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MAUSOLUS

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Contents

| | |
|--|----------------|
| A note from the editor | Page 3 |
| A message from the Chairman | Page 4 |
| The Scarisbrick Mausoleum at Crossens Ian Johnson | Page 5 |
| The Architecture of Death Conference Dr Frances Sands | Page 9 |
| Angled wings and trailing clouds: The churchyard monumental work of two north Norfolk stonecutters of the eighteenth century Jonathan Kewley | Page 10 |
| Unto Death Funerary Architecture and Family Bonds among the Normans of Southern Italy, 1046-1172 Francesca Petrizzo | Page 14 |
| The Commemorative Monument to Doge Leonardo Loredanin Santi Giovanni e Paolo: Rethinking the Funerary Memory in Early Seventeenth-Century Venice Stefano Colombo | Page 23 |
| The Palatine Hapsburg Crypt Budapest Ian Johnson | Page 29 |
| Death And Memory Soane And The Architecture Of Legacy Roger Bowdler | Page 32 |
| Commemorating The Seafarer Monuments, Memorials and Memory John St Brioc Hooper | Page 34 |
| Events | Page 36 |

A note from the editor

As part of the Trust's ambition to foster the study and appreciation of mausolea and monuments, particularly among young or new scholars, this edition of *Mausolus* includes three brilliant articles chosen from papers given at our 'The Architecture of Death' conference.

The other conference papers can be found on our website, along with every back issue of *Mausolus*. The conference provided a fitting follow up to the essay competition we held last year, and included a presentation from our outgoing chair, Carolyn Leigh, to the winner, Hannah Malone (see *Mausolus* Summer 2015).

As always, I am glad to hear from members – be it reviews, photographs or articles.

The Editor, Summer 2016

We would like to alert readers to a new edition of Historic England & the War Memorials Trust's guidance document "Conservation and Management of War Memorial Landscapes".

It is available on the Historic England website.

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Members and others are warmly encouraged to contribute photos, news and features to:

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A message from the Chairman



We have two new trustees who have joined our board.

Clifford Hodgetts was senior partner at Thomas Eggar, a legal firm based in Chichester. He was Chapter Clerk and legal advisor to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, Diocesan Registrar and legal advisor to the Bishop of Chichester and Legal Secretary to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey. He retired in 1999 having held the church appointments since the early 1970s.

Dr Ian Dungavell FSA AICCM is Chief Executive of the Friends of Highgate Cemetery. Previously Director of the Victorian Society for a number of years. Those who attended the AGM last year at Highgate will recall the wonderful welcome he extended and subsequent fascinating guided tour he led.

The Trust has a number of projects in the current year. We are currently reviewing whether we should begin the restoration of one of our own mausolea, the Guise mausoleum at Elmore Churchyard in Somerset. The churchyard itself is one of the most delightful and inspiring churchyards in the West Country. The mausoleum is a ruin, having collapsed during the First World War and will require extensive expenditure and thus fundraising. Charles Wagner is the lead trustee for this project and is currently putting together a detailed proposal upon which the trustees will make a final decision. Much depends upon the support at a local level.

Assuming the role of Chairman is a daunting prospect when one reflects on one's predecessors-Jill Allibone, who founded the charity, Tim Knox, Theresa Sladen, Thomas Cocke, Roger Bowler and most recently Carolyn Leigh. I want to take this opportunity to thank Carrie for her work leading the MMT over the last few years when it has seen many achievements, most notably perhaps its role in achieving the restoration of Thomas Hope's fabulous mausoleum at The Deepdene in Dorking. She always dealt with matters with great humour and courtesy. She will be remaining a trustee to look after the membership so we will not be losing her valuable skills.

Hannah Parham has also decided to step down this year due to family and work commitments. Over the years Hannah edited our newsletters and recently Mausolus as well as being a true who contributed much to the overall running of the MMT and we are grateful for her contribution.

