.³⁹ Paul Lövei's reconstruction shows that, like the *Arca di San Domenico*, Saint Margaret's tomb was decorated with scenes from her *vita* and raised on columns decorated with reliefs of allegorical figures, probably the virtues. Such supports belong to a type of freestanding saint's tomb usually placed behind the altar.⁴⁰ The intention was to ensure the visibility of the tomb and to facilitate contact by pilgrims seeking salvation.⁴¹ This type of arrangement can be found in the Tuscan tombs of San Cerbone in the cathedral of Massa Marittima (1324),⁴² and of San Ottaviano in the cathedral of Volterra (1320).⁴³ The only tomb with virtues that predates the Angevin tombs and which was not made for a canonized saint, is that erected in Genoa by Giovanni Pisano in 1313 for Margaret of Brabant, wife of Emperor Henry VII.⁴⁴ Significantly, this monument was created when the canonization process for Margaret was initiated.⁴⁵ It was particularly important to illustrate Margaret's virtues and to emulate the tombs of other saints in order to demonstrate that she was a worthy candidate for

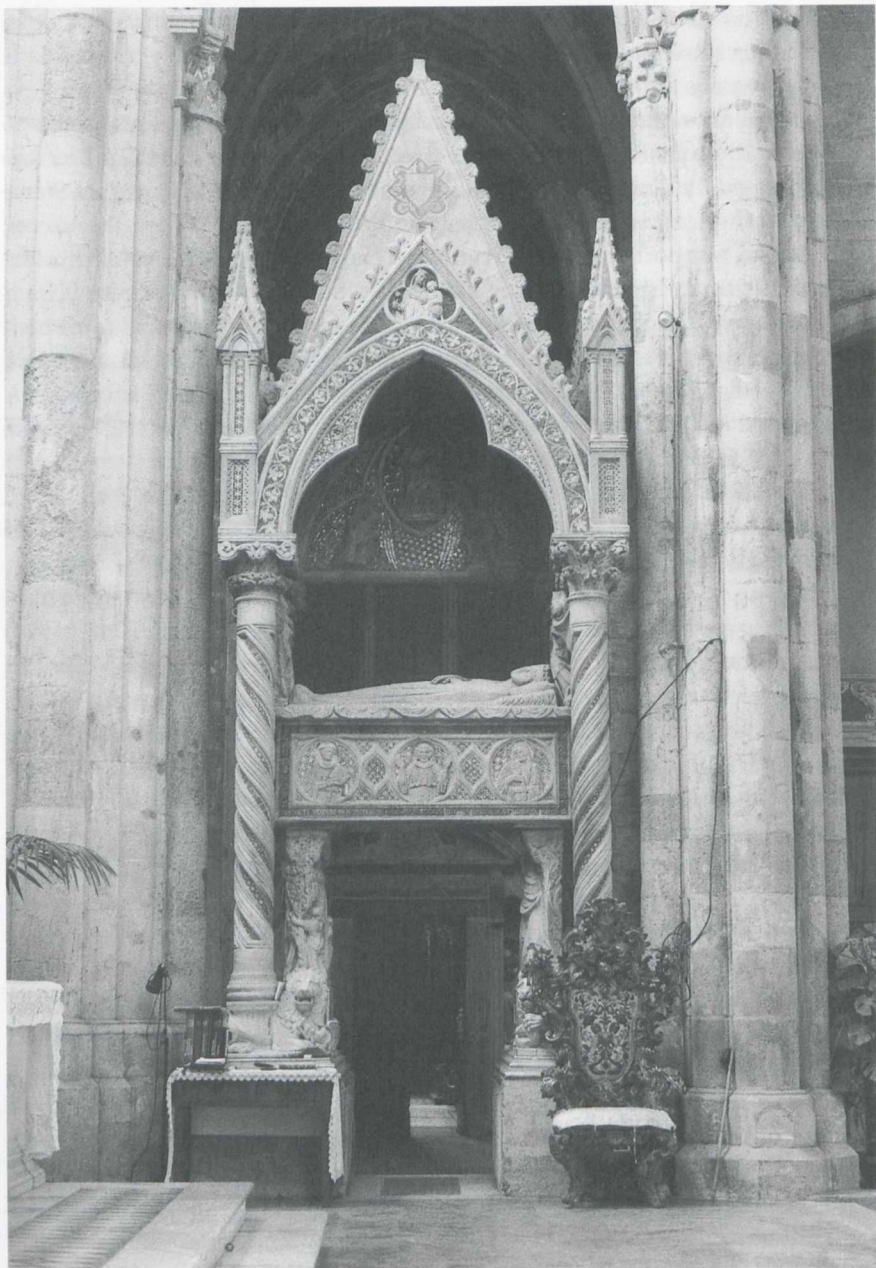
canonization. The tomb of Margaret of Brabant demonstrates that a sarcophagus raised by virtues was still regarded as specifically appropriate for saints' tombs at this time.

