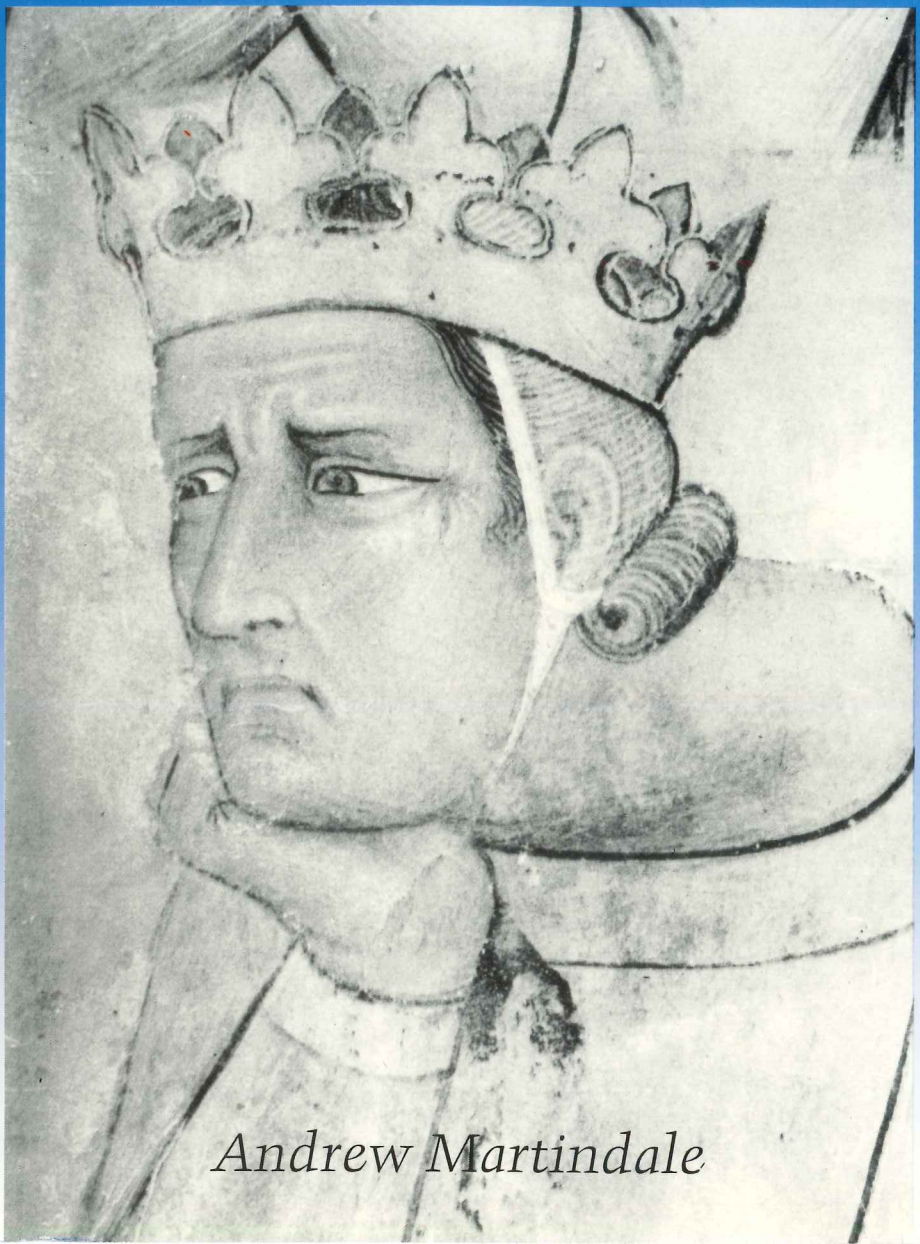
Heroes, ancestors, relatives and the birth of the portrait



Andrew Martindale

HEROES, ANCESTORS, RELATIVES AND THE BIRTH OF THE PORTRAIT

Previously published

H.W. Janson, *Form follows function — or does it? Modernist design theory and the history of art* (The First Gerson Lecture, held on October 2, 1981)

David Freedberg, *Iconoclasts and their motives* (The Second Gerson Lecture, held on October 7, 1983)

Craig Hugh Smyth, *Repatriation of art from the collecting point in Munich after World War II* (The Third Gerson Lecture, held on March 13, 1986)

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(There are stylistic problems surrounding the publication of a lecture. The spoken word obeys different conventions from that which is written; and the two will seldom be identical. It is arguable, therefore, that all published lectures after delivery should be rewritten to convert the spoken to the written style. But the printing of a lecture is also the record of an occasion and a rewriting will necessarily obliterate some part of that record. On that account, I have left the text of this lecture as delivered and virtually unaltered.)

In October 1414, according to his own account, Edmund de Dynter, secretary to Anthony of Burgundy, duke of Brabant, was in Bohemia on a diplomatic mission.[1] When he subsequently came to write his chronicle of events, he recorded from this mission a memorable account of the king of Bohemia, the ex-emperor Wenzel, son of Charles IV of Luxemburg. Wenzel was a terrifyingly erratic ruler. Nevertheless, when sober he was, according to de Dynter, an excellent and courteous conversationalist, dignified and well-informed, and well able to behave like a prince before visiting emissaries.

De Dynter and Wenzel had a common interest in the succession to Brabant; and Wenzel, obviously with considerable charm, took de Dynter by the hand after one audience and led him through to another room, where, said de Dynter, 'were painted the precious images of all the dukes of Brabant down to John III. These images,' he continued, 'had been commissioned by the Emperor Charles, Wenzel's father. The King also said to me that this was his genealogy, and that he was descended from the progeny of the Trojans, and more specifically from the emperor Saint Charles the Great and the noble house of Brabant. For he said that his great-grandfather, the emperor Henry of Luxemburg, was married to the daughter of John I Duke of Brabant from which union sprang his grandfather John, king of Bohemia and Poland.' (Figs. 2-3.)

Edmund de Dynter then went on to describe what happened when Wenzel was drunk. That however belongs to another lecture. In fact, the passage which I have just quoted had a special place in the history of art since it appears to be the first account of somebody being taken round a family portrait gallery. The paintings were almost certainly in the castle of Karlstein; and

1 *Robert of Anjou, king of Naples*. Detail of the altar of St. Louis of Toulouse by Simone Martini. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.

although they were unfortunately destroyed in the very late sixteenth century, we still have, as you have seen, late sixteenth-century copies of the figures themselves.[2] Little enough is known about the setting of these lively if bizarre people. It seems clear from one of the images (of Nimrod) that the portraits were enclosed in fairly narrow niches and in fact a row of cusped frames seems likely.[3] Of the room itself, we know that it was an apartment separate from but adjacent to the main audience hall.[4] This is of passing interest since this relationship has some similarity to that of one of the other great concentrations of court portraiture, Mantegna's Camera degli Sposi. This suggests that its function was primarily to divert and intrigue rather than to overwhelm — and indeed de Dynter recollected it principally as an interesting collection of images of the dukes of Brabant whence he came. Wenzel certainly drew him aside into the room with that interest in mind.

2 *Charlemagne*, from the Luxembourg genealogy. Sixteenth-century copy in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek.

3 *Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg* (for details see plate 2).

To repeat, then, this is the first surviving account of somebody being taken round the family portraits and, from a modern standpoint, it will certainly seem an odd collection of paintings. It is a genealogy — yes; but what sort of a genealogy goes back to Noah by way of Priam and Jupiter? Wenzel claimed it as his family descent; but Wenzel was a Luxemburg and this is mostly about Brabant and Lorraine. I have called it a portrait gallery and it is true that the subjects were for the most part real historical figures reaching back to the fifth century AD.[5] Charles IV, the patron, was clearly painted in his own likeness;[6] perhaps the same was true of his first wife Blanche of Valois and of his parents.[7] But when it comes to Charles' grandfather the emperor Henry VII, it is very unlikely. The evidence of the sepulchral monument at Pisa makes it fairly certain that Henry's actual appearance was no longer alive in people's minds in Prague by the 1360s. Since Charles himself was born in 1316, three years after his grandfather's death, this is not perhaps surprising.[8] But in all, portraiture in terms of life-like representation was at Karlstein thinly spread.

Nevertheless, the very ambiguity of the Karlstein figures makes them a good starting point. Faced by the Luxemburg genealogy, it may be asked why these images were needed and what particular demand or fashion they satisfied. Faced by the apparently intermittent regard for life-like representation, the question arises why it happened at all. Behind much of this there lies the theoretical question posed by my distinguished predecessor in this series, Horst Janson, when, as many of you will remember, he asked 'form follows function — or does it?'[9] In his exposition of the theme, Professor Janson discussed brilliantly a wide range of material ranging from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. I shall not attempt to emulate this. The result would be a failure and I should instantly be exposed for what I am — a medievalist. There are indeed good and interesting historical reasons for concentrating on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in this matter of portraits. To begin with, my friends are well aware that I have for some years been working on the artist Simone Martini.[10] The first recorded portrait in our modern sense — a painted or drawn life-like representation of a face — was produced by him in 1336. The question 'why?' was for me unavoidable. But on the larger stage of the history of portraiture, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries usually get rather meagre treatment. The historians of portraits tend to jump straight from Roman coins to Pisanello, from Roman busts to Antonio Rosselino. If the fourteenth century is mentioned, it comes in the chapter headed 'predecessors and antecedents.' The Karlstein genealogy tends to become simply the forerunner of the eighteenth-century *Ahnengalerie* at

Munich. The two surviving portrait heads of John II of France and Rudolph of Austria (figs. 4-5) become the forerunners of Jan van Eyck and Hans Memling. The fourteenth century is like one of those wayside stations dimly perceived from the window of an express train on its way to somewhere else. But what if the fourteenth century is seen as a point of arrival rather than one of departure or rapid transit? That is what I propose to do now. I shall deal with three principal topics. First, to revert to the Karlstein paintings, I shall ask about the need for family images at all. Next, I shall ask about the growth of life-like representation. Finally, I shall examine the emergence of the 'portrait' in our modern sense and the evidence for it in the fourteenth century. I should say in advance that I do not think that the three strands of my story weave neatly together nor does one theme seem necessarily to grow out of another. For instance, the earliest of my antecedents to the Karlstein sequence contains no images at all; and arguably the earliest portrait which we possess is Vilars de Honnecourt's lion of about 1220, 'counterfeited from the life' as he says ('contrefais al vif'). The story is full of apparent non sequiturs which will be reassuring to adherents of the 'yes, but...' school of historical writing. It may make for untidy reading but this will not surprise those who, like myself, expect that the bottom line in an historical argument will probably be a footnote.

