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Veiling and unveiling

The materiality of the tomb of John I of Avesnes and Philippa of Luxembourg in the Franciscan church of Valenciennes

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REVISITING THE MONUMENT
FIFTY YEARS SINCE PANOFSKY'S
TOMB SCULPTURE

EDITED BY
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Cover Image:
Detail of tomb of Jacopo de Carrara
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VEILING AND UNVEILING: THE MATERIALITY OF THE TOMB OF JOHN I OF AVESNES AND PHILIPPA OF LUXEMBOURG IN THE FRANCISCAN CHURCH OF VALENCIENNES

SANNE FREQUIN
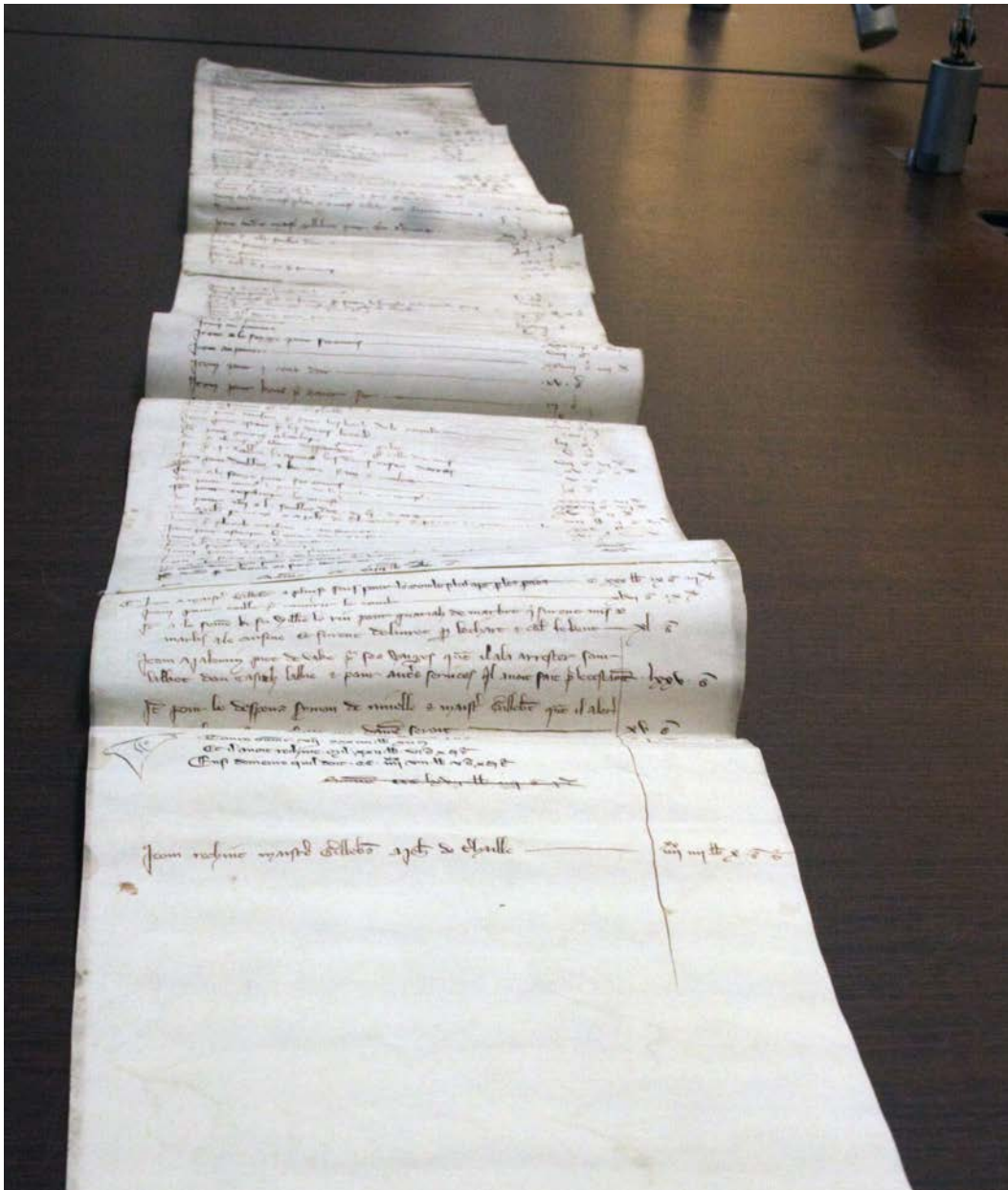
10.1
Account of Frankine for the executors of the testament of Philippine of Luxembourg (1313). Ink on parchment, 135 x 21.5 cm (top) up to 17.5 cm (bottom), Lille, Archives départementales du Nord. B 8220, envelope no. 151648 (1313).

Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*, first published in 1964, is a classic, still used nowadays by those working on tomb sculpture and sepulchral culture.[1] But a synthesis of almost 3000 years of tomb sculpture obviously also leaves scope for further investigation. Panofsky focuses on iconography in the classical sense of the word, the description and classification of the content of images; analysing sculptural details like pillows, closed or opened eyes, full or half figures. But these descriptions and analyses of sculpture read like a rather 'monochrome' story, since there are no remarks on technique, material (for example the type of stone) or polychromy.[2] Recent art historical research has, however, stressed the significance of the materiality of the tombs, including stone and polychromy.[3]

This chapter highlights the materiality of a monumental double tomb of the counts of Hainaut, that of John I of Avesnes (Count of Hainaut, ✝1304) and his wife, Philippa of Luxembourg (✝1284), now non-extant, but originally in the Franciscan church in Valenciennes.[4] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the antiquarian Henri d'Outreman and his colleague Simon Le Boucq mentioned the tomb in their histories of Valenciennes.[5] Anne McGee Morganstern reconstructed—by using the two brief descriptions of the antiquarians—the iconography of the tomb and placed it the context of the Flanders succession conflict between John I of Avesnes and his stepfamily.[6] I will take the reconstruction of the tomb one step further by using two contemporary sources, accounts that were made up for the executors of the testament of Philippa of Luxembourg.[7] This reconstruction of the tomb of John I and Philippa will demonstrate that a focus on the materiality of the tomb can provide information about its original appearance and permits a hypothesis about its function and the performative character of the tomb.