The Trust has been supporting the Earl Fitzwilliam Charitable Trust in its efforts to restore the Scarisbrick Mausoleum at Crossens in North West England. See article on facing page.

Later in the year, in September, there will be the formal opening to the public of the newly restored Hope mausoleum referred to above. This restoration forms part of a larger project managed by Mole Valley District Council to restore the Deepdene Park. Details will be sent in due course.

We are working on a project to update our gazetteer and details of this will be sent to you later so we will be asking for your help.

There is quite a list of events for the year and you have already received details with booking forms in previous mailings. A list is on the back page of this magazine.

One final point. Enclosed are a couple of promotional leaflets for the Trust. We are always keen to recruit new members so if you know of anyone or belong to groups where there might be an interest in our work, please pass on these leaflets. More can be obtained from The Secretary @ info@mmtrust.org.uk or ring 07856 985974

Thank you for your support and I look forward meeting you at the AGM in June(details of which are enclosed) or at any one of the events held during the year.

Ian Johnson

The Scarisbrick Mausoleum at Crossens

Ian Johnson

The Scarisbrick Mausoleum is situated in the grounds of St John's church at Crossens a small town to the north of Southport on a rather windswept north-west coast.

The mausoleum figures in the MMT's Gazetteer so is known to the Society.

It was built in 1899-1900 to the designs of a local architect E W Johnson by Sir Charles Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick Hall whose father had employed Pugin to rebuild Scarisbrick Hall. Although the latter left the hall to his sister Anne (Lady Hunloke) it is clear that most of the estate went to the children of his German mistress.

His natural son, Charles, was brought up largely in Germany,

and lived for many years in and near Frankfurt. However in about 1888 he returned to England, going to live at Scarisbrick Lodge on part of his land.

He built the family mausoleum at Crossens.

The mausoleum is of particular interest and value as it is untypical stylistically of its time. The neo-Romanesque style adapted was generally used much earlier in the 19th century and the mausoleum is distinguished by high-quality carving (see photos), the external corbels being particularly fine.

The MMT was contacted again (in 2008/9 the EFCT paid for some basic repaid work and at that time the MMT had

assisted) by the Earl Fitzwilliam Charitable Trust (EFCT) early in 2015 as it was concerned about the state of the mausoleum. The roof had collapsed in part and the mausoleum was no longer secure against the weather. Gavin Stamp and Ian Johnson met with the EFCT in March 2015 at the mausoleum to discuss what help we, the MMT, could offer. It was obvious that more significant and extensive works were now required. Neither St John's Church nor the Diocese (Liverpool) has, understandably, any responsibility nor indeed the funds to do so but both are keen that the mausoleum be protected otherwise the only solution might be its demolition. One further, slightly puzzling factor, is the fact that it has not yet been possible to identify the legal owner of the mausoleum. Nevertheless and despite these difficulties the EFCT has now undertaken to restore the roof structure to put it back into wind and watertight condition. The MMT is assisting the EFCT in this task. Work has begun so as to ensure the building will not endure another winter in its present state. We are to continue to work with the EFCT to ensure the long-term future and access to this building which is integral to the churchyard, Crossens and the history of the Scarisbrick family.



Scarisbrick Hall





The Architecture of Death Conference

Dr Frances Sands

On Friday 11 March 2016, the *Mausolea and Monuments Trust* staged a symposium for doctoral students and early career scholars and curators entitled 'The Architecture of Death'. Held at the Bloomsbury Baptist Church, this gave the opportunity for eight young researchers from across the world to speak about their work in our field.

The theme of the day was deliberately broad ranging,

allowing varied perspectives on the purpose, design, construction, use, importance, care, conservation, history and legacy of commemorative design.

Arranged in three sessions chaired by Frances Sands, Roger Bowdler and Gavin Stamp, the eight speakers transported us from eleventh-century southern Italy, through Tudor England, seventeenth-century Venice, eighteenth-

century Norfolk and beyond to the memorial spaces of the digital realm now and in the future.