Even after the precedent set by Margaret's tomb in 1313, virtues were not automatically chosen for tombs other than those of saints. This is demonstrated by Tino di Camaino's tomb of Cardinal Petroni (1317) in Siena Cathedral (fig. 22). It is probable that Tino di Camaino adopted the use of caryatids to support the sarcophagus on this wall tomb from his master Giovanni Pisano.⁴⁶ Since the use of virtues for the tomb of an 'ordinary' cleric was apparently not appropriate, the figures were not given any attributes and their function is solely to raise the tomb. It is therefore all the more significant that Tino di Camaino transformed the caryatids into virtues when he designed his first tomb for the Angevin court. This was the tomb created in 1324 for Catherine of Austria in San Lorenzo (fig. 23). The tomb has a complicated history and there is evidence of several changes in the design, but it is nevertheless clearly designed by the head of the workshop, Tino di Camaino. The artist had to adapt the caryatids of the virtues to the unusual, freestanding setting of the tomb in the ambulatory of the choir thus establishing an association between the tomb and the main altar.⁴⁷ In Naples, the virtues do not only characterize and eulogize the dead, as was the case in the tomb of Cardinal Petroni. On the tomb of Catherine of Austria, in my view, the virtues are employed to raise the princess up into the realm of the saints. The tomb differs from Margaret of Brabant's tomb in Genoa in that here it is the dynasty itself, the *bona arbor* which deserved this distinction.

It is important to highlight the power of typology, which is as meaningful and significant as iconography. The canon of cardinal and theological virtues provided a limited choice for use on tomb sculpture. Because the virtues are a *topos* they cannot reveal much about the deceased.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, their introduction as caryatids on the tombs of important aristocratic women was pioneering in that it symbolized holiness. Virtues – either as abstract, verbal concepts or in their form as personifications – occupied a clearly defined place in the establishment of a moral canon, as is evident from *Fürstenspiegel*, or conduct literature for princes, and political treatises.⁴⁹ The virtues served less to describe the individual's personality than to define their role according to their social and political status. It is remarkable, therefore, that the tombs of both Margaret of Brabant and Maria of Hungary were accorded the cardinal virtues that belong to the canon of male rulers, whereas the virtues that decorate the tombs of other Neapolitan women stress their Franciscan-influenced caritative role.⁵⁰ This can be understood as a result of the development through which the women of aristocratic families took on the responsibility of promoting the sanctity of their dynasty. The most influential model for 'spectacular self-humiliation' was Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia-Hungary,⁵¹ who appears in several Neapolitan programmes.⁵²

The tomb provides a clear political statement that Robert of Anjou, the descendant of a sacred dynasty, rules the kingdom of Naples legitimately. The caryatids of virtues illustrate this intention and can be understood as the

23 Tino di Camaino, Tomb of Catherine of Austria, Naples, San Lorenzo, 1324



symbol of the chosen dynasty. Furthermore the reliefs on the sarcophagus showing Robert next to his canonized brother, Louis of Toulouse, present the genealogical argument for the legitimacy of Robert's reign. That Maria's funerary monument forms the frame of the statement is part of the argument. Maria forms part of the bloodline linking saints and kings: ancestors such as Saints Stephen and Ladislav, both kings of Hungary, and offspring such as Saint Louis of Toulouse and King Robert of Anjou. It would be wrong to see

the political statement on the tomb of Maria of Hungary as denigrating her in any way. On the contrary, the elevation of Queen mother and king are mutually dependent within a dynasty of rulers. It is exactly this which makes the system of *memoria* so effective.