A LOST TOMB RECONSTRUCTED:
THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY IMPRESSION

Henri d'Outreman (✝1605) described the tomb in his history of Valenciennes. His chronicle addresses the antique beginnings of Valenciennes, up to the death of King Philip II of Spain (✝1598). The description of the tomb of John I and Philippa is part of his chapter about pious foundations in Valenciennes. It is important to stress that it was not the objective of D'Outreman (as it was for chroniclers like Antoine de Succa) to describe the tomb's appearance.[8] His primary concern was the epitaphs that accompanied the tombs in the churches of Valenciennes. It is, however, possible to deduce some aspects relevant to the materiality of the tomb from his description. According to d'Outreman, the tomb was carved from marble. Two figures were placed atop the tomb. All four sides of the tomb's base were decorated with escutcheons (*forces armoires*) of family members of the deceased.

> The first tomb is situated in the middle of the choir behind the pulpit [*le pulpitre*]: it is made of two marble statues, who are John of Avesnes, second with that name Count of Hainaut, Holland etc. & Philipine of Lembourg his wife, with escutcheons on all sides: which I do not include in the description, because they are not the quarters of the deceased, but the arms of his father, mother, grandfather, brothers, uncles, nephews & next of kin.[9]

Simon Le Boucq (†1657) addressed the ecclesiastical history of Valenciennes in his 1650 publication. His description of the churches and other pious foundations in Valenciennes is more elaborate than that of Henri d'Outreman. According to Le Boucq, John I and Philippa's tomb was made of black marble on which were placed two effigies executed in white stone. The man was dressed in a *sayon* (a man's outer coat), which bore the coats of arms of Hainaut.[10] On his *escu* (escutcheon), the Hainaut coat of arms was represented. The dress of the female effigy bore the coats of arms of Luxembourg, Empire, and Bar. The coats of arms of close family members and relatives of the Count and Countess could be found on the four sides of the tomb:

> The first tomb is that of John of Avesnes, Count of Hainaut, Holland, etc., which is situated in the middle of the choir, and it used to be very magnificent, being made of black marble, with on it two statues of white marble, the man being armed with an outer coat [*sayon*] with the arms of Hainaut of four lions on his chest and below the belt in lozenges [the arms of] Hainaut and Empire: on his escutcheon were only the arms of Hainaut. The woman carried on her dress: Luxembourg, Empire and Bar.[11]

The genealogical program of the tomb displayed through the coats of arms on the tomb chest—as was described by Le Boucq—has been reconstructed by Anne McGee Morganstern. She linked this programme to the political context of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century.[12] Morganstern argues that the position of the grandmother of John I, the Countess of Flanders and Hainaut, Margaret of Constantinople (†1280), does not befit her status. According to Morganstern, the heraldically incorrect placement of Margaret can be considered a consequence of the dispute of John of Avesnes and his son John I of Avesnes with the family matriarch. As such, the tomb becomes a political statement in a period of political unrest. The political reading of this tomb is just one aspect of its function. The tomb has also functioned as a means for liturgical commemoration. To my knowledge there are no surviving sources relating to these liturgical rites. The reconstruction of the materials used and the original appearance of the tomb can provide more information about its use in commemorating the Count and Countess.

A LOST TOMB RECONSTRUCTED: STONE, POLYCHROMY AND GILDING

The only evidence concerning the materiality of the tomb in the aforementioned descriptions of Le Boucq and D'Outreman is the choice of black marble for the chest of the tomb, in combination with the white stone effigies of the Count and Countess. More information about the materials used and the fabrication process can, however, be found in two invoices dated 6 April 1311 and 6 September 1313. The 1311 account enumerates payments for jewels, cloth, gold and work on the tomb of John I and Philippa.[13] The 1313 account—
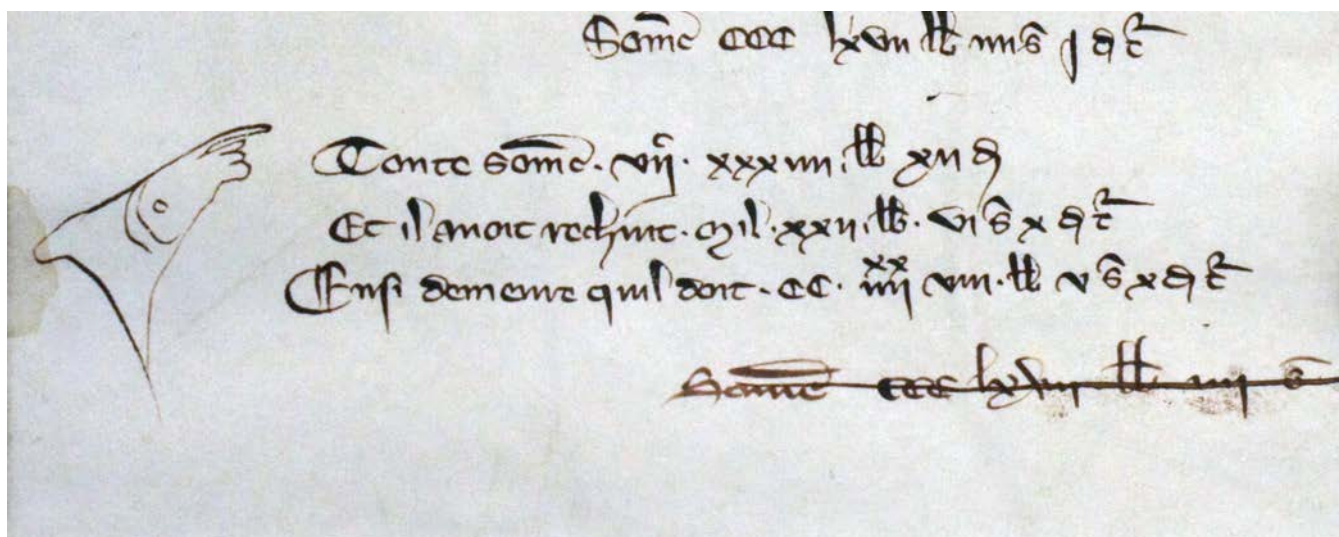
Structure of the 1313 account		
Income	**Account**	**Amount**
1 Receipts of Frankine	*Tout chou ke Frankine a rechuit des executeurs medame* All Frankine has received from the executors of the Countess	+ 1023 l. 6 s. 10 d.
Expenses	**Account**	**Amount**
2 Obsequies of the countess	*Rendage Frankine pour le testament* Account by Frankine for the testament	– 154 l. 23 d.
3 Tomb of the count and countess	*Che sont frait pour le tombe monseigneur et medame les quels dieux absoille* These are the costs for the tomb of the Count and Countess, God bless their souls	– 214 l. 12 s.
4 Six separate entries	No title, entries for cross and cloth	– 367 l. 4 s. 1 d.
Settlement	**Account**	**Amount**
Subtotal costs	*Conte somme* Total sum	– 734 l. 12 s.
Subtotal revenues	*Et il avoit rechuit* And he has received	+ 1023 l. 6 s. 10 d.
Surplus	*Ensi demeure quil soit* What remains now	+ 288 l. 5 s. 10 d.