Let me begin, then, with the broader social and historical context of the Karlstein genealogy. I have said that its first aim was almost certainly to divert and interest. However, it makes a clear historical point: that Charles IV was descended from Charlemagne. Beyond that, although descent from Noah would have been judged safe, the idea that Noah's name was Luxemburg would have been resisted; and descent from Priam and Jupiter would certainly have been taken by all sensible people, then and since, with a grain of salt. But the substance of the history was the descent from Charlemagne. Charles IV was creating a particular historical perspective and furnishing it with, for the most part, historical persons. It is oddly reminiscent of Alberti's later recommendation to convey sense and scale in a pictorial history by peopling it with figures.[11] Four points need to be made about this procedure. First, by the fourteenth century it was in European terms very common. Second, the early examples are in sculpture. Third, the idea is not by any means confined to families. The oldest examples are institutional. Fourth, almost always the really interesting questions about these collections of figures concern the history which they evoke and, by inference, the reasons for their creation.

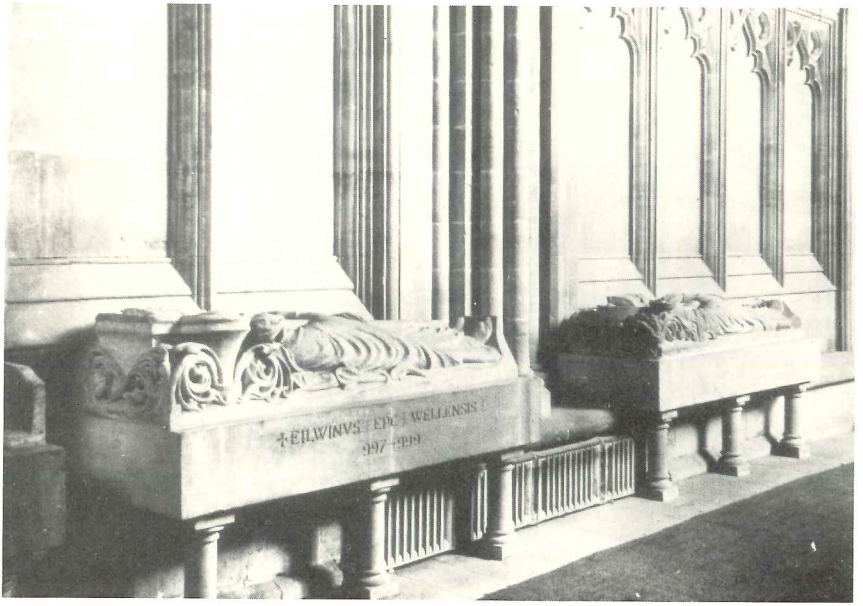
At least for the institutions, these reasons were extremely diverse. I shall allude simply to four examples, starting with the best known: the effigies of

4 *John II of France.* Paris, Louvre.

5 *Rudolf IV, archduke of Austria.* Vienna, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum

Carolingian and early Capetian kings and queens erected at the abbey of St. Denis near Paris.[12] During the 1260s, the remains of sixteen early kings and queens were brought together and re-interred in the transept in two groups of eight, under new monuments. Clearly, their presence established in an extremely material way the antiquity of the institution; but it also reasserted the claim of St. Denis to be the natural cemetery of the kings of France. In the mid-thirteenth century, there was residual doubt about this, not least in the minds of the kings themselves. It is likely that such a formidable array of mortal remains was instrumental in persuading Louis IX to be buried at St. Denis rather than at this own Cistercian foundation at Royaumont.

The rather earlier effigies of the Saxon bishops of Wells Cathedral tell a different story (fig. 6). Here, it is necessary to know that after the Norman Conquest the see of Wells had in the late eleventh century been suppressed by Lanfranc and the bishop moved to Bath.[13] The story of the next 140 years is



6 Tombs of the Saxon bishops. Wells Cathedral, south choir aisle.

one in which the chapter at Wells sought to reassert its original status. The complications in this story need not detain us; but amongst the final stages of the struggle was the reinstatement of the name of Wells alongside that of Bath in the title of the bishopric. In 1220, a letter from Pope Honorius III ordered a search of the registers in order to test the alleged claims of Wells to be the ancient seat of the bishops — a search which was successful for Wells. It seems likely that the reburial under new monuments of the pre-conquest bishops of Wells round the choir ambulatory dates from this time.[14] It is a celebration of antiquity but also a reminder to visitors — especially those from Bath.

The third of my examples is Winchester — and it is the example I have already mentioned which establishes an historical perspective without recourse to figure sculpture at all. In the years leading to 1158, the bishop Henry of Blois gathered together into six chests the bones of all the pre-conquest kings and bishops who had been buried in the cathedral.[15] They still sit on the ambulatory screen overlooking the high altar, though the twelfth-century chests were subsequently enclosed in new boxes by Bishop Fox in the early sixteenth century (fig. 7). We know from John of Salisbury that Henry of Blois had an antiquarian turn of mind[16] and it may be that this action, which demonstrated the antiquity of the see of Wessex back to the seventh century, represented an aspect of this antiquarianism. We also know that Henry, during his episcopate, had formulated some not very clear proposals to turn the bishopric of Winchester into an archbishopric independent of Canterbury and presumably corresponding to the ancient kingdom of Wessex.[17] The chests at Winchester seem likely to have had something to do with this though it would be hard to say how far the presence in the mélange of the bones of Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury would have helped the cause.[18]

My fourth and last example of an institution asserting an historical perspective takes us back into the world of figure sculpture. It is the decoration of the west choir of Naumburg, carved probably in the 1240s (fig. 8). In its own way, it is as famous as the sculpture in St. Denis. But the circumstances leading up to it were rather different.[19] Like Wells, the original issue was a translated bishopric. In 1028, the see of Zeitz was transferred about twenty miles to Naumburg under the influence and patronage of the counts of Meissen. This led to about two hundred years of intermittent legal proceedings which were finally settled in 1230 by a papal bull of Gregory IX in favour of Naumburg. It has been persuasively argued that the decoration of the west choir in the 1240s, with its statues representing eleventh-century members of that family, is in part a monumental celebration of the end of the troubles by a reassertion of the

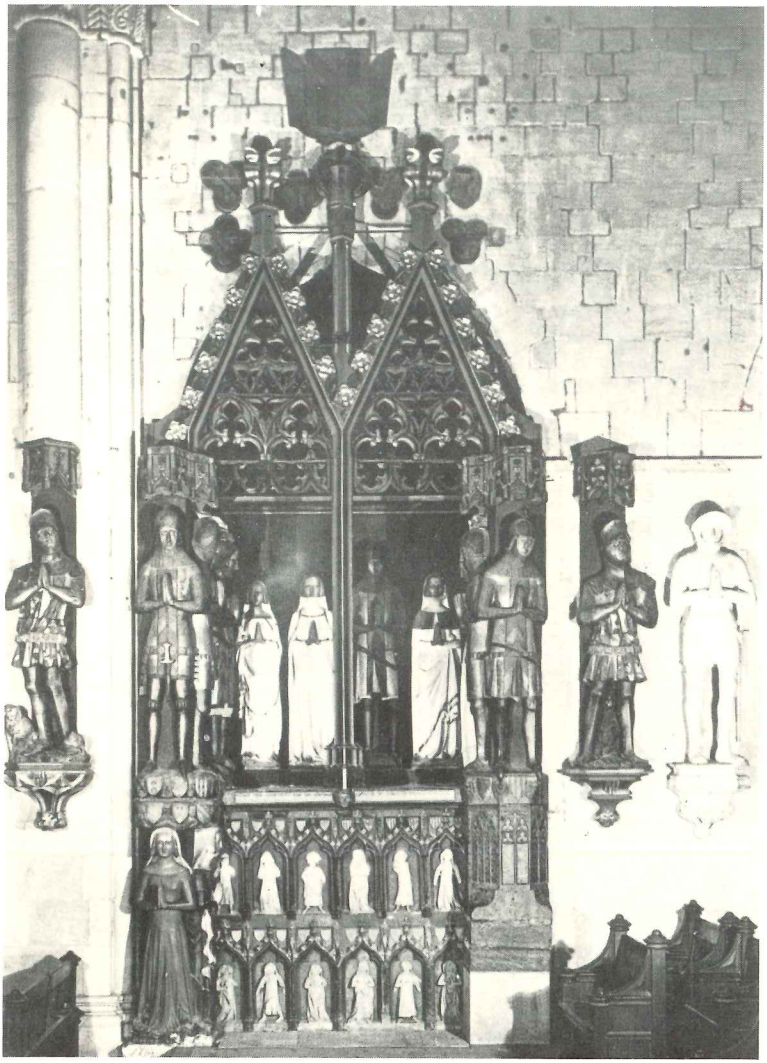
7 The bone-chests of Henry of Blois. Winchester Cathedral, north choir. The wooden coffers which are visible date from the early sixteenth century.

8 The west choir, Naumburg Cathedral.

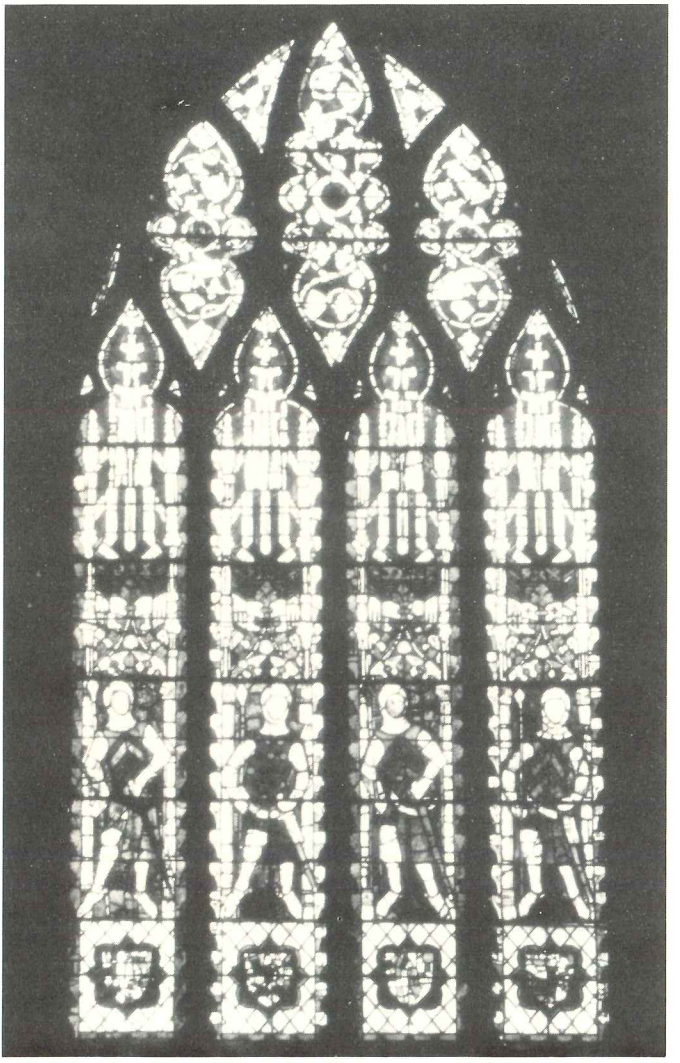
continued importance of the original benefactors.