Maria's magnificent and lavish tomb to a large extent derives its effect, including its religious and political message, from the artistic quality of its execution, carried out by Tino di Camaino and Galgliardo Primario. The few documents that have survived concerning the construction of the tomb do not allow any conclusions to be drawn as to whether, or how, the patron was actively involved in the realization of the programme.⁵³ Nevertheless, the monument itself provides evidence of the ambitious nature of the commission. Its design, modelled on Roman and Tuscan wall-tombs, was realized with enormous energy and elegance.⁵⁴ Descriptions testify to the impact made by the precious materials, especially the white marble, on visitors of the early modern era. Pietro De Stefano, on whom the innovative iconography made no impression, remarked in 1560 that 'there is a sepulchre of the finest marble [so] transparent that it appears [to be] alabaster, where the mortal [remains] of the said Queen Maria are [placed]'.⁵⁵ Cesare d'Engenio, in 1623, spoke of 'a tomb of pure white marble'.⁵⁶ White marble had already been used for earlier wall-tombs in central Italy. However, on Maria's tomb the fine marble incrustations and inlaid glass work are orchestrated in such a way that the entire monument gleams like a precious shrine. Tino di Camaino had experimented with a combination of marble and inlaid work for the first time in the tomb of Catherine of Austria, probably in conjunction with artists from Campania. For the tomb of Maria of Hungary, his second Neapolitan work, he reduced the colour scheme and the amount of incrustated and inlaid pieces and thus achieved a greater overall harmony. Furthermore, he employed the subtle shades inherent in the marble itself to create nuances. For example, alternate shades of marble are used for the seated figures on the front of the sarcophagus with Saint Louis of Toulouse given the brightest variant and there is also a gradation of shades of marble between the gable and the piers of the baldachin.

A view of the entire monument shows that the proportions were thought out carefully (plate IX). The width corresponds to half of the height. This is emphasized by the capital level, which marks the midpoint of the monument. The gable is carried on slender bundles of piers with extravagant corner posts, set diagonally and crowned by finials. The arch of the gable is enlivened with elegant, open tracery. The piers with their three registers lend a rhythmic movement to the outer elevation, which corresponds to the central elements of the tomb: the caryatids representing the virtues, the sarcophagus with the *gisant* of Maria of Hungary, and the *camera funebris*.

A comparison of Maria's tomb with the tomb of Cardinal Petroni demonstrates the development of subtle expressive details in the work of Tino di Camaino. Cardinal Petroni's tomb has squatter proportions and a pyramidal structure. It is dominated by the deep, narrative reliefs and the three-quarter round figure sculptures on the sarcophagus. A unique feature

of the *camera funebris* is the pedestal, decorated with Petroni's coat of arms, on which the gisant is placed. The angels who open the curtains stand in front of the pedestal. On Maria's tomb, the architectural elements are elongated and the individual forms are more strongly related to one another. The angels who hold open the curtains of the *camera funebris* have wings similar to those of the caryatids of the virtues. Unlike the angels on Cardinal Petroni's tomb, those on Maria's tomb do not project above the roof of the *camera funebris*. Only the angel to the left looks out at the viewer. The angel on the right gazes at the effigy of the deceased Queen and marks an inner conversation. The finesse of the workmanship on the tomb can be measured through small details such as the cascading drapery of the curtains, which are barely attached to the roof and thus belie the weight of the marble, and the pall which falls into pleats arranged at right angles to the Queen's effigy. To my knowledge, this is a unique solution to the problem posed by the representation of a recumbent figure.

Maria of Hungary's monumental wall tomb in Santa Maria Donna Regina was used as a display of royal representation – in the sense of image and as a political representation of legitimate power. Its so-called 'courtly' quality can be measured in the refined sculptural details and the solemn variation of its various elements. It is important to note that the tomb dominated the small church rebuilt by Maria. This is comparable to the early fourteenth-century arrangements in the Scrovegni chapel in Padua where Enrico Scrovegni's tomb faces the Last Judgement scene.⁵⁷ In Santa Maria Donna Regina, it is possible to make a tentative proposal that a connection can be made between the 'Last Judgement' on the entrance wall and the tomb monument, a dialogue initiated by the papal spear-bearer standing on the apex of the gable. In Maria of Hungary's tomb the Angevin claim to power has been condensed into a pithy artistic formulation, which remained unique amongst the subsequent dynastic monuments. The innovations developed by Tino di Camaino, in conjunction with Gagliardo Primario and other Neapolitan artists, were repeated on later tombs but eventually lost their vigour and became exaggerated because of their monumentalization.⁵⁸ The fact that such important innovations were devised for the tomb of a woman can be ascribed to Maria's role in the preservation of the dynasty through the birth of her many children as well as to her participation in the promotion of Angevin piety.