All eight papers will be published digitally as an appendix to the *Mausolea and Monuments Trust* website, but in order to give you a flavour of the symposium as well as its breadth and quality, three of the papers are published here.

Angled wings and trailing clouds: the churchyard monumental work of two north Norfolk stonecutters of the eighteenth century.

Jonathan Kewley



Fig 1. (top to bottom) Andrew Fiddeman †1720, Cley, Norfolk (Design 1) (detail); Elizabeth Barker †1722, Cley, Norfolk (Design 2a) (detail); Frances Stirges †1723, Cley, Norfolk (Design 3) (detail); Andrew Fiddeman †1717, Cley, Norfolk (Design 4) (detail)

During three years of PhD research, which has involved visiting some 600 churchyards, I have identified some 350 named makers of gravemarkers in England in the seventeenth and (mainly) eighteenth centuries – slightly more, in fact, than the 300 or

so I can identify in what is now the United States in the same period.¹ Gravestone literature in the United States overflows with studies of individual makers, generally but not always identified by name as well as by their body of work. In England there is a general dearth of such studies which has hampered the development of the discipline; there is to date only one academic article discussing the work of one of these makers.²

The work of these 350 makers amounts, however, to only a very small proportion of the gravemarkers erected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The vast majority were made by men whom we cannot at present name. We can, however, begin to notice that two gravemarkers appear to have been made by the same hand, and work outwards from that to identify bodies of work that can be attributed to anonymous but distinct makers. This process was begun in the United States by Harriette Merrifield Forbes in her seminal *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them* of 1927³ with her identification of a body of work by the early maker from the Boston area now generally

called the Old Stonecutter, and carried forward by Ernest Caulfield in studies from the 1950s onwards⁴ of Connecticut makers to whom he gave rather fanciful names based on some distinguishing feature of their stones such as the Hook and Eye Man, the Glastonbury Lady Carver or the Bolton Pudgy Matron Carver; some have subsequently been associated with a named individual but many remain anonymous.

A couple of attempts have been made to do something similar in England in the form of Malcolm Barley's Bingham Craftsman in Nottinghamshire⁵ and J. C. Davies' Tulip Carvers near Market Harborough.⁶ My thesis has started the process on a national scale. This article selects just two examples. It identifies the oeuvre of two anonymous carvers who worked around the Glaven estuary in north Norfolk in the eighteenth century, the Angled-Wing Carver and the Trailing-Cloud Carver.

First, a brief word on nomenclature. One has to call these men something, and preferably something more memorable than an identification number. European art history uses 'the Master of ...', and



Fig 2. John Camell †1714, Cley, Norfolk (Design 2b).

Yvonne Milspaw has dubbed a Pennsylvania gravestone-maker the Master of the Little Angels.⁷ She is alone, however, and mainstream American gravestone scholarship terms anonymous makers 'the whatever Carver'. It seems

sensible to follow this practice. Norfolk is not a county noted for its stone. Its buildings are of brick, flint or timber, and all stone has to be imported. Perhaps because of this, the first post-Reformation gravestones do not appear until the end of

the seventeenth century, two or three decades later than some other parts of England; there may, however, have been wooden markers which have not survived. On the north coast, there is one headstone of 1682 at Stiffkey, presumably either greatly-backdated or imported from elsewhere, and then a number appear over the first two decades of the new century. They are within the accepted grammar, as Henry Glassie calls it,⁸ of contemporary markers: they are upright, of stone, with all carving on one side and motifs (if any) at the top and lettering below. They also have more specific features that suggest a regional style; the iconography is either mortality symbols or cherubs, and there is no sense of the inscription being framed. Many appear to be the work of one man, whom I am calling the Angled-Wing Carver after their most distinctive feature. It was common for the chief of a



Fig 3. Henry Glendenny †1711, Fakenham, Norfolk (detail) (left) and Robert Stanforth †1711, Salthouse, Norfolk (detail) (right).