Table 1
Structure of 1313 account, Archive Lille B 8220 (envelope no. 151648).

drawn up by 'Frankine'—in which costs related to the decoration of the tomb are specified, is much more extensive and therefore deserves a more detailed description. It is a roll of parchment that is sewn together at two places with a total length of approximately 135 cm. The width of the document varies from 21.5 cm on top to 17.5 cm at the bottom (fig. 10.1).[14] It is in good condition, although there are some small areas of damage that make parts of the entries illegible. In the account two hands can be recognised. The first scribe is later corrected by a second one, in a different handwriting and using a darker color of ink. Sometimes information is added to specific items, items are crossed out and amounts are corrected by the second hand.

The account was transcribed by Chrétien Dehaisnes in the nineteenth century.[15] He noted in his transcription that Frankine had written the account for a Jehan de Biaufort, Jehan de Maubuege and Jehan, *recheveur* de Biaumont.[16] This dedication, however, cannot be found on the original 1313 document and probably originates from another account. The different parts of the account can, however, give a clue about the nature of the document (see Table 1). The first part of the document consists of the receipts of Frankine and shows the debts that were collected (Table 1, no. 1).[17] Bauduin d'Herypont, for example, has to pay 10 livres, that he still owed according to the last account ('Item a monsieur Bauduin de Herypont kil devoit desen darrain compte à 10 l.').[18] The next parts concern the expenses regarding the obsequies of the Countess (Table 1, no. 2) and specific costs for the tomb (Table 1, no. 3). Expenses for the obsequies are, for example, amounts for the golden cloth that was used in the service ('dras dor ki furent mis au service à 10 l.').[19] The entry of expenses specifically associated with the tomb consist of a total of sixty-seven entries for materials such as gold, pigments and various metals, and for specific tasks performed on the tomb. This part of the account will be discussed more thoroughly below. After the costs for the tomb there have been added six separate entries with payments to Gillebert and Simon de Nivelle (respectively the head-contractor and a Parisian goldsmith) for a cross in the church and payments for cloth which covered the tomb (Table 1, no. 4). The account ends with a total of receipts and expenditure ('*conte somme*' Table 1, Settlement) written by the second hand and marked with a little hand to point out its importance (fig. 10.2). The total of all payments mentioned above is 734 livres and 12 sous. The amount

Expenses for the tomb	
Stone	
S1	*Premiers a maistre Jehan le Roi pour II fois il ala a Dynant pour faire venir les espondes de le tombe.* First to master Jehan le Roi because he went to Dynant to transport the slab of the tomb.	17 l. 16 s. 6 d.
S2	*Item pour le piere de le tombe et pour amener le dite piere* *Et me sire li cuens en paia a iaulz encore a Mons 60 s.* For the stone of the tomb and for the transport of it. The Count has paid them in Mons already 60 s.	39 l. 19 s. + advance payment of 60 s.
S3	*Item a Gillain don marbiet de Mons a me dame li denoit* Item to Gillain, marbler from Mons, paid to him by Madame.	42 l.
S4	*Item pour pieres a barbier pour polir.* Item for grindstones for polishing.	7 s. 6 d.
Ironwork and Textiles	
I1	*Item pour venir le hughe de le tombe.* Item for the transport of the hughe of the tomb.	50 s.
I2	*Item a maistre Jehan de Siveri pour faire le hughe de le tombe sans 40 l. que il rechuit de Jehan de Trehaille.* Item to master Jehan de Siveri for making the hughe of the tomb, without the 40 l. he has already received of Jehan de Terhaille.	34 l. 10 s. + advance payment of 40 l.
I3	*Item a Jehan de Biallin pour le ferement de le hughe.* Item to Jehan de Biallin for the iron for the hughe.	16 l.
I4	*Item a Jehan Severin et a Jehan de Trahignies pour parfaire le pointure de le tombe.* Item to Jehan de Severin and Jehan the Trahignies for finishing the cutting/ stitching of the tomb.	25 l.
I5	*Item as Freres meneurs pour racater les dras dor ki furent mis au dit service* Item to the friars to buy golden cloth that is used during service.	10 l.
I6	*Item pour toille pour couvrir le tombe.* Item for cloth to cover the tomb.	46 s. 9 d.
Polychromy and gilding	
P1	*Item pour laithon pour faire lettres de le tombe.* Item for brass for the letters on the tomb.	52 s.
P2	*Item pour estain pour les dites lettres.* Item for tin for those letters.	5 s.
P3	*Item pour viernis, pour blanc d'Espaigne et pour oille de nois.* Item for varnish, blanc d'Espaigne and nut oil.	15 s. 10 d.

10.2
Detail of fig. 10.1 showing the detail of receipts and expenditure.

Table 2
Selection of entries from part three (costs for the tomb) of the 1313 account. Archive Lille B 8220 (envelope no. 151648).

that Frankine received from the executors of the testament is 1023 livres, 6 sous and 10 deniers. This left Frankine a surplus of 288 livres, 5 sous and 10 deniers. At the end of the account, an entry with a payment of 88 livres and 10 sous from Jehan de Trehaille to maistre Gillebert has been added. This document thus seems to be the final statement from Frankine, probably drawn up for the executors. An overview of costs made for the obsequies and the fabrication of the tomb is presented and compared with the advance Frankine received from the executors of Philippa's will.