Translated by Alexandra Gajewski

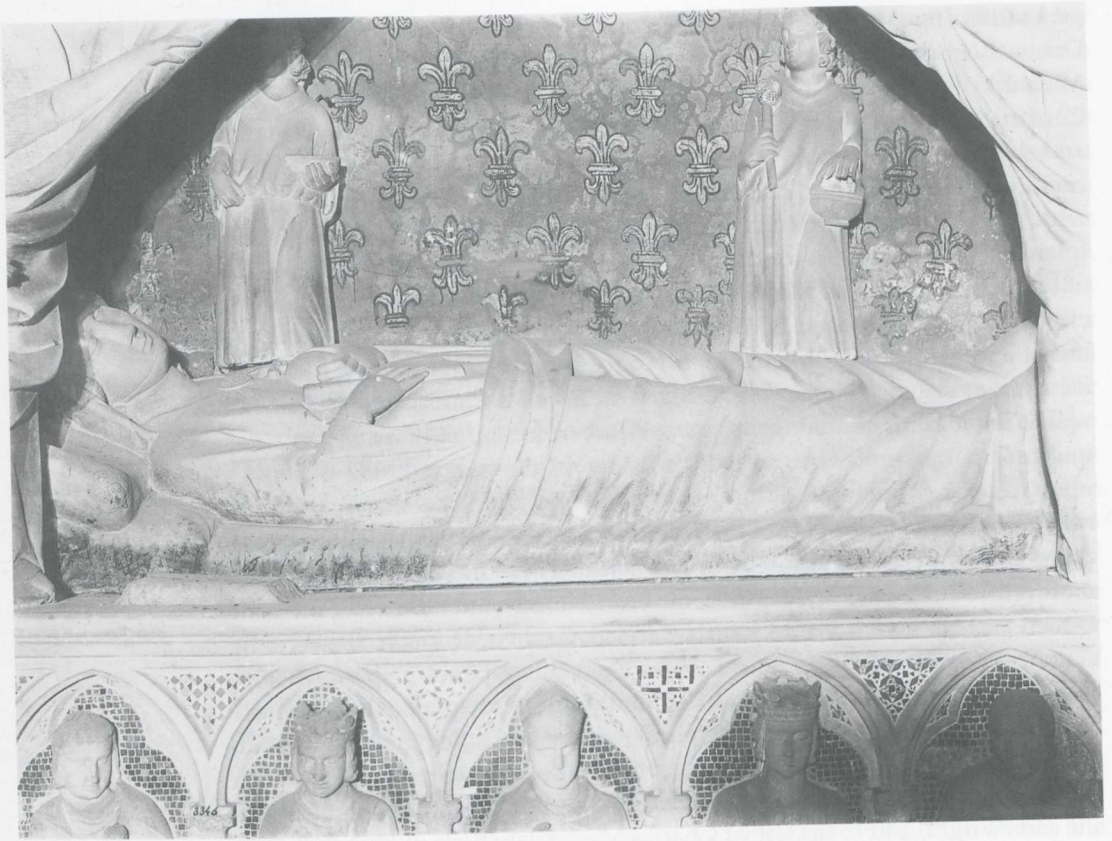
Notes

1. This chapter is based on my dissertation on the tombs of the Angevins in Naples. For the tomb of Maria of Hungary see Michalsky (2001^a): 113ff., 117–121 and cat. no. 22, 289–97. In the most recent literature the tomb has been mentioned only in its wider context. See, for example, Bock (2001): 239–42; and Moskowitz (2001): 184–6, who compares the tomb with that of Pope Benedict XI in Perugia. See also Panofsky (1964); Gardner (1988^a).