Fig 4. (top to bottom) Thomas Cooke †1714, Cley, Norfolk (detail); Elizabeth Dowell †1717, Cley, Norfolk; Thomas Smith †1725, Wiveton, Norfolk (right).

others¹¹(Fig. 2) with a vestigial scroll pediment. Between the pediment and the hourglass is a wavy line which may, as on mediæval bosses, represent the heavens.¹² In the third design, Design 3, used on four stones¹³ (Fig. 1), a three-quarter-face skull sits on top of the hourglass. Design 4 (Fig. 1), on one stone only,¹⁴ combines Designs 1 and 2, having a winged hourglass under a vestigial scroll pediment and wavy line, but on a chief between scrolls rather than in a shield-shaped compartment. These sixteen headstones comprise a tight, credible body of work. The lettering on all of them is reasonably consistent. The dates of death cover a period of eleven years,¹⁵ which is short for a stonecutter's career, but quite possible if he died or moved away at the end. However, identification by one feature alone (the angled wings) does potentially rule out any work either containing alternative features, or dating from before the one feature was developed, or fully developed. Subsidiary features from the known, angled-winged work may be found on other stones which can extend the corpus of work.

The most distinctive subsidiary feature here (Fig. 2) is the way the inscription goes on each side of the winged hourglass on almost all the Design 2 stones, what we would today call wrapping the text tightly round the image. This can be found on one stone at

Fakenham¹⁶ which, while it does not have angled wings, does have a skull on top of a winged hourglass in the same way as Design 3. Surely by the same hand, although again with conventional bat-wings, is another of the same year at Salthouse¹⁷ (Fig. 3).

Other distinctive features can confirm the connection of angled-wing stones with each other; for instance, the hourglasses have very rounded, almost heart-like glass parts, and mortality symbols are similar.¹⁸

It can be easy, at least superficially, to attribute headstones containing decorative or symbolic motifs. Stones which are entirely plain except for the inscription can be attributed only by the lettering – and of course by geography, in being found in an area the stonecutter in question worked in. One distinctive lettering feature found on most, but not all, the stones we have been looking at is a dot over the number 1, as though it was a minuscule i. Another is an axe-shaped minuscule t (Fig. 4). On this basis we may tentatively attribute one plain headstone¹⁹ to the Angled-Wing Carver, and also two with different iconography – one a 'one-off', with tools of the deceased's trade,²⁰ and the other with an alternative mortality symbol, a skull.²¹

There is also one stone²² from 1710 which may be an



Fig 5. Elizabeth Morgan †1782, Blakeney, Norfolk (detail).

example of the earlier work of the Angled-Wing Carver, although one must remember how often markers were backdated, especially when the first maker came to an area. It features a bald cherub (not an uncommon variant) with facial features not dissimilar to those of the Angled-Winged Carver's cherubs, and wings which, while horizontal, are, like his, just ribs; the lettering is credible.

The corpus thus arrived at, of twenty-two headstones, is geographically fairly limited in range and very much centred on Cley, now a village but then a town and significant port. His earliest stone are inland, at the southern edge of his range, and one could speculate that he first came to the area from the south; this could explain the carving of cherubs in the round at the top of stones, which was

a feature of Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire.

While most Cley stones of the first two decades of the eighteenth century seem to be the work of the Angled-Wing Carver, most others in the vicinity are clearly not by him, although some have features from which we may be able to tease out a regional style. Some have the distinctive feature of the text wrapped around a compartment containing an hourglass, but with the design of both the hourglass and the wings so different that the stones must be by a different hand,²³ probably one working at Brancaster.²⁴ The lettering on some plain stones²⁵ also suggests another stonecutter. Three-quarters of a century later, another distinctive stonecutter appears in the area; I will call him the Trailing-Cloud Carver, as his most

distinctive feature is the trail of wave-like clouds which follow his cherubs and angels (Fig. 5). His repertoire of charges is wide, but generally more than one appears on the same stone, so rather like playing dominoes one can link them up. His cherubs are very definitely adult, with pronounced features and often a rather disapproving expression.²⁶ The bottom of the chief of many stones contains a representation of a disturbed graveyard with a skull, bones and a coffin protruding from the earth. The bones might equally be accompanied by an open book and torches, one blazing but the other extinguished.²⁷ A made-up mariner's coat of arms²⁸ attests to the coastal location, in one case with cherubs and the boneyard, or with torches, book and oroboros²⁹ (Fig. 6). As well as cherubs, there are full-length trumpeting angels, in a