Three crucial aspects regarding the materiality of the tomb of John I and Philippa stand out: the type of stone, the ironwork and the textiles used on the tomb. First to be addressed is the stone used for the tomb. D'Outreman describes the monument as a tomb of *marbre*.[20] In fact, he is referring to a black stone, *noir Belge*, quarried in Belgium. In the historical sources, this stone is quite commonly cited as a marble, with various terms applied interchangeably.[21] In the invoice, very specific entries have been recorded in relation to the stone for the tomb, making an identification of two types of stone possible. Masters Jehan le Roi and Gillebert ('contractors of the tomb') received payments for the stone. Notably, it appears that stone has been ordered in two different places. The tomb's *espondes* (tomb slab) was purchased in Dinant (Table 2, no. S1). and a second order of stone can be connected to Mons (Table 2, no. S2).[22] In the first part of the account a payment to Gillain, marbier of Mons, is mentioned (Table 2, no. S3). These specifications facilitate a rough estimate of the cost of the stone in Mons amounting to almost 85 livres. The payment for the stone in Mons was thus significantly higher (more than 60 l.) than the payment for the stone in Dinant (17 l. 16 s. 6 d.). The difference in price can probably be attributed to the volume of stone ordered. The volume of stone for the tomb slab (one plate) was significantly lower than the volume ordered for the chest of the tomb (four plates).[23]

The stone quarried in Dinant is composed of sludge and coral lime remnants. This dark limestone is very homogeneous and fine in structure. At Mons, or more specifically in the towns of Soignies and Ecaussinnes to the north of Mons, a different order of *noir Belge* is quarried. This stone is characterised by its white calcite discolorations.[24] The explanation for the use of two different kinds of stone may very well be aesthetic. The stone that could actually be seen was probably the finer more marble-like black stone from Dinant used for the slab. This Dinant stone was polished, as is indicated by an entry in the invoice for stones used for polishing (Table 2, no. S4) and used as the black, gleaming base for the effigies.[25] The chest of the tomb was made from black stone from Mons: a coarser stone to which polychromy, tin, gold and silver were applied. Here the dark grey-blue colour of the stone was probably considered less important and could not be seen at all. Masters Gillebert and Jehan, the craftsmen ordering the stone, thus were very specific about their choice of stone. Visibility could have been an argument for the selection of the stone. The visible black stone of the tomb slab was meant to shine like marble and served as a perfect backdrop for the *gisants* of white marble (probably once in whole or partly polychromed and gilded) and for the richly decorated tomb chest below.

Polychromy on the tomb must have faded over the years, causing d'Outreman to think of it as a black marble tomb, instead of a richly polychromed one. Two remaining tombs of the Avesnes family support this hypothesis. The first is a fragment of the tomb of a nephew of John I of Avesnes, also named John of Avesnes (✝1279, son of Baldwin of Avesnes ✝1289 and Félicitas of Coucy ✝1307). He was buried in the Dominican church in Valenciennes. This fragment, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Valenciennes, is fully polychromed (fig. 10.3).[26] This polychromy once entirely concealed the black stone of the chest. The second tomb belongs to Guy of Avesnes, in Saint Martin's Cathedral in Utrecht (fig. 10.4). This tomb, which nowadays is known for its deep black colour, was once fully polychromed. Technical research, using a portable XRF scanner (Niton XL3t) has pointed out traces of lead (Pb) found all over the monument. Lead is a pigment that is found in lead-white, which is used as a subsoil for paint. It is probable that a white undercoat was applied to the entire tomb. Residues of copper (Cu), mercury (Hg) and gold (Au) were also detected. Considering the undercoat of lead-white and the various pigments found all over the tomb's surface, one can conclude that the tomb was once entirely painted.[27] This is corroborated by the sixteenth-century Utrecht antiquarian, Arnoud van Buchel (1565-1641), who wrote that in his time the polychromy on the monument of Guy was already very faded and barely legible. This was probably also the case for the tomb of John I and Philippa in the sixteenth century.[28] Their black tomb chest was once richly gilded with gold leaf, as is suggested by the expenses drawn up in the 1313 invoice. In total a quantity of 1,450 gold leaves was ordered. The average dimensions of a gold leaf are 8 x 8 cm.[29] A simple calculation (64 cm2 x 1,450 = 92,800 cm2) suggests the tomb was covered with no less than 9.28 m2 of gold leaf. There must have been numerous gilded details on the tomb. The metals brass and tin were used for letters applied to the tomb (Table 2, nos. P1, P2). Finally, there are also entries included for the primer (calcium carbonate, in the invoice referred to as *blanc d'espagne*); nut oil (in all likelihood walnut oil, as this was often used for white pigments);[30] colour (not further specified); and varnish (Table 2, no. P3).[31] The invoice unfortunately does not reveal if the tomb of John and Philippa had so-called *pleurants* or mourners on its chest.[32] Considering the other two examples already mentioned, it is highly likely that John and Philippa's tomb also contained mourners representing family members in stone, who would have been richly polychromed and who could be identified by their painted escutcheons.

A LOST TOMB RECONSTRUCTED: IRON AND TEXTILES

The tomb of John I and Philippa did not consist entirely of polychromed and gilded black and white stone. The entry for the '*hughe*' indicates a structure that was placed on the tomb. I have found no satisfactory translation of the old French word *hughe* that can be directly related to tombs. The total amount that is paid for this *hughe* is substantial, especially when compared to the total costs for pigments, gold and other metals. A master

10.3
Fragment of the tomb
of John of Avesnes
(c.1250- c.1300).
Polychromed Tournai
marble, 98 x 60 x
26 cm, Musée de
Valenciennes, inv.
90.17.A.

10.4
Tomb of Guy of
Avesnes (c.1317).
Tournai marble,
Utrecht, Saint
Martin's Cathedral.

Jehan de Siveri (also called Jehan de Severin) received 74 livres and 10 sous (see Table 2, no. I2).[33] Jehan de Biallin received an additional 16 livres for the *hughe* (Table 2, no. I3).[34] 50 sous was paid for the transfer of the *hughe* (Table 2, no. I1). This makes a total amount of more than 90 livres paid by Frankine. For comparison, the total costs for pigments, gold and other metals (21 l.), and the payments to the painter (18 l. 10 d.) are both significantly lower.[35] Not only the high amount paid for the *hughe*, but also its probable function on the tomb justifies further analysis of this object.