2. The wording of the record of the execution of the will is as follows: 'Magistris Dyno et Galardo de summa unciarum centum quinquaginta quatuor conventarum eis pro facienda una sepultura in dicta ecclesia sancte Marie Dompne Regine, in qua debet corpus dicte domine tumulari uncias 114'. Reg. ang. 1326B fo. 161-6 quoted from Minieri Riccio (1857): 205; Schulz (1860), doc. CCCLXVII, 137-45. Schulz quotes *uncias quadraginta* from fo. 160 of the same register. It is generally accepted that Tino di Camaino was in charge of the artistic design. Bertaux (1899): 126; Chierici (1934): 103; Valentiner (1935): 100ff.; Morisani (1955): 42ff.; Thoenes (1971): 195; Kreytenberg (1987): 28. For a different opinion see Enderlein (1997): 91. For the document in which the marble is ordered, see Michalsky (2000^a): 291ff.
3. For the tombs created after that of Charles I, see Michalsky (2000^a): 92-154. For the creation of a mausoleum in the cathedral, Michalsky (2000^a): 101-9.
4. Gardner (1988^a); Aceto (1995^a); Enderlein (1997): 76-89, 189-91; Michalsky (2000^a): cat. no. 21, 281-9; Michalsky (2001^a): 124-30.
5. 'Pro exequiis annualibus celebratis in ecclesia S. Marie Dompne Regine pro anima domine regine reverende domine matris nostre unc.6 tar.15'; Reg. ang. 1328 D. fo. 346, quoted from Minieri Riccio (1876): 5.
6. 'QUE OBIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCXXIII INDICTIONE VI DIE XXV MENSIS MARTII CUIUS ANIMA REQUIESCAT IN PACE AMEN'.
7. In contrast, the effigies of male family members reveal individual characteristics intended to convey responsible rulership. This contrast can be explained by the different roles played by the sexes in Angevin propaganda: on the one side powerful rulership, on the other charitable and pious activities.
8. 'HIC REQUIESCIT SANCTE MEMORIE EXCELLENTISSIMA DOMINA DOMINA MARIA DEI GRATIA IERUSALEM SICILIE HUNGARIEQUE REGINA MAGNIFICI/PRINCIPIS QUONDAM STEFANI DEI GRATIA REGIS HUNGARIE FILIA AC RELICTA CLARE MEMORIE INCLITI PRINCIPIS DOMINI KAROLI SECUNDI/ET MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS ET DOMINI DOMINI KAROLI SECUNDI/ET MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS ET DOMINI DOMINI ROBERTI EADEM GRATIA DEI DICTORUM REGNORUM IERUSALEM SICILIE REGUM ILLUSTRUM'.
9. Compare the tombs illustrated in Gardner (1992^a): Luca Savelli, Rome Santa Maria in Aracoeli, fig. 41; Matteo d'Aquasparta, Rome Santa Maria in Aracoeli, fig. 57; Guillaume Durand, Rome Santa Maria sopra Minerva, fig. 61; Gonzales Gudiel, Rome Santa Maria Maggiore, fig. 62.
10. Valentiner (1935): 47-56; Seidel (1975^b): 49ff.; and Kreytenberg (1987): 22-3; Gardner (1992^a): 113ff., figs 116-19; Moskowitz (2001): 109-12.
11. For the identification of the figures, see Valentiner (1935): 103; Morisani (1972): 165. Different identifications are given by Enderlein (1997): 94-5. For the *vita* and the cult of Saint Louis of Toulouse see Toynbee (1929); Laurent (1954); Pásztor (1955^a).
12. For the Christian liturgy of the dead see De Chapeaurouge (1973). Interdisciplinary studies are collected in Schmid and Wollasch (1984).
13. 'Exultare ac pium prorumpere debes in iubilum de utero tuo processisse virum angelicum, meditans consortem esse glorie angelorum. Profusus decet te plaudere gaudiis, quod talem in terris genueris filium, cuius in caelis patrocinio cuiusve favore apud homines communiris ut intercessionibus apud Deum'. AASS, Aug. 3, 799. Brückner (1992): 80, referred to the personal link between a saint and an individual or social group, common in the Middle Ages, as 'Verrechtlichung einer konkreten Devotio'.
14. Bauch (1971). For a discussion of the iconography of intercession, which was connected with the early tombs of clerics, see Herklotz (1985): 143-210; Gardner (1992^a): 54-89.
15. In a further level of meaning, *memoria* is treated as a total social phenomenon with reference not only to individuals but also to the entire system of a feudal, noble society, within which the community of the living and the dead is continuously constructed anew in acts of commemoration. For the term *memoria*, as it is used here, see the essential contributions of Oexle (1976, 1983, 1995). See also Michalsky (2000^a): 17-22.
16. Enderlein (1997): 94ff., seeks to identify the figures on the basis of similarities with representations on other tombs or in manuscripts. However, these 'similarities' are hard to verify.
17. I would like to stress that Maria's motherhood is an integral part of the tomb's programme. Enderlein (1997): 96ff. and Bock (2001): 240 and n. 66, do not accept this argument. However, the representation of the enthroned men can be understood only by means of their relationship to Maria as their mother.
18. Recent scholarship highlights the political function of the various forms of 'the medieval public body'. See Thum (1980, 1984, 1990). For a discussion of 'public' versus 'private', see Moos (1998). In a limited sense the interior of a church can be understood as a public space. See Wenzel (1995): 23ff.
19. Lewis (1981): 125ff.
20. Lewis (1981). For a summary of the research, see Petersohn (1994). Comparable attempts to promote the concept of sacred kingship by the Anjou in Italy and Hungary are discussed by Vauchez (1977) and Klaniczay (1990, 1994).