One of the points which emerges from an examination of this sort is the diversity of motives underlying these displays. It might be supposed that an equal diversity would be found in groups of figures celebrating private families. In practice, this seems not to have been the case. Two surviving examples still in their original ecclesiastical settings seem inspired by a much more human concern — nostalgia. For reasons which I shall explain, I am taking the later of the two first. This is the monument to the family of the counts of Neuchâtel still in the *collégiale* in the castle there (fig. 9).[20] Although there is a deal of recent controversy about this monument[21] and although it is very hard to say exactly how it reached its present form, the traditional view on its meaning still seems to me likely to be correct. This takes the inscription to mean that Count Louis of Neuchâtel put together the whole tomb and structure in 1372 in memory of his people or family.[22] Louis was the last of his line, dying in the following year; and it seems to me likely that the figures clustered on the monument are retrospective, taking the spectator back several generations and probably into the twelfth century. Unfortunately, the monument was thoroughly restored and repainted in the nineteenth century and the heraldry is not trustworthy, though the figures and stonework of the main monument were certainly created on at least two different dates in the fourteenth century. As I have said, it is difficult to disentangle exactly what Louis brought together.

This interpretation is the easier to accept insomuch as something very similar in intention, of about 1335, survives at Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, England. The completeness of its survival and perhaps also the fact that it will be less well known justify a slightly more extended explanation.[23] Tewkesbury was a Benedictine house founded in 1102 by a Norman, Robert Fitzhamon. The abbey became closely associated with the earldom of Gloucester and Tewkesbury Castle; and passing from the Fitzhamon family to that of Robert Fitzroy, an illegitimate son of Henry I, it came at the opening of the thirteenth century to the powerful Clare family. Four male Clares held the honour and the earldom in direct descent, all of them being buried in the choir of the abbey church.[24] However, the male line came to an end with the death of Gilbert III in 1314 and the honour passed to an heiress Eleanor who was married to King Edward II's favourite, Hugh Despenser. Hugh was executed in 1326, but Eleanor lived until 1337. During that time she married again — to William de la Zouche; and for part of that time, she seems to have devoted her attention to beautifying what was not merely the family church but *her* family church —



9 The memorial to the counts of Neuchâtel.
Neuchâtel, Collègiale.



10 The ancestors of Eleanor de Clare. Tewkesbury Abbey, choir clerestorey, south.

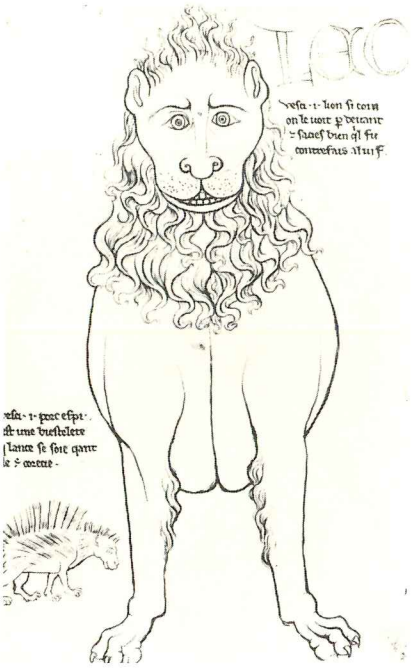
she being the last surviving Clare. She had no need to attend to the sepulchral memorials since all the Clares had been given memorials in the centre of the choir. However she rebuilt the clerestory of the Romanesque presbytery with a famously beautiful vault; and into the seven new clerestory windows she put stained glass (fig. 10). Five of the windows, containing a Last Judgement and figures of saints, are not material to the present discussion. But the two remaining west windows, next to the crossing, have eight figures of knights with emblazoned surcoats which provide some idea who they are. They are not saints but members of Eleanor's family, and although they are not named, the heraldry makes it fairly clear whom they represent. The single Despenser and the single de la Zouche must be Eleanor's first and second husbands; the four Clares must be the four principal Clares to be buried in Tewkesbury, back to Gilbert I, her great-grandfather. Fitzroy takes one back to her royal ancestor Robert, the illegitimate son of Henry I; and Fitzhaymo was Robert Fitzroy's father-in-law and Eleanor's own link with the foundation of the abbey.[25]

I left Tewkesbury till this point because it can claim to be the first surviving *painted* gallery of ancestors in Europe — the emphasis being on the painting. But at this point it is necessary to pause and attempt to sort out some problems and confusions which have been looming behind what has been said so far. The Tewkesbury figures hardly constitute portraits in our sense. Faced by the image of Despenser and the question 'is this the face that sank Edward II?' the answer is 'probably not.' The individuality of Eleanor's stained-glass figures is conveyed by heraldry, even though she would have known (obviously) her two husbands, her brother, her father and probably her grandfather. This makes an interesting contrast to the sculpture at Naumburg, where the figures dominate the activities in the choir of the church in a rather similar way. Here, although the figures were all remote in time, the sculptor gave them a vivid and individual contemporary presence. Despite the chronological remoteness, it is difficult not to believe that the faces are based on real people whom we should recognise today if we met them in the street. Are there not interesting lessons to be learnt from this contrast?

Now a babel of voices is likely to descend on me at this point questioning the usefulness of the contrast. It will be asserted that sculpture is different from painting; the thirteenth century different from the fourteenth; Germans different from English; and there is usually a voice somewhere which says rather aggressively 'what about Italy?' I maintain that this remains an extremely interesting contrast notwithstanding all these issues. For it leads to the point of semantic confusion occasioned by the word *portrait*. As conveyed by the verb

pourtraire, it meant throughout this period little more than a drawing or representation.[26] So in a quite legitimate sense everything about which I have so far talked could be called a portrait, including both Count Eckhardt of Meissen at Naumburg, who died in 1046 AD, and Noah at Karlstein who died, according to Archbishop Ussher, around 2348 BC. But the concept of imitation from the life certainly existed in the thirteenth century – indeed, it might be said that it was discovered then. It has already been met in the drawing of the lion by Vilars de Honnecourt who, you will remember, had a word for it; he said it was *contrefais al vif* (fig. 11).[27] This imitation of living reality was thus expressed in the verb *contrefaire*, for which the transliteration 'counterfeit' produces the interesting and apposite, though probably modern, overtones of close imitation with intent to deceive.

Vilars appears to have possessed the will to counterfeit rather than the means. His lion does not look very like a lion and it is in any case difficult to believe that the face-to-face approach would have been treated sympathetical-

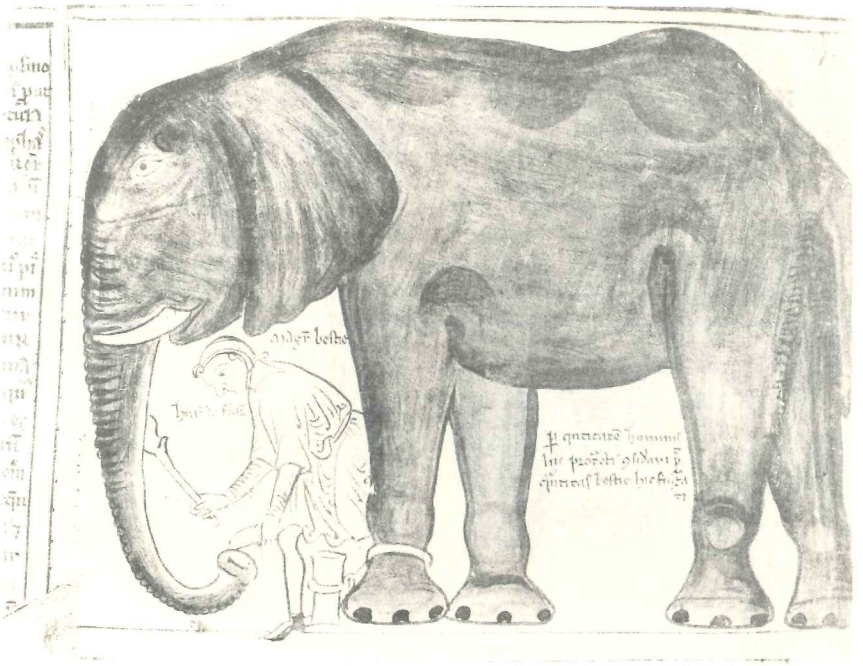


11 *Leo*, by Vilars de Honnecourt. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr 19093.

12 *Henry III's elephant*, by Matthew Paris. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 16.

ly by the lion itself. Perhaps I should add to the Vilars lion Matthew Paris's elephant, seen by him at the Tower of London in 1255 (fig. 12).[28] He too says that it was made from life. He drew in the master of the beasts, as he says, so that one can get an idea of the size of the animal. Although Matthew was drawing an animal, it was in the modern sense a portrait; and the general application of this line of interest had profound consequences in the thirteenth century.

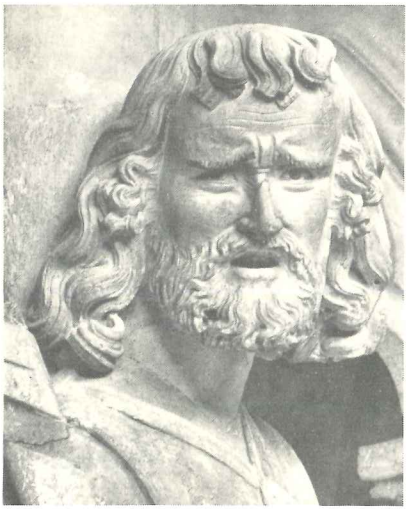
It is not possible in a lecture to provide a general review of the century in these terms; but visually there was a widespread interest in and curiosity about the individual and the particular. This included plant and insect as well as animal life; and it gave rise to some of the most beautiful botanical studies ever created. It is a commonplace to label the thirteenth century the century of Aristotle, and indeed it is difficult to conceive of this visual analysis independently of Aristotelian pragmatism. The plant studies read like illustrations to an induc-



tive examination of the botanical world.

This curiosity about the particular was also extended to the human species. In the thirteenth century, one gets a much clearer appreciation of different human types, different emotional states, different sorts of people – and this momentum continues into the fourteenth century (figs. 13-14). The problem with general propositions of this nature is that such developments often appear inexplicably uneven and haphazard. To return to some of the previous objections which I noted, sculpture developed at a different pace and in a way different from painting; English developments were not the same as German or French; and – yes indeed, what about Italy? However, in the context of portraiture in the modern sense, the 'counterfeiting' of living faces, it can be said that in the second half of the thirteenth century one has for the first time some indication of what some famous people looked like.