The exact location of the *hughe* on the tomb can be deduced from the earlier account, written in 1311.[36] Robert le Cochon received a substantial sum (365 l. 15 d.) for, among other items, 'le hughe dont li tombe est couverte'.[37] Furthermore, from the entries in the 1313 account, we can deduce the various materials from which the *hughe* was made. The occupations of the men who received payments for the *hughe* are the key element in identifying these materials. Jehan de Biallin, who supplied the iron was probably a blacksmith. Although the role of Jehan de Severin is less clear, his profession can be deduced from other accounts of the Hainaut court. In an account of 1327-28, Jehan de Severin received an amount for a *kar* (cart) he had made for the Countess of Hainaut, Joan of Valois (†1342).[38] In a more detailed account of 1335-36, de Severin is mentioned under the rubric *'tapis et étoffés'* (fabric). He received money for different fabrics that he had bought for the cart.[39] Probably de Severin was responsible for furnishing the cart.[40] In an account that dates a year later, concerning the costs for the obsequies of William I, Count of Hainaut (†1337, also known as William III, Count of Holland), the following entries are added:

> 'Item, pour 61 onche de chendal inde delivret a Jehan Sevrin, pour faire le chiel dou travail, parmi in gros l'onche, valt 15 s. 3 de gros.
> Item , a li , pour II pieches de toille verde pour le dit chiel , 3 s. 4 d. de gros.[…]
> Ch'est chou c'on doit a Jehan Severin. Pour [pointure] le chiel dou travail et le travail aussi 25 l.[41]

From this we can conclude that de Severin worked with *chendal* (cendal, a fabric used for banners) and two pieces of green cloth and was responsible for the *chiel* for the obsequies of William I.[42] We can conclude from these entries that de Severin was a furnisher, whose task was to furnish the iron structure of the *hughe* of John and Philippa with cloth. In the case of de Severin, the *'pointure'* mentioned in the 1313 account (Table 2, no. I4) could refer to the French word *piqûre* (stitching), suggesting that de Severin not only bought the fabrics, but also sewed them into a fitting shape.[43] The combination of the specific *hughe* with cloth is affirmed by an entry in an account of the counts of Holland dated 1392. The payment mentions a *hughe* that is used to support cloth ('une huge quil acata pour mettre les lignes draps').[44]

What did this *hughe* look like? The word *hughe* does permit one to think of it as a cage, covering the tomb. In his 'Mirror of histories', the chronicler Jean d'Outremeuse (c.1395)

10.5
Miniature lamentations
simulées sur Loyauté
(c.1326). Bibliothèque
Nationale de France,
Français MS 571, fol.
148ᵛ, Valenciennes.

speaks of a lion being transported in a '*hughe de fier*,' suggesting that a *hughe* is indeed an iron cage.[45] The *hughe* could also be comparable with the *chapelle ardente*, known in Italy as the *castrum doloris* and in England as a hearse (from now on I will use the English term hearse). These structures were temporary (often wooden) baldachin-like structures placed over the body of the deceased in front of the altar. They provided the place where the celebrant could grant absolution to the deceased.[46] Medieval parishes often had their own hearse. For more elaborate funerals a special hearse was made, often donated to the church, after the service. Minou Schraven connects these structures, that were elaborately decorated with cloth, painted and dressed with cardboard heraldic devices to 'heraldic funerals', the thirteenth-century funerals of the aristocracy that developed into elaborate rituals of heraldic display. Besides their liturgical function, these hearses also functioned as a means to display the noble descent and alliances of the deceased.[47] In miniatures there are many examples of hearses. A simple structure, with two mourning figures standing behind it, is displayed in a Valenciennes manuscript dating from 1326 (fig. 10.5).[48] The structure consists of four legs and lifts the chest that is covered by a funeral pall.

There are several contemporary examples where a comparable iron or wooden structure is placed on or over a tomb, instead of over the body. In his study on the funerals and tombs of the French kings, Alain Erlande-Brandenburg remarks that the tomb of Louis VII (✝1180, tomb of c.1200) in the Cistercian monastery of Barbeau was covered by two frames, one of wood and one of iron, which are mentioned in the *Vie de Louis VII*.[49] The tomb of Robert of Artois (✝1250) provides a second example of placing a trellis on a tomb. A 1326 account suggests this trellis was made like the trellis on the (now non-extant)

tomb of his mother, Blanche of Castille (†1252).[50] In England there are extant examples of hearses on tombs of later date. One of them is the well-known tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (†1439). It still has an iron hearse placed on top of it (fig. 10.6). Julian Munby connects the round shape of the permanent hearse on the tomb of Beauchamp to the funeral cart of the deceased count.[51] The question is whether the structures mentioned in the examples of Louis VII and Robert of Artois and the *hughe* on the tomb of John I and Philippa can be considered permanent versions of hearses, comparable to that of Beauchamp. Is a hearse a *hughe*?

It is possible, in my opinion, to consider the *hughe* on the tomb of John I and Philippa a hearse-like structure placed on, or over the tomb. By my knowledge this is the earliest example where a hearse on a tomb can be connected to cloth placed upon it. The tomb of John I and Philippa can thus be considered a reflection of the ritual of covering the body (and the chest) during liturgical commemorations. Their *hughe* refers to the liturgical function of the hearse, the indication of an important place, where the deceased receives absolution. But it is probably also a reflection of the earlier described heraldic function of the hearse, during the heraldic funerals of the aristocracy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Was a *hughe* a permanent or temporary structure? The entry referring to the *hughe* ('*frait pour le tombe*', see Table 1, no. 3) is not part of the payments for the obsequies of the Countess and thus does not suggest a temporary funeral function alone (Table 1, no. 2). It seems to be a permanent structure that was placed on the tomb. For circumstantial evidence for its placement, one can turn again to the tomb of John I's brother, Guy of Avesnes, in Utrecht. Close examination of the cover plate of Guy's tomb reveals that there

10.6
Tomb of Richard
Beauchamp, Earl of
Warwick (1442/3-
1463/4). Copper alloy,
Warwick, St Mary.

are holes in the corners of the plate (fig. 10.7). There is an iron ring in the plinth at the foot of the tomb. These holes and the ring may have functioned as anchoring points for a cage-like structure, perhaps also a *hughe*. A miniature of the tomb of Margareth II, Countess of Hainaut (†1356, buried in the Franciscan church in Valenciennes), wife of Louis IV, Holy Roman Emperor (†1347), shows a simple iron structure placed on the tomb above the gisant (fig. 10.8).[52] This is a wall tomb, but one can easily imagine the same gable roof construction on the tomb of John I and Philippa. The similarity of the tomb of Guy with that of his brother and with the tomb of Mathilda of Hainaut suggests that the *hughe* of John I and Philippa was also permanently placed on their tomb slab. The importance of cloth (pointed out by the relatively high payments to de Severin) and thereby of covering the tomb suggests that it functioned in liturgical commemoration and thus can be connected to the ritual function of the hearse. An important remark to connect to this ritual is the fact that (part of) the tomb was not always visible for the audience. What does this mean for the performative character of the tomb?[53]