21. This is clearly demonstrated by the efforts to support specific cults of saints, see Klaniczay (1990): 111–15. In Vitale (1999), see the bibliography in note 11 for the cult of Louis of Toulouse. The Angevins and Arpáds supported the cults of Margaret of Hungary, Elizabeth of Thuringia–Hungary, King Stephen of Hungary and the Premislid Agnes. After the relics of Mary Magdalen were discovered spectacularly in Provence, the Magdalen was also considered one of the ‘Angevin’ saints, see Saxer (1959): 28–40. For the feast of Mary Magdalen in Naples, see Minieri Riccio (1863): 45–6. There is further evidence of the idea of sacral kingship borrowed from the Capetians in the coronation *ordines* of the Angevins which included the anointing of the royal couple, an unusual feature of the French coronation ritual. The connection with the French royal house is clear in the description of the Angevin kings and princes as ‘*filii du roi de France*’. In documents and public this became an almost stereotypical formula, see Boyer (1994): *passim*.
22. ‘*Filius est nepos duorum proximorum regum Siciliae et ulteriores parentes sui reges fuerunt de regali stirpe regum Francie descendentes*’, Vienna, Österreichische Staatsbibliothek, ms. 2132, fo. 65r–6r.
23. The succession to the throne was disputed. Charles Robert of Hungary, son of Charles Martel, and thus a direct descendent of Charles II, tried to contest the throne, see Hóman (1938): 143.
24. The painting is in the Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte in Naples. It measures 250 × 138cm, the predella is 56cm high. See the report of the restoration in Causa (1950): 32–8. See also Bologna (1969): 147–77; Bertelli (1972); Gardner (1976, 1988^b); Martindale (1988): 192–4; Monnas (1993); Hoch (1995); Krüger (2001). For a late dating, see Enderlein (1995).
25. Michalsky (2000^a): 105–8, 253–64; Krüger (2001). For the view that the Louis of Toulouse panel may have been placed in Santa Chiara, see Samantha Kelly, Chapter 1, and Matthew Clear, Chapter 2 in this volume.
26. Krüger (1992): 72ff., 98, 173–85.
27. Brandl (1985): 12ff.
28. Compare the panel in the Musée Granet in Aix-en-Provence (fig. 13), which shows Louis standing, Robert and Sancia are kneeling at his feet and here, too, he is crowned by angels.
29. Käppeli (1940): 49, notes that Charles II called the Dominican Giovanni Regina, also known as Giovanni da Napoli, from Bologna to the Neapolitan court where he preached several times.
30. Michalsky (2000^a): 310–14.
31. Louis IX was canonized in 1297 by Boniface VIII, and Louis of Toulouse in 1317 by John XXII.
32. ‘*De aliquo principe mortuo. Princeps Dei* (Gen 23,6). Omnes ad praesens sumus congregati ad exequias principis tarentini qui in vita sua fuit princeps et amicus dei elegis post mortem corpus suum sepeliri intra electa sepulcra generis suis qui sunt apud nos ... quantum ad primum est sciendum quod sicut dicitur Mt 7 *bona arbor bonos fructus factum*. Arbor bona potest dici domus Franciae quae est bona et quo ad deum, utpote amatrix et defensatrix ecclesiae, de qua de novo duo sancti Ludovici canonizati fuerunt – scilicet rex Franciae et episcopus Tholosani et quoad mundum utpote inter domos omnes mundi excellenter nobilis. Ergo decet quod fructus qui nascuntur de tali arbore, sunt non solum boni quo ad deum sed etiam magni quoad mundum scilicet reges, duces, principes et huiusmodi. Dominus autem N. habuit ortum ex tali domo quia eius avus fuit filius regis Franciae, ergo decet quod esset princeps’, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms AA VIII 11, fo. 18v. Another sermon with similar passages is contained in the same manuscript: ‘*Pro eodem Princeps et maximus cecidit hodie* (2. Rg 3, 38)’, *ibid.*, fos 19r–19v. D’Avray (1994): 104–5, 122–5, discusses Giovanni da Napoli’s sermons as part of his analysis of the memorial sermons composed for the Angevin court.
33. For example, De Rinaldis (1927–28): 206–7, saw them as the three dimensional expression of the pride of the king.
34. Panofsky (1964): 82.
35. Garms (1990): 95, ‘*ab einem gewissen Zeitpunkt als Heiligengräber bezeichnet oder ... abgegrenzt werden*’.
36. Before the virtues were used on the tombs of saints in Italy, they were included on reliquaries and shrines of saints north of the Alps, such as the twelfth-century Heribert shrine in Deutz, and the shrines of Albinus and the Three Magi in Cologne. For the Arca di San Domenico see Gnudi (1948); Pope-Hennessy (1951); Bottari (1964); Seidel (1975^a): 347ff.; Seidel (1988), Moskowitz (1994); Romano (1999), Moskowitz (2001): 204–7. For the historical interpretation of certain virtues in connection with the iconography of the mendicant orders see Krüger (1998): *passim*.
37. The sculptures of the archangels are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London). A figure identified by Pope-Hennessy as *fides* is now in the Musée du Louvre (Paris). The clerics are in the Museo del Bargello (Florence) and in the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston). See Pope-Hennessy (1951). Moskowitz (1987) has confirmed this reconstruction. Seidel (1988): 9, n.19, questioned the identification of *fides* but did not suggest an alternative interpretation.
38. ‘*Fratres conventus Mediolanensis, in quo corpus beati Petri martyris requiescat ad honorem eiusdem gloriosi martyris sepulcrum eiusdem hedificare inceperunt in forma et materiale simile per omnia sepulcro beati Dominici patris nostris*’. See MOPH 4, *Acta capitulorum generalium* 2, Rome