Once again there is a sense of unevenness. It is for instance very difficult to form an impression about the appearance of Louis IX of France. He was of course canonised at the end of the century and a sort of iconography emerged



13 *Sizzo*, from the west choir, Naumburg Cathedral.

14 Corbel head from choir triforium, Westminster Abbey.

to cover this. But it is not very distinctive; and the most that emerges is a general resemblance to his brother-in-law Henry III of England, which in turn may mean no more than that their barbers were trained in the same establishment.[29]

By contrast, his son Louis of France, who died in 1260, received an effigy which has a very marked individuality.[30] Again, St. Louis' younger brother Charles of Anjou, seen here about 1275 through the eyes of the Italian sculptor Arnolfo di Cambio, has absolutely individual characteristics (fig. 15).[31] Naturally, in drawing conclusions from these images, some care has to be exercised. The Italian statue was made in Charles's lifetime and presumably reflects how Charles wanted to be remembered in Rome, where the statue still sits. But many years ago Professor White warned that some of the most remarkable characterisations might in fact be borrowed from an existing formula — the case in point being the posthumous effigy of Clement IV in Viterbo of the early 1270s (fig. 16), which, he pointed out, is curiously similar to the type of Christ used by Coppo di Marcovaldo.[32] That is quite possible, though I would see it

15 *Charles of Anjou, king of Naples*, from seated effigy by Arnolfo di Cambio. Rome, Museo Capitolino.

16 *Pope Clement IV*, from tomb by Petrus Oderisi. Viterbo, S. Francesco.

as part of Sir Ernst Gombrich's process of 'making and matching.' Anyway, it does not necessarily mean that Clement did not actually look like that. Nevertheless it certainly seems the case that it is necessary to wait till the fourteenth century for, as it were, multiple copies of the same face to survive. It is only at that point that it becomes possible to be reasonably certain that the person 'counterfeited' really looked like his image.

The most striking early example of this new situation is that of Robert the Wise of Naples. We have three painted images of him from different dates, different artists and different places, all done in his lifetime. One is on the altar of St. Louis of Toulouse, painted probably at Naples about 1317 by Simone Martini (fig. 1).[33] A second is in the Franciscan convent at Siena, painted about 1325-30 by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (fig. 17).[34] The third, interestingly older in appearance, was painted by an unknown Tuscan illuminator of the 1330s in the well-known manuscript containing a long metrical address from the city of Prato to King Robert.[35] The first was made, so to speak, in the presence of Robert, but the two Tuscan examples imply the existence of likenesses or 'counterfeits' travelling from one part of Italy to another, since

17 *Robert of Anjou, king of Naples*, from fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Siena, S. Francesco.

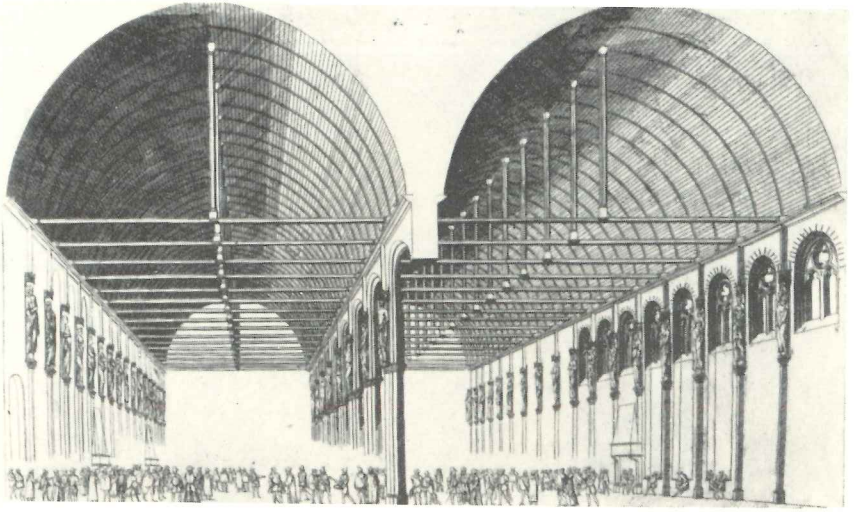
Robert himself never travelled in the northern half of Italy after about 1320.[36] Yet it was still possible to have an agreed view there on his appearance.

These are painted likenesses, and they are indeed Italian. An explanation for this change of scene and medium would involve an excursion into the history of style, which is not really central to this discussion. It has, however, to be acknowledged that neither the different arts nor the different parts of Europe moved in unison; and whatever may be felt about the thirteenth century as the century of Aristotle, this affected painters very little, in general, until the end of the century. Moreover, in the matter of the characterisation of the human face, it affected northern painters hardly at all until well into the fourteenth century. It would not have occurred to the glass painter at Tewkesbury to attempt distinctions of persons *via* their faces — difficult in any case when the faces are enclosed in chain-mail coiffes. Heraldic distinctions did the same job much more succinctly. By contrast, in Italy in the neighbourhood of Rome, a range of expressive pictorial characterisation and observation was developed in the late thirteenth century which provides the background to the images of Robert. Thus already by about 1305, Giotto provided a very strong characterisation for the image of Enrico Scrovegni at Padua (fig. 18); and by about 1315 Simone Martini provided an equally forceful picture of Cardinal Gentile Partino da Montefiore del Aso, in the chapel of St. Martin at Assisi (fig. 19). In the case of Gentile, there may be some doubt about the veracity of the image, since he died in 1312 and it is not absolutely certain that Simone ever met him. There are however at Assisi two other portraits in stained glass of this period which reiterate the rather round fleshy face. In the case of Scrovegni, on the other hand, the sitter was of course very much alive in 1305 and must have countenanced this representation of himself.

Life-like 'counterfeits' of real people had entered the world of both painters and sculptors by 1300, and it is unsurprising that this seems to have had an impact on the world of the family portrait gallery — a world to which it is now necessary to return. In its fully secularised form — that is, secular figures in a secular context — we have already met such a gallery at Karlstein where I began. That was, however, neither the first nor the only fourteenth-century display of such subject matter in a secular setting. It was preceded by the great hall of the palace of the Cité in Paris, begun by Philip le Bel in 1301 (fig. 20);[37] and it was more or less contemporary with the Sala del Gran Consiglio in the ducal palace at Venice, decorated from the 1360s onwards (fig. 21).[38] Unfortunately both ensembles are, in effect, destroyed. However, we have a view by du Cerceau of 1576 showing the interior of the Parisian hall before the fire of

18 *Enrico Scrovegni*, from fresco by Giotto.
Padua, Arena chapel.

19 *Gentile Partino da Montefiore del Aso*, from fresco by Simone Martini. Assisi, S. Francesco, chapel of St. Martin.



20 The Great Hall of the palace of the Cité, Paris.

21 The Sala del Gran Consiglio, Ducal Palace, Venice.

1618;[39] and the reconstruction of the Venetian hall after the fire of 1577 seems to have preserved intact much of the iconography of its predecessor.[40] In both, there was a sequence of images which provided a panorama of the rulers, more or less from the foundation of the institution. In the case of Venice, the figures began with Doge Obelerio degli Antenori in the early ninth century. In Paris, where the accounts do not make it clear whether the figures began with Hugh Capet or went back farther, for instance to Charlemagne, the figures were sculpted and stood in niches. In Venice, they were painted and were ranged round the room immediately below the ceiling. So far, the general impact of both was very like Karlstein. In all three cases, the rooms appear to be celebrating the antiquity of the institutions concerned; in a very direct sense they involved ancestry and tradition. More than a century ago, Franz Wickhoff, in dealing with the Venetian paintings,[41] reminded his readers that the inspiration for such schemes throughout the Middle Ages was likely to have been the extensive cycles of papal images in the Roman churches of S. Paolo fuori le Mura[42] and Old St. Peter's. This seems entirely likely. Not only were these cycles accessible to all visitors but the idea was kept alive in ecclesiastical circles. There is a cycle of about 1300 in S. Piero a Grado near Pisa[43] which has an extensive set of papal images and seems likely originally to have ended with Boniface VIII. Nor was the idea confined to Italy. In 1301 — that is, at virtually the same date — the bishop of Prague decorated his palace chapel with a series of figures celebrating all the bishops of his see.[44]

Both in Paris and Venice, however, the old idea was given a twist which takes it quite beyond these obvious prototypes. Spaces were left vacant, so that the sequence became prospective as well as retrospective. Personally, I find this amazing to the extent that the empty spaces provided a quite unwarrantable temptation to *fortuna*. It is therefore pleasant to report that the Venetian doges survived to fill spaces in the Sala del Gran Consiglio with a comfortable overflow into the neighbouring Sala del Scrutinio before the arrival of Napoleon in 1797.[45] The uncertainties about the content of the Cité cycle make such calculations more difficult. However, Paris and Venice in this respect appear to me to be isolated. I assume that the one depends on the other; and I can see why subsequent families and institutions should have looked slightly askance at the idea. It is more difficult to see why it happened at all; but I should suppose that whatever its basic appeal, this was enhanced by the relatively novel attraction of being able to fill the empty spaces with lively and individually characterised representations of the rulers still to come. The hall of the Cité must ultimately have looked like a collection of waxworks,

a sort of rather dusty Madame Tussaud's.[46] Of course, all the sculpture has now totally vanished. The well-known standing figure of Charles V (dateable about 1370), now in the Louvre, is a reminder of what was possible; although this sculpture had in origin nothing to do with the figures which I have been discussing.

This does of course leave unanswered the question 'why were these Parisian and Venetian schemes created in the first place and what was their function?' It was easier to suggest an answer for Venice. It seems likely that it is 'Venice' herself that was being celebrated. The Venetian dukedom was almost pathologically non-hereditary so there was no question of celebrating the descent of a family. The past and future history of the city herself, however, was a perfectly acceptable subject. The Parisian decoration is slightly more of a problem. Philippe le Bel was a supreme realist and it is most unlikely that he expected the Capetian line to run on indefinitely.[47] The celebration here is likely, therefore, to have been slightly less precise — I should suppose that it is about the rulers of Francia. However, without the original figures it is hard to catch the nuances.