A LOST TOMB RECONSTRUCTED: MATERIAL AND PERFORMANCE

As pointed out earlier, no sources remain that can give any information about these rituals. As Annegret Laabs and Renate Kroos have justly stated, the liturgical *memoria* were of great importance for the tomb. The appearance of tombs was largely influenced by the rituals surrounding them. The reconstruction of the material used for this tomb thus reveals aspects of its liturgical use, the rituals performed in remembrance of the dead Count and Countess. Considering the placement of the *hughe* and the large amounts paid for the cloth on this structure, the veiling and unveiling of the tomb formed an important part in the tomb's liturgical function. Kroos states that during the remembrance services at a tomb, an exact repetition of the ritual performed at the funeral, including the 'stage-property' took place. She argues that the use of a funeral pall to cover the chest or the tomb can already be found in the eleventh century and its origins probably lie in the veneration of saints.[54] There seems to be a contrast between the use of such palls and the more elaborate hearse structures. Why invest in a tomb, made of a hard-to-carve durable stone, richly embellished with polychromy, gold and other precious metals and provided with a subtle political message, if it will be covered at its height of attention? According to Kroos the elaborate fabric, often adorned with coats of arms, and the candles burning around the tomb, were the perfect way to stand out and to catch someone's eye, which was difficult in churches filled with tombs.[55] Johannes Tripps, however, argues the other way around. In his opinion, the actual tombs were often only visible during their feast days. They were usually hidden in wooden or leather cabinets, that were opened (like an altarpiece) to show their magnificent content.[56] The medieval spectator would be able to catch a glimpse of the tomb only on important days. When looking at a miniature of the Codex Balduini, I think these two arguments can be corroborated. The miniature depicts the tomb of Heinrich

10.7
Detail of the tomb
of Guy of Avesnes
(c.1317). Hole in the
cover plate and iron
ring in the plinth,
Utrecht, Saint
Martin's Cathedral.

10.8
Hubert Cailleau,
Miniature depicting
the tomb of Margareth
II of Hainaut (✝1356)
in the Franciscan
church of Valenciennes.
Watercolor, 20 x 30 cm.
Bibliothèque Municipal
de Douai, ms. 1183, vol.
2, fol. 119, Valenciennes.

VII in Pisa (c.1320) and its canopy with two angels opening curtains.[57] Gert Kreytenberg justly points out that this depiction of the monument has little to do with the actual tomb of Heinrich VII in Pisa.[58] Then what do we see? Can this be a reflection of a practice of veiling and unveiling a tomb effigy? Does not just the fact that a tomb is covered, but the actual performance of covering and uncovering it—the interaction with the monument—highlight the message of the material and the iconography? The importance of this kind of performative action has already been demonstrated for other media, for example statues and retables.[59]

To conclude, what does this investigation of materiality add to Panofsky's 'monochrome' story? A focus on the materiality of this tomb has provided information about its original appearance. The black and white tomb of John I and Philippa, described by D'Outreman and Le Boucq, appears to have been richly coloured and adorned with a structure that was placed upon it. This structure consisted of the iron cage covered with cloth, which played a role in the commemoration rituals that were inextricably connected to the tomb. The interaction between tomb and celebrant could be an explanation for the high payments to furnisher Jehan de Severin. It is possible that he did not just make a simple pall, but a more elaborate piece of cloth, fitting for such a repetitive performative action. Although evidence for such rituals is now lost, the reconstruction of the tomb has allowed a preliminary hypothesis of the interplay between visibility and material. The high amount paid for covering the tomb indicates that investigating materiality cannot be separated from the commemorative rituals connected to it. If no specific sources exist of these rituals, a tomb can serve as a means for reconstructing them.

I would like to thank my colleagues, who shared insightful comments and suggestions. Among them, I would especially like to mention Thomas Belyea, Frans Camphuijsen, Anne-Maria van Egmond, Jitske Jasperse, Jelle Koopmans, Robert Marcoux, Yvonne Vermeijn, Hugo van der Velden and Wendelien van Welie-Vink, to thank them for their help during my research and the writing process.

1. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1964). Białostocki describes the book in his Art Bulletin review as a turning point for the discipline. Jan Białostocki, 'Book Review', *The Art Bulletin* 49/3 (1967): p. 261.

2. At the International Historical Congress (August 1928) in Oslo, Dutch scientist G.J. Hoogewerff was one of the first to stress the importance of the iconological method. G.J. Hoogewerff, 'L'iconologie et son importance pour l'étude systématique de l'art Chrétien, *Rivista d'Archeologia Christiana* 8 (1931): pp. 53–82. See for a thorough analysis of Hoogewerff and his work Anne-Maria van Egmond and Claudine Chavannes-Mazel (eds), *Medieval Art in the Northern Netherlands before Van Eyck. New Facts and Features* (Utrecht: Clavis, 2014).

3. See for example Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk (eds), *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010); David Park, 'The Polychromy of English Medieval Sculpture', in Stacy Boldrick, David Park and Paul Williamson (eds), *Wonder: Painted Sculpture from Medieval England*, exh. cat. (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2002), p. 30; and Sanne Frequin, 'A Voice from the Grave. The Tomb of Guy of Avesnes in Saint-Martin's Cathedral in Utrecht', in van Egmond and Chavannes-Mazel, *Medieval Art in the Northern Netherlands before Van Eyck*, pp. 160–71.

4. He is known as John II count of Holland and Zeeland and John I count of Hainaut. I will refer to him as John I in this paper. His father, John of Avesnes, died before he could claim his rights to the county of Hainaut. In this paper he will be referred to as John of Avesnes. The Franciscan church in Valenciennes is nowadays known as St.-Géry.

5. Henri d'Outreman, *Histoire de la ville et comte de Valentiennes* (Douai, 1639) and Simon Le Boucq, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la ville du comté de Valentienne* (Valenciennes : Prignet, 1844).

6. For the political turmoil in Flanders and Hainaut see D.E.H. de Boer and E.H.P Cordfunke, *1299: één graaf, drie graafschappen: de vereniging van Holland, Zeeland en Henegouwen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000).