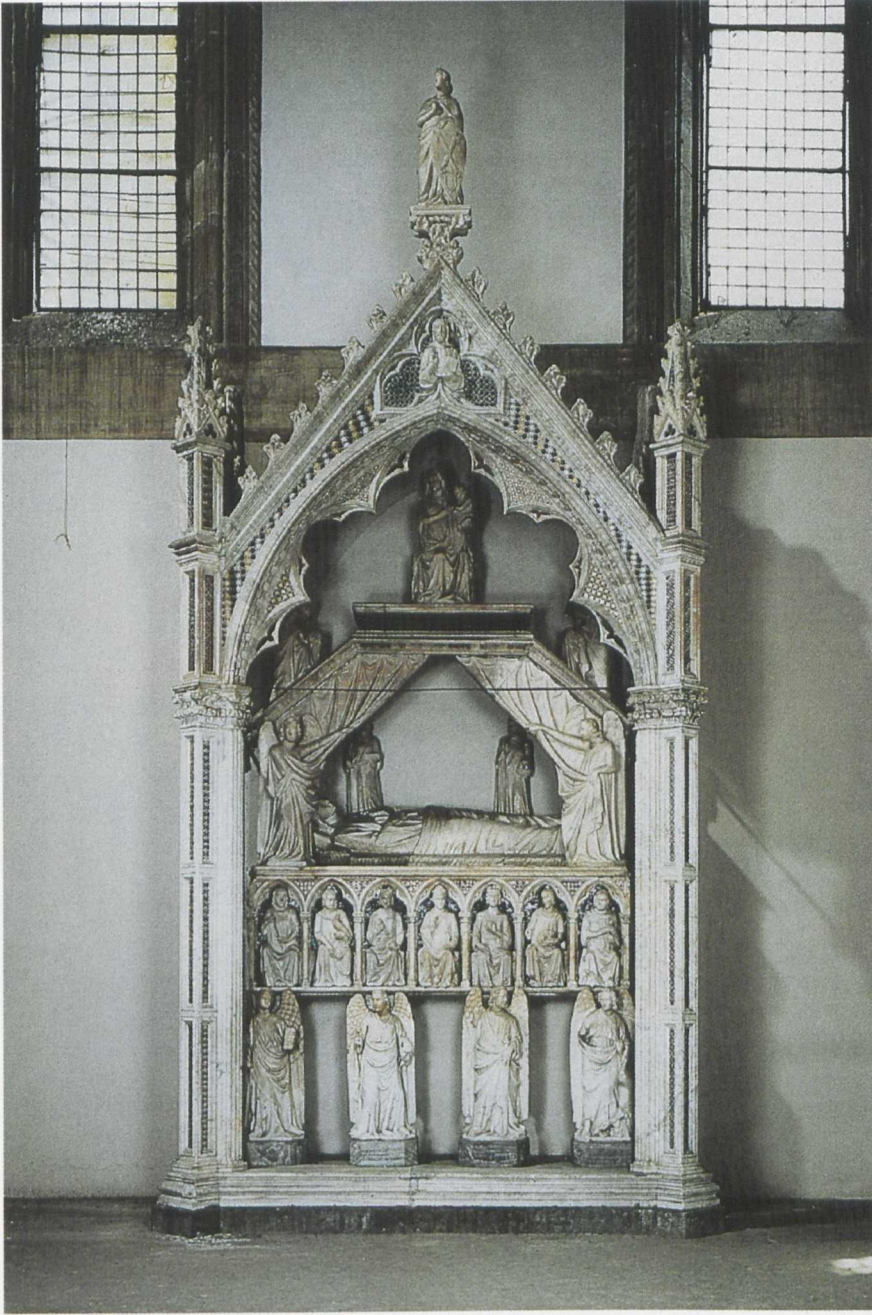
- (1899): 223–4, quoted after Lövei (1980): 221, n. 162. The similarities that are mentioned here concern the use of scenes from the *vita* and of the virtues. For the date and iconography of the tombs see Russoli (1963).
39. The tomb is discussed by Lövei (1980): 211ff.
 40. Pisan sculptors created another tomb raised on columns, for Saint Eulalia, in the cathedral of Barcelona before 1339 when her relics were translated. Salmi (1933).
 41. See the representation of pilgrims at the tomb of Saint Nicolas, represented as a standard type of elevated sarcophagus, in the predella of the Quaratesi polyptych painted by Gentile da Fabriano in 1425, now in the Kress Collection, Washington DC.
 42. Carli (1946): 13ff.; Kreytenberg (1992).
 43. Kreytenberg (1990): 69–78.
 44. The tomb was originally in San Francesco di Castellano in Genoa. The first extensive study after that of Einem (1961) is that of Seidel (1987) where sources and previous literature can be found. See also Seidel (1990); Tripps (1997); Di Fabio (1999).
 45. I believe that the desire to demonstrate Margaret of Brabant's sanctity was probably the reason behind the dramatic representation on her tomb, described by Gardner (1992^a): 173, as 'the haunting figure of the empress hauled heavenwards'. Margaret of Brabant was the wife of Emperor Henry VII, and it appears that she followed the ideal life of a pious consort for which Elizabeth of Thuringia–Hungary had provided the model.
 46. With notes on the style, Seidel (1975^b): 49ff.
 47. For San Lorenzo Maggiore, see Krüger (1985). For the tomb, see Michalsky (1998): 281–9 and (2001^a): 124–30. See also the contributions in the proceedings of the recent conference on San Lorenzo, especially that by Aceto who pointed out that the building history of the church might provide the explanation for changes to the tomb structure during its construction. Romano and Bock (forthcoming).
 48. For the virtues on the tomb of Robert of Anjou, see Michalsky (2000^b): 56ff. For a discussion of the problem of the iconographic differentiation of the caryatids of the virtues, see Bock (2002^a).
 49. For the *Fürstenspiegel* and the moral canon, see Berges (1938). For a general discussion of the virtues, see Katzenellenbogen (1989). For more narrowly focused investigations into the virtues and vices, see Tuve (1963–64) and Skinner (1986).