I have spoken of family and institutional image cycles; and I have spoken of the developing thirteenth-century perception of individuality in things and people; and of the transition from *pourtraire* to *contrefaire*. The one impinges on the other to the extent that ultimately and everywhere it became unacceptable merely, as at Tewkesbury, to individualise a figure by means of the heraldry. But these are separate stories requiring distinct treatment and in neither case are we immediately offered any clear signposts towards the third strand in my discussion — namely, the origin of the portrait; that is, a life-like characterisation of the face of a living person presented as a self-contained image. Provided the late sixteenth-century canvases in the ducal palace in Venice can be trusted, it will have been noticed that the form was already present there, since the images are faces with shoulders and hands. The series, as I have said, dates from about 1365. For the late fourteenth-century history of the form, there are only copies of lost portraits. The profile of Philip the Bold of Burgundy is one such. I also suspect that some of the drawings of portraits in the late sixteenth-century collection known as the *Recueil d'Arras* must derive from late fourteenth-century originals.[48] Yet if an attempt is made to push the history back before 1365, the painted portrait (modern sense) will be found to sidle in in an unexpectedly surreptitious manner. By comparison with the public stance adopted by most of the examples I have given you so far, the genre has at the start a remarkably low profile; so that, although the invention of a new genre

in the history of western art ought to be the occasion for at least a small fanfare, it is extremely difficult to know when to give the first toot. I shall do my best to assemble this motley army of evidence for inspection, since the evidence for 'what?' and 'where?' also has some bearing on the more interesting question 'why?'

First, there are of course the two well-known survivors which have already been seen — respectively of John II of France (died 1364, fig. 4) and Rudolph of Austria (died 1365, fig. 5). The remainder are non-survivors for which there are documentary or literary references but no objects. Four are connected with Petrarch, and four were in the collection of Charles V of France in 1380. There are thus ten items in all.[49] I shall keep the survivors on view for the moment though nothing is known about the circumstances of their creation; and I shall begin with the Petrarchan evidence. From this, it is known that Simone Martini created an image of Laura for Petrarch probably in 1336; that by 1343 he had created an image of Cardinal Napoleone Orsini;[50] and that Pandulph Malatesta of Rimini had two images of Petrarch (not by Simone), one executed probably in the 1340s, the other in 1356.[51] The evidence sounds thinly spread but is actually quite revealing about the reasons for these objects coming into existence. Pandulph's first Petrarch portrait was commissioned out of admiration, the second out of friendship. Petrarch's image of Laura was the result of love; and that indeed seems to be the context which best explains these early images. We are in the world of the private memento — a *memento vivere*, I should hasten to add. They are a reminder of life and in the first instance an evidence of friendship.

It is tempting to try to insist on the classical precedents for these images, but this will not really do. Classical literature is not full of people exchanging likenesses; and although Alberti in the next century observed that art had the power of making the absent present, the example he used was of the Greek Cassander trembling all over on seeing a likeness of the dead Alexander.[52] It is true that many people would have trembled violently at seeing a likeness of Philippe le Bel, but this is not quite what we want. On the other hand, classical literature is full of references to images which might speak if only they had breath. Petrarch expressed himself in this language when he wrote his two sonnets about Simone's *Laura* portrait, including an almost inevitable reference to Pygmalion.[53] This sense of a living presence being evoked also emerges in the small amount of information about Simone's Orsini portrait. The original destination of this image is not known; but shortly after his death in 1343 it came into the hands of Napoleone's physician, who presented it to Clement VI in the

hope of gaining preferment. He made this point explicit by getting Petrarch to write what was in effect a begging poem, set on the picture so that the words appeared to be coming out of Napoleone's mouth.[54] Napoleone, though dead, was thus briefly resurrected; and in life, he had indeed been a personal friend of Clement VI. For all I know, the portrait may originally have been intended for Clement anyway.

There is considerable doubt about the material nature of these objects. Clearly the best painters might be employed, such as Simone Martini. The 1356 portrait of Petrarch was said by Petrarch himself to have been by an 'outstanding artist' — unfortunately he is not named. The surviving portrait of John II of France is also by an extremely competent artist. It is moreover a substantial object, some 60 cm. high, decorated with burnished gold leaf and some fine punchwork decoration. It looks instantly Italianate and there is much to commend the suggestion that it is connected with John's visit to Avignon in 1349. For Avignonese painting was at its most Italianate during the 1340s (though it would then be necessary to accept the inscription as a later addition since John did not become king until 1350).[55] By contrast, however, Petrarch's own words make the Laura portrait sound like a drawing on paper.[56] Moreover, there was at an early date a drawing of Petrarch in circulation. This appears from a very fine image in a copy of Petrarch's works made in 1379 for Francesco Carrara in Padua.[57] Petrarch had died in 1374 and this is the earliest surviving likeness of the poet. I am inclined to wonder, from the age of the sitter, whether this Carrara image is not derived from the 1356 Malatesta portrait — in which case, was not that too, perhaps, a drawing?

The feature which all these images had in common was portability. Indeed, they only really made sense away from the presence of the sitter. Petrarch, so he said, carried the image of Laura around with him everywhere he went.[58] Granted its fragile nature, it probably died eventually from exhaustion. But, equally, it is reasonably certain that likenesses were from an early date exchanged. By about 1356, a reasonable likeness of Charles V of France appeared on the walls of Karlstein Castle.[59] Probably by about the same date, an image of Emperor Charles IV was in circulation in Paris.[60] The two men had met at the diet of Metz in 1356 and my expectation is that they exchanged portraits at that date or soon after. But this sense of mobility also acts as a powerful reminder of the prehistory of the genre. It is for me difficult to avoid the conclusion that there existed a portrait sketch by Giotto of Enrico Scrovegni; moreover, we have seen how images of Robert of Naples circulated in the northern half of Italy.[61] The portrait as a *genre* is, I suppose, born when some-

body requires such a 'counterfeit' head in whatever form as an end in itself, a personal memento. It would be romantic to suppose that it was born of Petrarch's affection for Laura and Simone's genius for facial characterisation. History is seldom so obliging in its explanations, but at least the available evidence does not contradict this; and although I have no great enthusiasm for using the cosmopolitan nature of Avignon as a sort of portmanteau explanation for fourteenth-century European cultural movements, it does appear on the surviving evidence that Avignon was, for the idea of the portrait, the centre of diffusion.

One of the more puzzling questions surrounding early portraits relates to what the owners of recipients did with them. It is commonly assumed that the correctly equipped household had some sort of all-purpose closet where such things would come to rest. The expression is carefully chosen since it is clear from the evidence of the fifteenth century that many of these objects were not intended to hang on the wall. They came in the form of diptychs with covers; or they came with armorial bearings or emblems painted on the back.[62] In that respect, they were very like the portrait medals developed by Pisanello. They too are intended to be picked up, looked at and put down again. There is only one fourteenth-century description of one of these objects in what must have been nearly its original setting. This was the curious cluster of four heads ultimately owned by Charles V of France and listed in his inventory of 1380.[63] These were four separate images joined together in such a way that the man who made the inventory classified them as a single entry. The portraits were named — John II of France, his brother-in-law Emperor Charles IV, his cousin Edward III of England and his son Charles V. Although the presence of Edward makes it likely that this curious group was painted after the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, all suggestions about its original destination must be speculative and I shall not indulge in this except to repeat that it seems to me unlikely that it was intended for any of the sitters. However, by 1380 it was in the possession of one of them, Charles V, and it was in the Hotel de St. Pol in Paris. There it stood in a room called the 'petite estude.' This had only four items in it. One was the group of heads in question. The second was a group of small religious pictures painted on parchment. The third was the claw of a griffin with two birds' feet, all with silver gilt mounts. The fourth was a pair of hunting horns, black with leather straps, the one with silver mounts, the other with copper.[64] Now that group seems to me to come close to being a job lot of high-class curios. It reinforces my impression that these paintings had little function, once painted and delivered; and they came to rest in odd places. It

is, in effect, the continuing problem of the presentation photograph.

If that is correct, it might incidentally help to explain the fate of the portrait of Rudolph of Austria. It is known that by the mid-fifteenth century this was hanging over his tomb in the church of St. Stephen, Vienna. It has been argued that the portrait goes with the monument[65] — which was erected in Rudolph's own lifetime (he died in 1365); and that this is an interesting example of a memorial with the familiar double image of the subject simultaneously dead (on the tomb) and alive (in the picture). For myself, I find it difficult to accept that the painted effigy was executed with that end in mind. There are too many discrepancies, beginning with that of medium. I can however easily imagine it ending up in St. Stephen's hanging over the monument simply for want of a better home. At some point it seemed to somebody a good place to put it.

When it first appears, then, the portrait is small, portable and private; but this had some consequence for its future — at least up to about 1500. To revert to Janson's advice, if it is asked what function these images had, the answer is remarkably little. Their only recorded usefulness was in giving intended bridegrooms advance warning of the appearance of a possible betrothed — as in the case of Jan van Eyck, Isabella of Portugal and Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1428. Apart from that, they had very little to offer. In particular, they asserted no theme historical, genealogical or otherwise. This was, of course, advantageous for patrons who had no family history or genealogy to assert. The fact that these images were not intended for any sort of conventional portrait gallery was in that respect a bonus. I have not done a statistical study of surviving portraits to 1500 but my strong impression is that the majority of the faces belong to unknown people who, in terms of either Debrett or the Almanach de Gotha, would not have made an impressive showing.

I should not be too dismissive. The function of the portrait became a little more diverse in the fifteenth century. It became occasionally the focus of competition, as in the contest between Jacopo Bellini and Pisanello for an image of Leonello d'Este in 1441.[66] It might be commemorative if that is the correct reading of the well-known portrait of the old man by Ghirlandaio now in the Louvre.[67] It might be the focus for esoteric allusion, if one accepts, as I think one must, the sort of explanation suggested by Panofsky for van Eyck's portrait in London — generally called, from its main inscription, *Leal Souvenir*.[68] It certainly went 'up-market' with the invention by Pisanello of the bronze portrait medallion. But on the whole expectations remained limited. As in the mid-fourteenth, so in the late fifteenth century, a portrait was synonomous

with a head and this was the case even at the level of the royal house of Burgundy. Occasionally, portraits are startling — the vividness and brilliance of the paintings of Jan van Eyck and Antonello da Messina are supremely memorable. But the norm appears to have remained one of bland aloofness. Between the fourteenth century and the sixteenth-century revolution created for the portrait by Raphael and Titian, the expectations of the genre did not fundamentally alter. To that extent it is possible to see the fourteenth century not merely as a point of arrival, but a point of prolonged delay.

The portrait was in a real sense rescued by Raphael and Titian. In the sixteenth century it acquired a public presence and became High Art, giving often both an extremely dramatic exposition of the appearance of the sitter and a virtuoso display of the professional skill of the artist. This certainly did not mean that all the things I have discussed were turned upside down. There remained an influential body of opinion which expected the painted image to impart information about the family or the history of the institution of the sitter and was not very interested in High Art. Much of the spirit evident in Naumburg and Karlstein had a perfectly safe survival down to the present day.