7. 1313 account: Lille, *Archives départementales du Nord*, B 8220 (envelope no. 151648), published in Chrétien C.A. Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois & le Hainaut avant le XVe siecle* (Lille: Danel, 1886), pp. 196-98, accessed October 27, 2015, http://archive.org/details/documentsetextra01deha. 1311 account : Dehaisnes, *Documents*, pp. 195-96.

8. Micheline Comblen-Sonkes and Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens, *Les Mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa: exposition organisée à la Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, [du 5 mars au 30 avril 1977]* (Bruxelles: Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, 1977).

9. 'le premier tombeau est au milieu du choeur derriere le Pulpitre: qui est de marbre taillé à deux personnages, qui sont Jean d'Avesnes second du nom Comte de Hainau, Hollande etc. & Philipine de Lembourg sa femme, avec force armoiries de toute parts : lesquelles i'obmets à dessein, eu esgard que ce ne sont pas les cartiers du defunct, mais les armes de ses père, mere, grand père, freres, oncles, cousins & semblables.' D'Outreman, *Histoire*, p. 445.

10. Anne van Buren and Roger S. Wieck, *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325-1515* (New York; London: The Morgan Library & Museum; D. Giles Ltd., 2011), p. 316.

11. 'La première tombe est celle de Jean d'Avesnes, comte de Haynau, Hollande, etc., laquelle est au meillieu du choeur, et estoit du passé fort magnifcique, estant marbre noir, et pardessus deux personnages de pierre blanche, l'homme estant armé avecq ung sayon des armes de Haynau à quatre lions sur sa poitrine, et en desoubz de la ceinture estoient par lozengues Haynau et Empire ; sur son escu estoient seulement les armes de Haynau. La femme portoit sur sa robe : Lutzembourg, Empire et Bar…' Le Boucq, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, p. 113.

12. Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), p. 59, fig. 28, appendix 3.

13. For the invoice, see note 7. Although helpful, the transcription of Dehaisnes is incomplete and there are several mistakes in it. For this paper the original document of the 1313 account was studied.

14. For the invoice, see note 7.

15. For Dehaisnes, see note 7.

16. The three Jehans are mentioned in an account of May 7, 1300. 'Chest li contes ke Frankrine fist a le monnoie le jeudi devalt le procession de Valenchiennes, en l'an mil IIIe et XIII par devant Jehan de Biaufort, Jehan de Maubuege, Jehan recheveur de Biaumont.' (Lille, *Chambre des Comptes 1301-1305*, Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 122). In an account of May 5, 1299 (Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 106) Jehan de Maubuege is called '*recheveur de Haynau*'. These three men were the *trésoriers* and executors of Philippa's testament. Valeria van Camp, *De Oorkonden en de Kanselarij van de Graven van Henegouwen, Holland en Zeeland: Schriftelijke Communicatie tijdens een Personele Unie: Henegouwen, 1280-1345* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011), p. 72.

17. Livres, sous and deniers in this paper and added tables are of Tours (*tournois*) except when specifically noted otherwise. One livre equals 20 sous and one sous equals 12 deniers.

18. I would like to thank my colleagues Yvonne Vermeijn, Frans Camphuijsen and Jelle Koopmans for their assistance in transcribing and translating the 1313 document. Any inadequacies can be attributed to the author.

19. Several corrections were made by the second writer. Four payments for a '*capelerie*', a gift to the Carmelites ('*freres dou carme à 20 s.*') and two gifts to specific persons have been crossed out. We can only guess the reason for these corrections. It is possible that these devotional gifts were placed in another (unknown) document, leaving only the 'practicalities' concerning the obsequies of the Countess in this part of the account.

20. D'Outreman, *Histoire*, p. 445.

21. See Ludovic Nys, *La Pierre de Tournai: son Exploitation et son Usage aux XIIIème, XIVème et XVème Siècles* (Tournai; Louvain-la-Neuve: Fabrique de l'Eglise cathédrale de Tournai; Université catholique de Louvain, 1993). For a thorough investigation of the English equivalent, the so-called 'Purbeck marble', see Sally Badham, 'An Interim Study of the Stones Used for the Slabs of English Monumental Brasses', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 13 (1985): pp. 475–83.

22. In the invoice, it appears that 'Mons 60 s.' was added later (the ink colour is darker, while for the next entry, the ink is again lighter. One explanation for this could be that, at the time the invoice was drawn up, the amount of the advance and/or its precise location was as yet to be traced.

23. The tomb chest of Guy of Avesnes is placed against the wall and constructed from two separate slabs.

24. See A. Slinger et al., *Natuursteen in Monumenten* (Zeist; Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg Baarn: Bosch & Keuning, 1980).

25. Ludovic Nys pairs the polishing of the stone with the radiance of the marble. For this purpose he uses Philippa's invoice. The effigies were probably also (partially) polychromed. Nys, *Pierre*, p. 106.

26. Musée de Valenciennes, inv. 90.17.A. See for the fragment and a reconstruction of the tomb Vincent Maliet, *Histoire et archéologie du couvent des Dominicains de Valenciennes*, Cahiers Archéologiques de Valenciennes (Valenciennes: Musée de Valenciennes, 1995), pp. 68-72.

27. For the reconstruction of this tomb and the technical research see Frequin, 'Voice', p. 171.

28. 'Et in vicino oratorio, aliud levato in tumulo priori simili epitaphium, literis non insculptis, sed pictis colore iam fugiente. Fragilis certe in tanta aetate memoria, adeo

ut nomen, nisi annales nos id docerent, iam interiisset. Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo decimo sexto, quarto cal. junii, obiit dominus ... Est autem Guidonis Avenionensis'. Utrecht Archive. *Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Trajectinae urbis atque agri inventa*, (nr. XXVII L 1) fol. 16v.

29. The 1313 invoice cites quantities of 400, 350 and 100 leaves in a 'book' of gold leaf. This deviates from the standard quantity at the Burgundian court of 300 leaves. Susie Nash, '"Pour couleurs et autres choses prise de lui…" the Supply, Acquisition, Cost and Employment of Painters' Materials at the Burgundian Court, c.1375-1419' in Jo Kirby, Susie Nash, and Joanna Cannon (eds). *Trade in Artists' Materials: Markets and Commerce in Europe to 1700* (London: Archetype Publications Ltd, 2010), p. 133.

30. Nash, *Materials*, note 136.

31. Nash, *Materials*, pp. 161-2.

32. Sanne Frequin, 'Pleurant or Priant – an Iconographical Motif in Medieval Sepulchral Art', in Michael Penman (ed.) *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, *Proceedings of the 2011 Stirling Conference* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2013), pp. 55–67.