 50. *Caritas* and *Spes* are represented on the tomb of Catherine of Austria (1324) in San Lorenzo Maggiore. *Caritas*, *Spes* and a third figure with an ermine are represented on the tomb of Maria of Valois (1331–37) in Santa Chiara. Gaglione (1997) tentatively identified this figure as *Castitas*. The personifications on the tomb of Queen Sancia, formerly in Santa Croce, are difficult to identify. Michalsky (2000^a): fig. 65. A poor Clare (?) and a woman with uncovered breast and rosary (?) could be interpreted as different aspects of charity or as personifications of poverty.
 51. Oexle (1981): 86; Klaniczay (1994): 358. A consideration of the role of female rulers together with examples from the period 500–1100 can be found in Schulenberg (1988). See also Samantha Kelly, Chapter 1, and Matthew Clear, Chapter 2 in this volume.
 52. Saint Elizabeth was related to the Angevin house and was therefore an obvious choice for representation. Her representation on Catherine of Austria's sarcophagus is one example. See Michalsky (2001^a) for more examples.
 53. For the sources, see Enderlein (1997): 89–92.
 54. See Valentiner (1935) for examples from the Tuscan workshop of Tino di Camaino. Clerical tombs from Rome and Lazio are discussed by Herklotz (1985) and Gardner (1992^a).
 55. De Stefano (1560) fo. 184v, 'vi é un sepulcro di marmo finissimo trasparente che pare alabastro, ove sta il mortale de detto Regina Maria'.
 56. D'Engenio Caracciolo (1623): 169, 'un "avello di candido marmo"'.
 57. For the design of the chapel and the relationship between tomb and frescoes, see Herzner (1982). For more recent discussions see Claussen (1995); Jacobus (1998, 1999); Derbes and Sandona (1998).
 58. This can clearly be seen in later tombs of the Angevin rulers, which came to an overly grandiose conclusion in the tomb of Ladislas of Durazzo in San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples.



17 Tino di
Camaino, *Gisant
of Queen Maria*,
detail of the
Tomb of Maria
of Hungary



18 Simone Martini, *Saint Louis of Toulouse*, tempera on panel, c. 1317, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples



ix Tino di Camaino, Tomb of Maria of Hungary



x Tino di Camaino, *Louis of Toulouse*, detail of the Tomb of Maria of Hungary