But the original sense of the portrait as a personal or private document was largely lost — surviving perhaps only in objects such as the miniatures of Holbein, Hilliard and their successors. And I wish to return to that early period and, more specifically, I am going to end with the two sonnets composed by Petrarch on the theme of Simone Martini's *Laura*. These are commonly used quite ruthlessly by art historians like myself simply to provide a date for and information concerning a lost painting. Of course they do more than that. They are a pleasure to read; and in my present context they say something about Petrarch's reactions to the infant genre. In fact, in their ambiguities, they reflect some of the changes about which I have been talking. You will remember that I spoke briefly about the considerable intellectual changes which took place from the thirteenth century onwards; and how the move from *pourtraire* to Vilars de Honnecourt's *contrefaire* formed part of a world in which faith was being challenged by experience, the ideal by the real, substance by accidence and, in general, the platonic world of St. Augustine by a new pragmatism.

Petrarch belonged to both worlds, and his two sonnets interestingly produce two different approaches to the task of praising Laura's portrait. In one he says something like this: 'Laura's beauty is such as to be beyond the reach of all the greatest artists the world has ever known. But Simone has succeeded in con-

veying it; and my only explanation is that he must have seen her in Paradise whence she came. The work is such as could only be imagined in heaven; for the imperfections of human existence ensure that no mortal eye or mortal experience could capture such perfection.' Now this is almost the world of Plato, in which an unattainable world of philosophical Truth is set off against the imperfect world of experience and the senses. Simone, the supreme artist, has, according to the poet, somehow broken through that barrier, has visited Paradise and seen the essential Laura, not through a glass darkly but face to face.

Per mirar Policleto a prova fiso
con gli altri ch'ebber fama di quell'arte
mill'anni, non vedrian la minor parte
de la belta che m'have il cor conquiso.
Ma certo il mio Simon fu in paradiso,
onde questa gentil donna si parte,
ivi la vide, e la ritrasse in carte,
per far fede qua giù del suo bel viso.
L'opra fu ben di quelle che nel cielo
si ponno imaginar, non qui tra noi,
ove le membra fanno a l'alma velo.
Cortesia fe'; ne la potea far poi
che fu disceso a provar caldo e gielo,
e del mortal sentiron gli occhi suoi.[69]

But of course, this is not quite straight Platonism. Petrarch was not chasing some philosophical abstract. Simone did not penetrate Paradise to recover the *Urtext* for Socrates' notion of the table. He went to get a real and quite specific likeness of a particular person; and we have moved decisively away from philosophic categories to the enhanced perception of an individual human being.

The second sonnet to the portrait of Laura underlines that transition, since there is no doubt that the object of Petrarch's attention is not beauty or womankind, but Laura. He praises the portrait as an 'alto concetto' and an 'opera gentile.' When he speaks to Laura in the portrait she seems to listen, and her expression promises him peace. But all this only makes him miserable because the image cannot actually reply to him. 'Ah Pygmalion,' he says, 'how lucky you were; for you enjoyed a thousand times what I yearn to have just once.' Maybe; my point is that without the reappraisal of human and

individual values, neither painting nor poem would have been possible.

Before I leave Petrarch to his poetic misery, I must allow the 'yes, but...' historians a final word. Of course, it *is* difficult to know how much emphasis to put on evidence of this sort. The figures of speech are fundamentally unoriginal; and the two sonnets on *Laura* should be set also in the context of over three hundred other *canzoniere* by the same poet. Petrarch was not always writing about painting; moreover a sonnet to the portrait of John II of France would certainly have been phrased differently. Yes, indeed, but... it is still evidence and very elegant evidence; and it would not have been possible a century earlier. I have attempted to describe the context which made it possible — though as every historian knows, description and explanation are by no means the same thing.

Quando giunse a Simon l'alto concetto
ch'a mio nome gli pose in man lo stile
s'avesse dato a l'opera gentile
colla figura voce ed intelletto,
di sospir molti mi sgombrava il petto,
che cio ch'altri ha piu caro a me fan vile.
pero che 'n vista ella si mostra umile
promettendomi pace ne l'aspetto.
Ma poi ch'i' vengo a ragionar col lei,
benignamente assai par che m'ascolte:
se risponder savesse a' detti miei!
Pigmalion, quanto lodar ti dêi
de l'imagine tua, se mille volte
n'avesti quel ch'i' sol una vorrei![70]

(It was remarked at the start that a printed lecture is in part the record of an occasion. It should therefore be recorded that the two sonnets were read to the assembled company in the original Italian by Professor Henk van Os, who briefly joined the lecturer in the pulpit of the aula of Groningen University. He was at this time celebrating his 25th year at the Groningen Institute of Art History).

Noten

1 See E. de Dynter, *Chronique des ducs de Brabant*, ed. P.F.X. de Ram, Brussels 1854-60 (reprint 1970), vol. 3, pp. 73-74.

2 The best known manuscript copy of this cycle is in Vienna; see the standard edition by J. Neuwirth, *Der Bildercyklus des Luxemburger Stammbaumes aus Karlstein*, Prague 1897. It is in the National Library with a shelf mark of Cod. 8330. It is less well known that a contemporary replica of that manuscript, known as the Codex Heidelbergensis, is in Prague, in the archives of the National Gallery. Both copies date from about 1570.

3 For an impression of its general appearance, though on a smaller scale, one might perhaps refer to the earlier cycle of archbishops and emperors painted behind the choir stalls in Cologne Cathedral. For a recent discussion see R. Hausherr, 'Der Chorschranken-malereien des Kölner Doms,' in *Vor Stefan Lochner: die Kölner Maler von 1300-1430*, ed. G. Bott, Cologne 1977, pp. 28-59.

4 There is a real difficulty in settling the question of the original location of the genealogy, bound up as it is with the account of de Dynter's audience at Karlstein; and the lecture was written before I had been to the castle. There, a spacious first floor hall is normally called the Luxemburg Hall and identified with the site of the genealogy. However, this identification results in topographical problems. If that was the chamber to which he was led by Wenzel, where had de Dynter and his diplomatic colleagues just been received in audience and how did they get there without already passing through the hall of the genealogy? This is a question of detail which it does not seem profitable to pursue in a footnote. The point of substance seems to remain. The hall of the genealogy was not the customary audience hall but something outside the normal diplomatic route through the castle and shown to rather more special visitors. In that sense the analogy with the Camera degli Sposi remains correct.

5 The genealogy proceeds in reasonably good historical order back to Childeric I (ca. 437-81) but then enters the twilight era of Merovius, Pharamondus and Marcomirus.

6 The image of Charles IV (see Neuwirth, op.cit. [note 2], plate I/1) can be checked against other likenesses still surviving on the walls of Karlstein and against the kneeling figure on the votive picture of Ocko of Vlasim (Prague, National Gallery).

7 It is much harder to judge the veracity of female 'portraits' at this period since they give a strong impression of being assimilated to some common ideal. It is partly for this reason that the effigy of Philippa of Hainault in Westminster Abbey is so memorable in its individuality. The appearance of John of Bohemia in the Karlstein paintings had a fairly close resemblance to the bust in the triforium of Prague Cathedral.

8 Henry VII of Luxemburg died in 1313 and was buried in Pisa Cathedral. The fragments of his monument are divided between the Cathedral and the Campo Santo. For a modern view on the original form of the monument, see Gert Krytenburg, 'Das Grabmal von Kaiser Heinrich VII in Pisa,' *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, vol. 28 (1984), pp. 33-35.

9 H.W. Janson, *Form follows function — or does it? Modernist design theory and the history of art* (The first Gerson Lecture, University of Groningen), Maarssen 1982.

10 Published by the Phaidon Press, Oxford 1988.

11 *De pictura*, Book 1 (ed. Grayson, p. 54) 'Haec eo spectant ut intelligamus in pictura quantulacunque pinxeris corpora, ea pro illic picti hominis commensuratione grandia aut pusilla videri.'

12 The best recent account of the St. Denis 'reburials' of the 1260s is in A. Erlande-Brandenbourg, *Le roi est mort*, Paris 1975. The source of the initiative for the work is not absolutely clear and certainly by the end of the thirteenth century, Guillaume de Nangis said that it came from St. Louis himself. This seems altogether too simple since St. Louis had his own Cistercian house of Royaumont in which his brother Philip and son Louis were already buried. Famous precedents for burial elsewhere included Philippe I (died 1108, buried at St. Benoit-sur-Loire amid much acrimony from St. Denis) and Louis VII (died 1180, buried at the Cistercian house at Barbeau). St. Louis was doubtless consulted about the new arrangements at St. Denis and must ultimately have expressed a wish to be buried there. That, however, is different from initiating the entire exercise.

13 See C.M. Church, *Chapters in the early history of the church of Wells, AD 1136-1333*, London 1894. The move to Bath took place under Bishop John of Tours (1088-1122). The religious community at Wells maintained a somewhat tenuous existence until it was reconstituted as a chapter of secular canons in 1136. In 1176, a formal composition was confirmed by Alexander III which regulated the relationship between the monks of Bath and the canons of Wells in the matter of the joint election of the bishop. The whole situation then became confused by the move by Bishop Savaric (1192-1205) to absorb the abbacy of Glastonbury into the episcopal dignity. This union was dissolved (1219) by Pope Honorius III in the episcopate of Joscelin (1206-1242); but as compensation, Joscelin sought to replace the title of 'Bath and Glastonbury' with 'Bath and Wells.' It was at that point (1220) that Honorius ordered the production of evidence of proof of Wells' antiquity. It is a curious fact that Joscelin, having gained the right to the double title, apparently never used it.

14 The eight effigies account for seven of the ten bishops down to Giso (died 1088). The monuments have subsequently been moved slightly further out into the ambulatory, the present arrangement dating from 1848 (Church, op.cit., [note 13], p. 329, note 2). In Leland's time (early sixteenth century), the identity of only two of the effigies was known; and only one was a Saxon (Burnoldus, ca. 1000; *Itineraries*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, vol. 1, pp. 292ff.). By the time of Britton (*Architectural history of Wells*, London 1836, p. 105) every effigy had a name, the earliest being supposedly Brighthelm (died 973). This may not have been merely the result of antiquarian invention since, during the reorganization of 1848, it was observed that the coffins beneath the effigies were labelled; but the sequence of the labels was not apparently recorded. Stylistically, the effigies have generally been dated nearer to 1200 than 1220. Nevertheless, the issue of the antiquity of Wells as the seat of the bishop offers a good historical reason for their creation.

15 This information is provided by an 1158 charter of Henry of Blois endowing anniversaries for the kings and bishops buried in the cathedral (and for his own father and mother; and, after his death, himself). The charter states that he had 'raised up from an unseemly place the bodies of kings and bishops which were translated from the Old Minster into the new church and had bestowed them honourably about the high altar.' See A.W. Goodman, *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, Winchester 1927, p. 3, charter nr. 4.

16 The famous story of Henry of Blois returning from Rome to Winchester with 'veteres statuas' is told by John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, London 1956, p. 79.

17 See again John of Salisbury, op.cit., (note 16), p. 78. For the general historical context, see F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, London and New York 1979, p. 36. There is a problem of dating since the charter recording the re-interments (1158) is some years later than the final dismissal of Henry's archiepiscopal schemes by Eugenius III (ca. 1150). It seems necessary to emphasise therefore that the charter dates the anniversary endowments, not the re-interments, which may well have taken place some years earlier.