33. The 1313 invoice states that the 40 l. that he had already received as an advance from Jehan de Trehaille is being deducted here.

34. He is also called Jehan Le Fevre, as is shown in a contemporary document. '*Jean Lefebvre dit de Bâillon*' can be translated Jean Lefevre [the blacksmith], called Jean de Baîllon. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord. 32 H 6 (Valenciennes, 14th century).

35. There is one other entry for de Siveri in the 1313 account. He receives with Jehan de Trahignies 25 l. 'pour parfaire le pointure de le tombe'. In the 1311 account he is paid 49 l. and has received an advance payment for 120 l. for 'avoir le dicte tombe pointre'. Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 195.

36. Dehaisnes also offers a transcription of this account. Due to the shortcomings of the transcription that Dehaisnes has made of the 1313 account we have to be careful with interpreting the numbers in the transcription. For transcription see Dehaisnes, *Documents*, pp. 195-6.

37. Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 195.

38. 'A Jehan Severin, prestet en rabat de ce que on li devra pour I kar qu'il faisoit a me dame, C florences ki valent a 27 s. 6 d. le pièce'. 1327-1328 *Compte des dépenses de la comtesse de Hainaut*. Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 274.

39. 'A Jehan Severin, pour payer a Laude Belonne pour cendaus et veluyaus pour le car me dame , 46 l. 10 s.' Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 304.

40. For the furnishing of carts see Julian Munby, 'From Carriage to Coach: What Happened?', in Robert Bork and

Andrea Kann (eds), *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 41–54. There is an extremely detailed description of the cart that brought Eleanor of Woodstock to her new husband, count Reynald of Guelders, in 1332. See E.W. Safford, 'An Account of the Expenses of Eleanor, Sister of Edward III, on the Occasion of Her Marriage to Reynald, Count of Guelders', *Archaeologia* 77 (1928): pp. 121–40.

41.   *Compte des obsèques de Guillaume comte de Hainaut.* Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 309. Dehaisnes reads '*poindre le chiel'.* In my transcription of the 1313 document I read '*pointure*' instead of Dehaisnes' '*poindre*' at the payment to de Severin (table 2, no. I5). I have chosen to use the same term in this transcription.

42.   This *chiel* was a hearse, placed above the body. Minou Schraven, 'Festive Funerals: Funeral Apparati in Early Modern Italy, Particularly in Rome' (PhD diss., Groningen University, 2006), p. 7.

43.   Pointure, *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (ATILF CNRS; Université de Lorraine, 2012). Accessed on May 25, 2015, http://www.atilf.fr/dmf. See also Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers: Parl - Pol* (Briasson, 1765), p. 649.

44.   This account is made up for William of Bavaria, at this time governor of Hainaut. He later becomes Count William IV of Hainaut (✝1417). 'Item le 6e jour de march au Quesnoit payet a Stourme pour une huge quil acata pour mettre les lignes draps et pour 3 paires de wans[?] quil avoit paijet pour monsigneur une couronne de Haynain de 25 s. 6 d.' National Archive of the Netherlands, B 7937 fol. 51r. I would like to thank my colleague Anne-Maria van Egmond for pointing out this entry. She will deal extensively with the The Hague accounts of the counts of Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut (1345-1425) in her forthcoming dissertation.

45.   'Chys lyons avoit longtemps devant esteit aporteis de Tharse en une hughe de fier, et avoit esteit presenteit al roy de Bealwier […]' Jean d'Outremeuse et al., *Ly myreur des histors: chronique de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse* (Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1877), p. 190, note 6, accessed May 19, 2015 https://archive.org/details/MyreurDesHistors2.

46.   Schraven, 'Funeral Apparati', p. 7.

47.   Schraven, 'Funeral Apparati', p. 20, and Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 47-48.

48.   BNF Français 571, fol. 148v, *Lamentations simulées sur Loyauté* c.1326, Valenciennes.

49.   'D'un chassis de bois ballustré en façon de coffre autour duquel estoient de petites lames de cuivre doré et ouvragé. Ce coffre estoit couvert d'un autre de fer élaboré et ravaillé à jour d'une manière assez délicate… Quelques-uns disent avoir vu des morceaux de verre coloré appliqués au bois en façon de pierreries[…]'. *Vie de Louis VII*, Bibl. Melun, MS 84, fol. 130 as cited in Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: étude sur les funerailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIᵉ siècle* (Genève: Droz, 1975), p. 161.

50.   'De faire un treilloiz de fer sur la tombe feu Robert d'Artois, fiux de ladite dame, assise àus Frères Meneurs a Paris, d'autele façon, d'autele euvre et aussi bon et souffisant comme le treilleiz assis sur la tumbe madame Blanche d'Espaingne assise audit lieu […]'. Renate Kroos, 'Grabbräuche - Grabbilder', in Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (eds), *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (München: W. Fink, 1984), p. 340, cites Dehaisnes, *Documents*, pp. 223, 268.

51.   Julian Munby, 'Richard Beauchamp's Funeral Car', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 155 (2003): pp. 278–87.

52.   Bibliothèque Municipal de Douai, MS 1183, t 2, fol. 119.

53.   In an unpublished lecture Johannes Tripps stated that these coverings of tombs were far more numerous than is often thought. Tripps connects the visibility of the tomb to the ceremonies in the service of the memoria of the deceased. He follows up on the earlier mentioned publication of Renate Kroos, about the depiction of funeral rituals on tombs. Johannes Tripps, 'Enlivening the Tomb: Sepulcher and Performance in Late-Medieval Burgundy and Beyond' (paper presented at 'The Mourners. Tomb Sculptures from the Court of Burgundy, 23 January–17 April 2011', Minneapolis Institute of Arts, January 23, 2011) and Kroos, 'Grabbräuche'.

54.   Kroos, 'Grabbräuche', p. 299.

55.   Kroos, 'Grabbräuche', p. 313.

56.   Tripps, 'Enlivening'.

57.   Kurt Bauch, *Das Mittelalterliche Grabbild Figürliche Grabmäler Des 11. Bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), p. 73.

58.   Gert Kreytenberg, 'Das Grabmal von Kaiser Heinrich VII in Pisa', *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 28/1 (1984): pp. 33–64.

59.   See for example Elina Gertsman (ed.), *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).