18 The bones and names of the Winchester re-interments now appear to be shrouded in impenetrable confusion. For the subsequent history see J.C. Wall, *The tombs of the kings of England*, London 1891, p. 53ff. The earliest of the surviving royal names is of the seventh-century Kynegils and the principal sequence comes to an end with Ethelwulf (died 857). Out-standing from this sequence are the names of Edred (died 955), Canute (died 1035) and his wife Emma. Only three bishops are named; Wina (died ca. 665-670), Alwin (died 1032) and Stigand (died 1069). Possibly the remains called 'Edmund' were those of the ninth-century bishop.

19 See W. Sauerländer, 'Die Naumburger Stifterfiguren: Rückblick und Fragen,' in exhib. cat. *Die Zeit der Staufer*, ed. R. Hausherr and C. Väterlein, Stuttgart (Württembergisches Landesmuseum) 1977, vol. 5 (Supplement), pp. 169-245.

20 On the counts of Neuchâtel, see E. Boldinger, *Der Minnesänger Graf Rudolf Fenis-Neuenburg*, Bern 1923. A brief account of the monument is given there (pp. 22-24) and also in the transactions of the Congrès Archéologique for the Suisse Romande in 1952 (see pp. 312-14, J. Courvoisier). I am not aware of a recent discussion in print (see note 21) nor of any study which establishes its relationship to the neighbouring monument at La Sarraz. It seems likely to me that this last is slightly later and represents a tidying-up of the Neuchâtel idea. The nineteenth-century inscription commemorates François, lord of La Sarraz, who died soon after 1360. But it has been cogently argued that the date of the monument must be nearer to 1400 (see E. Bach in the same Congrès Archéologique, pp. 368-74).

21 The traditional view for the construction of this monument will be found in Baldinger (note 20 above). In broad outline, it seems to me that this is correct, i.e. that the superimposed tomb-chests and the two larger vertical effigies are from about 1340; and that the remainder of the monument is slightly later and could correspond to the date 1372. This seems to account for the changes in armour and costume; and the lively weeper figures have their nearest parallels in the tomb of John of Eltham in Westminster Abbey (died 1337). It does not explain the meaning of the figures; but as suggested below, on the analogy of Tewkesbury, a retrospective monument is a clear possibility. In that case, the six male figures, representing six generations, would reach back to the twelfth century. However, there is apparently a recent view which prefers to see the figures as the immediate family of Louis; and which states categorically that the tomb chests are fifteenth century. I have only heard this on the sound-commentary in the church of Neuchâtel itself (April 1988), preceded by the words 'Today, scholars are agreed that...'

22 The inscription says 'Ludovicus. comes.egregius. novicastique. dominus. hanc.tumbam. totamque. machinam.ob.suorum. memoriam. fabrefecit. anno. m. ccc. lxxii.

Obiit. quinto. die. mensis. iunii. anno. domini. millesimo ccc.lxx. tercio'.

23 For an account of the fourteenth-century modernisation of the choir of Tewkesbury, see R. Morris, 'Ball flower work in Gloucester and its vicinity' in *Medieval art and architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury*, ed. T.A. Heslop and V.A. Sekules. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1981, Norwich 1985, pp. 93-115.

The case for the entire enterprise being a 'Despenser' work is put by R. Morris, 'Tewkesbury Abbey: the Despencer mausoleum', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*,

vol. 92 (1974), pp. 142-55. There is no doubt that the 'modernisation' of Tewkesbury choir was begun as a single undertaking and was then seriously interrupted. It is sensible to date this interruption to the death of Hugh Despencer II (1326) and the subsequent harassment of his widow Eleanor de Clare up to the recovery of the manor of Tewkesbury from Edward III in January 1331. The latest dates (1340s) suggested for the work in the choir, taken from the supposed date for the glass, are not entirely convincing. There is, for instance, a date of 1344 suggested for the armour of the knights by J. Kerr, 'The east window of Gloucester Cathedral,' *Medieval art... Gloucester and Tewkesbury*, as above (note 23), pp. 116-29, which is presumably negotiable some years on either side. There is also the date 'post-1340' suggested by G.McN. Rushforth, 'The stained glass of Tewkesbury,' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 46 (1924), pp. 289-324. Rushforth had two reasons for this, both based on the decision of Edward III in that year to assume the arms of France. (1) The emblems of France and England are to be found in the vertical borders. However, since Edward III was himself half-French, the mere presence of the French lilies is not in itself a conclusive argument. (2) The arms in the base of the central light of the east window, which are, indeed, France and England quartered, with England in the second and third quarter. The present glass is modern; but Rushforth stated that immediately adjacent were medieval fragments of a shield of the same blazon which, he suggested, were perhaps the original glass. However, he pointed out that later glass had certainly been intruded into the windows at this level; and that an eighteenth-century antiquarian source noted only the leopards of England at this point. Thus, this part of the evidence is not especially strong.

It seems reasonable to accept the case for the start of the rebuilding after the acquisition of Hugh Despencer II of the manor Tewkesbury (1314) and for large sums of money having been expended between 1322 (battle of Boroughbridge) and 1326. This does not prevent the decoration of the upper parts of the choir being so closely associable with Eleanor as to be effectively her work. In particular the following points may be noted. (1) The largest naked figure kneeling at the Last Judgement is indubitably a woman. (2) Eleanor's second husband William de la Zouche is included among the knights. (3) The shields in the lower parts of the glass include those of Eleanor's brothers-in-law, Hugh Audley and Roger Damory. Since Hugh Despencer had made considerable effort to dispossess them of their wives' inheritance and they were both on the wrong side in the crisis leading to the battle of Boroughbridge, the arms can hardly be there as part of a 'Despencer' plan. They could be there, however, as part of Eleanor's family. (4) There is only one Despencer figure, so that neither Hugh I (the earl of Winchester, executed 1326) nor Hugh III are represented. By contrast, there are four Clare figures.

24 The best account of the pre-Reformation burials at Tewkesbury is to be found in the itineraries of John Leland (see note 14 above), vol. 4, p. 138ff., 150ff.

25 The arms are as follows:

North side, from east to west	
Fitzhaymo	azure a lion rampant or
Despencer	quarterly argent and gules fretty or, a bend sable
Clare	or 3 chevrons gules
Fitzroy	almost impossible to read — said to be gules three clarions or (Rushforth, see note 23)
South side, from east to west	
Clare	(see above)
Zouche	gules bezantee (Rushforth, see note 23, says ten bezants)
Clare	(see above)
Clare	(see above)

26 I am indebted for this particular clarification to a conversation with Dr Patricia Stirnmann.

27 There are two drawings of lions by Vilars both said to have been *contrefais al vif.* In the manuscript, they occupy fols. 24r and v (the verso has the frontal lion).

28 See R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, Cambridge 1958, p. 256.

29 The problem of St. Louis' appearance is raised in exhib.cat. *La France de Saint Louis*, ed. J.P. Babelon, Paris (Palais du Cité) 1970-71. See especially nr. 26, where the identity of the stone *King* from Mainneville is discussed. Also nr. 25, a sculpted gable now in the Louvre.

30 See W. Sauerländer, *Gothic sculpture in France, 1140-1270*, London 1970, p. 490.

31 For a recent review of the *oeuvre* of Arnolfo, see A.M. Romanini, *Arnolfo di Cambio*, 2nd ed., Florence 1980, esp. pp. 158-60.

32 J. White, *Art and architecture in Italy, 1250-1400*, 2nd ed., Harmondsworth 1987, p. 98.

33 See A. Martindale, *Simone Martini*, Oxford 1988, pp. 192-94.

34 See E. Borsook, *The mural painters of Tuscany*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1980, pp. 32-34.

35 The principal example of this curious production is the British Library Ms. Royal 6 E IX. Two copies are respectively (1) Florence, Bib.Naz. Ms. B.R.38 (2) Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Ms.Ser. n. 2639. The London ms. is dateable soon after the accession of Benedict XII (1334). There is disagreement about their provenance and it has recently been suggested that the London ms. is Neapolitan. (For this view, see B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300-1450*, section 1, *Süd- und Mittelitalien*, vol. 1, cat., pp. 55-56.) Against this, it should be observed that F. Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266-1414*, Rome 1969, p. 353, flatly denied any resemblance to Neapolitan work. For myself, the older comparison by Offner to the work of Pacino di Bonaguida seems to come nearer the mark. R. Offner, *A critical historical corpus of Florentine painting*, section 3, vol. 6, New York 1956, pp. 213-16.

36 Robert was present at the siege and relief of Genoa in 1318-19, and was based on Avignon thereafter till 1323. His political and military preoccupations from that point were mainly with Sicily; and it does not seem that he ever subsequently journeyed north of Rome.

37 See J.P. Babelon, *Le Palais de Justice, La Conciergerie, La Sainte Chapelle de Paris*, Paris 1973.

38 For the documents on the ducal palace, see G.B. Lorenzi, *Monumenti per servire alla storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, part 1, *1253-1600*, Venice 1868. The narratives painted in the Sala del Gran Consiglio were listed and the inscriptions copied in 1425; see G. Monticolo, *Le vite dei doge di Marin Sanudo* (R.I.S. 22, part 4), Città di Castello 1900, vol. 1, p. 340ff. For a consideration of the paintings see F. Wickhoff, 'Der Saal des grossen Rathes zu Venedig in seinem alten Schmucke,' *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1883), fasc. 1, pp. 1-37.

After the lecture was completed and delivered, I came across further information which may necessitate revising the chronology of this section. It is recorded that, after the conspiracy of Bajamonte Tiepolo in 1310, the regime undertook, amongst its numerous repressive measures, to erase the arms of the Tiepolo family throughout the city 'e non solo in tutt' i luoghi privati e profani furono mutate tutte le insegne dei Tiepoli, ma nei publici e nei sacri en nella Sala del Gran Consiglio all'imagine di Giacomo e Lorenzo Tiepolo dogi...' The two named Tiepolo were doges respectively 1229-49 and 1268-75. This quotation (see R. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, Venice 1912, vol. 3, p. 39, note 2) comes from the chronicle of Marco Barbaro. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find the date of the chronicle nor a complete printed edition of the text. If however Barbaro was contemporary, he was writing from knowledge about the earlier Sala del Gran Consiglio, which manifestly possessed a sequence of ducal 'portraits.' Its date is undocumented. But in 1301 a decision was taken to enlarge the Sala (Lorenzi, doc. 27). The outcome

is not known, but a 'portrait' sequence could have formed part of the new decoration. It would, of course, have been precisely contemporary with the statues in Paris; indeed there would be no possibility of telling which had priority. It seems, however, clear from this that, provided always Barbaro was writing from knowledge, the idea for the Venetian series of ducal 'portraits' is considerably older than 1360s.

39 See Babelon, op.cit. (note 37), p. 30.

40 The major alteration was the curtailment of the story of Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander in order to include the story of the Fourth Crusade and the capture of Constantinople.

41 See note 38 above, p. 20.

42 For the evidence for the S. Paolo cycle, see G.B. Ladner, *I ritratti dei papi nell'antichità e nel medievo*, Rome 1941, vol. 1, pp. 38-59: 'Le serie di imagini papali nelle basiliche romane.'

43 For a discussion of the papal images at S. Piero a Grado, see Ladner, op.cit. (note 42), vol. 3, Rome 1984, pp. 171-76: 'Die Papstbilderserie von San Piero a Grado bei Pisa.'

44 See 'Kronika Frantiska Prazskeho,' *Fontes rerum bohemicarum*, vol. 4 (1884), p. 368ff. The bishop was Jan of Drazice.

45 The portraits of the Sala del Gran Consiglio in their sixteenth-century form proceed up to Francesco Venier (1554-56). This would suggest that when the decorations were first laid out in the 1360s, there were over twenty spaces left empty.

46 This is not entirely fantasy. The process for taking wax casts of parts of the human body was described about 1390 by Cennino Cennini in *Il libro dell'arte*, transl. D.V. Thompson Jr., New York 1933, pp. 123-29, though he was writing principally of life masks. It has however been plausibly argued that the wooden effigy carried at the funeral of Edward III (died 1377) is based on a death mask (the effigy's head is still at Westminster Abbey). The process was further documented in 1422. In that year Charles VI of France died and the painter François d'Orleans was paid for the decorations in Notre Dame, Paris, where the funeral took place. Amongst these, he created an effigy for the hearse which had its head, hands and feet 'moslées et faictes apres le vif.' (See B. Prost in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, second series, vol. 35, pp. 327-29.) The payment also exists for the statue of Charles VI by Pierre de Thury, made after Charles's death and set up in the palace of the Cité in the great hall. There is no mention in the account, however, of the use of wax casts. (See B. Prost in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, second series, vol. 36, p. 241.) François d'Orleans was, however, paid for painting an effigy of Charles VI in the same 'grant salle.' (See B. Prost above, vol. 35, p. 329.) The sequence of operations is not entirely clear from the printed sources and it is possible that this was a temporary arrangement pending the arrival of Pierre de Thury's statue. The relative costs – 30L for the statue, carved, delivered and installed in its place, and 100L for the painting – makes it more likely that the royal painter was painting and gilding the statue itself. One is reminded of Jean Malouel painting the statues of Claus Sluter at Dijon.

47 It is, of course, an irony that the direct Capetian male succession ended almost immediately afterwards with the death of Philip IV's third son, Charles IV, in 1328.

48 A complete account of the history of the corpus known as the *Receuil d'Arras* has resulted from the researches of Lorne Campbell; see 'The authorship of the Receuil d'Arras,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977), pp. 301-13. It is clear from internal evidence cited there that the drawings were compiled about 1570. Many of the 'portraits' come from the area of Hainault, Flanders and Artois, but the interests of the author, the herald Jacques le Boucq, were by no means confined to that area. I know the corpus only through photographs. Many of the images claim to record the likenesses of the fourteenth-century people; and some of the less elaborate (especially profile) images may indeed derive from panels similar to the image of John II of

France. However, the provenance of the images is seldom clear. Occasionally, they can be shewn to be derived from large panel paintings (the image of Nicolas Rolin comes from Roger van der Weyden's Beaune Altar); and some of the female images of fourteenth-century persons, on account of the very elaborate headdresses, are strongly reminiscent of sepulchral effigies. Campbell notes the likelihood that stained glass and wall paintings also provided source material for le Boucq.

49 According to V. Dvorakova, *Gothic mural painting in Bohemia and Moravia, 1300-1378*, London 1964, p. 85, there was a portrait of Charles IV dated 1354 painted at Feltre, near Aquileia; but no contemporary source appears to refer to it and the basis for the assertion seems to be inference rather than fact.

50 The evidence for the Simone portraits is to be found in Martindale, op.cit. (note 33), pp. 83-84. The two Petrarch sonnets have been quoted at the end of this lecture. The evidence for the Orsini portrait was printed by K. Burdach, *Aus Petrarcas altestem deutschem Schülerkreise*, Berlin 1929, pp. 236-37.

51 The evidence for the Malatesta portraits is contained in a letter from Petrarch to Francesco Bruni and dating probably from the early 1360s (G. Fracasetti, *Lettere senili di Francesco Petrarca*, Florence 1892, vol. 1, p. 58, suggests 1362). The full Latin text is to be found in *Francisci Petrarchae Florentini... opera quae extant omnia*, Basle 1581, p. 745ff. The dating of the first portrait, said to be *in tabellis*, has to take into account Pandolfo's birth date — 1326 — which makes a date before, say, Simone's death in 1344 possible but unlikely. The second portrait coincided with the meeting of Pandolfo and Petrarch in Milan, probably in 1356. It was said to be both done with a stylus and painted.

52 *De pictura*, book 2, toto cum corpore trepidasse. For context, see C. Grayson, *Leon Battista Alberti, On Painting and On Sculpture,* London 1972, p. 60.

53 See pp. 35-36.

54 See Burdach, op.cit. (note 50). The poem was set on the portrait so that the words 'quasi ex ore eius egrederentur.'

55 See D. Thiébaut in exhib.cat. *Les Fastes du Gothique*, Paris (Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais) 1981, nr. 323. The inscription may not necessarily have been an 'addition' since the likeness of John could well have been taken in 1349 and the panel delivered after his accession in August 1350.

56 See p. 35, especially the words 'pose in man lo stile' and 'la ritrasse in carte.'

57 The manuscript is discussed by F. Avril in exhib. cat. *Dix siècles d'enluminure italienne (VI^e^-XVI^e^ siecles)*, Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale) 1984, nr. 73. The profile image (fol.Av) shows the poet in middle age, double-chinned but unwrinkled. Since Petrarch was born in 1304, he would have been 52 in 1356.

58 See the words put into the mouth of St. Augustine in *De contemptu mundi*, that Petrarch had an image of Laura 'quam tecum ubique circumferens.'

59 This is one of the figures in the so-called *Relic scenes* in the chapel of the Virgin. Since it is crowned, it must have been painted after Charles V's coronation in 1364. Granted that Charles V never visited Prague and Paris is a long way away, the likeness is striking.

60 See p. 32.

61 No portrait sketches survive before the drawing of Cardinal Albergati by Jan van Eyck. The painting bore in the seventeenth century the date 1438.

62 There are many examples of this from the workshops of Roger van der Weyden and Hans Memling. The van Eyck portraits of his wife, Cardinal Albergati and 'Tymotheos' have the re-

mains of painted marbling on the back.

63 See J. Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France*, Paris 1879, p. 242.

64 The items are listed as follows:

'2217, Ungs tableaux de boys cloans, de quatre pièces, et y a paint en L'un le Roy qui à présent est, L'Empereur son oncle, le roy Jehan son père, et Edoart roy d'Angleterre.

2218. Item, ungs autres petiz tableaulx de parchemin paints, c'est assavoir d'un crucifix et de plusieurs ymages.

2219. Item, ung ongle de griffon à deux piez d'oisel, garniz d'argent doré.

2220. Item, deux cors noirs, dont l'un est garny d'argent et L'autre de cuivre et sont les courroyes de cuir.'

The word 'cloans' (2217) presumably indicates that the panels folded together. The two 'cors' (2220) are here taken to be hunting horns on account of their leather straps ('courroyes de cuir').

65 See J. Luckhardt, 'Das Porträt Erzherzog Rudolfs IV von Osterreich bei seinem Grabmal: Versuche zur Deutung eines dualistischen Grabbildes,' in *Die Parler und der schöne Stil, 1350-1400: Resultatband*, ed. A. Legner, Cologne 1980, pp. 75-86.

66 See G. Paccagnini, *Pisanello*, Oxford 1973, p. 157. The sonnet by Ulisse recording the contest was printed in A. Venturi, *Gentile da Fabriano e il Pisanello*, Florence 1896, p. 46.

67 See J. Lauts, *Domenico Ghirlandajo*, Vienna 1943, p. 43.

68 But see the comments of E. Dhanens, *Van Eyck* (French ed. 1980), pp. 182-87. Panofsky's hypothesis is to be found in *Early Netherlandish painting*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964, pp. 196-97.

69 I reprint here the English rendering to be found in the translation of R.M. Durling, *Petrarch's lyric poems*, Cambridge, Mass. and London 1976, p. 176.

> Even though Polyclitus should for a thousand years compete in looking with all the others who were famous in that art, they would never see the smallest part of the beauty that has conquered my heart.
>
> But certainly my Simon was in Paradise, whence comes this noble lady; there he saw her and portrayed her on paper, to attest down here to her lovely face.
>
> The work is one of those which can be imagined only in Heaven, not here among us, where the body is a veil to the soul;
>
> it was a gracious act, nor could he have done it after he came down to feel heat and cold and his eyes took on mortality.

70 Again, Durling's English translation (see note 69), p. 178.

> When Simon received the high idea which, for my sake, put his hand to his stylus, if he had given to his noble work voice and intellect along with form,

he would have lightened my breast of many sighs that make what others prize most vile to me. For in appearance she seems humble, and her expression promises peace;

then, when I come to speak to her, she seems to listen most kindly: if she could only reply to my words!

Pygmalion, how glad you should be of your statue, since you received a thousand times what I yearn to have just once!

The painted portrait is so common in Western art that we usually take its existence for granted. We expect to find portrait galleries in ancestral palaces as well as in the board rooms of respectable old corporations. Yet we cannot explain the rise of the individual portrait solely on the basis of dynastic and institutional needs. Why did the portrait develop into the shape familiar to us? What purposes were served by its emergence? These are some of the questions dealt with in this thoughtful exploration of the circumstances surrounding the birth of a genre.

The answers, tentative as they are, throw light on the entire subsequent history of portraiture. In its variety of forms and functions, the portrait remains elusive. 'Although the birth of a genre in western art ought to be the occasion for at least a small fanfare,' Martindale finds it 'difficult to know when to give the first toot.' Yet the evidence does point to a certain place and time as the centre of diffusion: the papal court at Avignon in the mid-fourteenth century. There, we find famous early portraits of both the institutional and personal variety: a court portrait of John II of France, and Simone Martini's lost drawing of Petrarch's beloved Laura.

Martindale's sensitive probing thus tends toward a common source for the main forms of this most individual and most conventional of genres. By taking into account the personal as well as political motives of sitters, patrons and artists, Martindale gives food for thought on the relation of art to life in more areas than early portraiture alone.

The Fourth Gerson Lecture

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