Fig 6. Thomas Cooper †1786, Blakeney, Norfolk.

familiar Georgian gravestone pose, with torches, a closed book and a skull but no other bones,³⁰ or just with cherubs.³¹ Trailing clouds adorn a resurrection scene,³² and also back up a cherub above an hourglass and closed book.³³ Many of the cherubs have distinctively-upturned wings;³⁴ in an alternative design,³⁵ these latter support an hourglass, over the usual boneyard. A one-off depicts the tools of a bricklayer's trade as well as a fine cherub with trailing clouds.³⁶

Most of these headstones are the same shape, with carving in false relief on a chief with E-scrolls at either end. The

lettering on most of the Trailing-Cloud Carver's work is distinctive (see Fig. 6), with majuscule As extended markedly leftwards, like a slipping stepladder, and sometimes curling back. These can also be found on some plain stones³⁷ which can therefore be attributed to him. Many of the features of the Trailing-Cloud Carver's work are more reminiscent of north-east England than of East Anglia, notably the open books which are a speciality of Northumberland,³⁸ and also the fairly random collection of charges in the chief, including ouroboruses. Stone was imported to the East Anglian coast from the north-east coast,

and it is possible the Trailing-Cloud Carver came down with it. It is even conceivable that he worked in Northumberland and sent his stones down carved but uninscribed. A few stones where the carving is clearly by the Trailing-Cloud Carver have lettering not by him – or at least not the same as that on most of his work. It was not uncommon in North America for blanks to be sold for someone else to inscribe, but it would be slightly odd if this was happening so close to what we presume was home. It is just possible that all the inscriptions with the distinctive A were by someone other than the Trailing-Cloud Carver (who was perhaps in Northumberland), and that occasionally the latter's imported work was inscribed by someone else. In support of this, one stone from 1772³⁹ is clearly inscribed by the A-carver but has a cherub which is not the Trailing-Cloud Carver's.

The Trailing-Cloud Carver's work is restricted largely to the coast. Of his thirty-three attributed stones, twenty are in Blakeney, and only one⁴⁰ is more than a couple of miles from the sea, suggesting a strong reliance on marine transport, but also perhaps competition from stonecutters working in other centres.

Neither he nor the Angled-Wing Carver was innovative in their choice of motifs, as opposed to how they depicted them. Most English eighteenth-century

gravestones were either plain or bore cherubs or mortality or heavenly symbols. Attempts to read deep meanings into these, especially among some American writers of the 1960s and 1970s,⁴¹ now look unconvincing, and the motifs are best described as ones which contemporary usage considered suitable for funerary use. This is especially the case with the Trailing-Cloud Carver's frankly extremely random combinations of charges.

Neither of the two stonecutters considered in this article can have made gravestones as a full-time job. I have attributed to the Angled-Wing Carver twenty-two stones made over made fourteen years, and to the Trailing-Cloud Carver thirty-three made over thirty years. This is thus an average of between one and one and a half a year only. In many parts of the country, those making gravestones also did other stonecutting work, principally for buildings, but it is hard to see much scope for this in this modest brick region. The Trailing-Cloud Carver may not even have lived in Norfolk (and so could have carved a lot more elsewhere; he was certainly good enough to be a full-time carver). We know from North American studies that gravestone-makers there carried out all sorts of occupations.

In the United States, many bodies of work have been attributed to a named carver

on the basis of similarity to a work which can be said with reasonable certainty to have been his. This has usually been by finding evidence in estate accounts of a payment for gravestones from the estate of the person commemorated to the carver. These stones are then said to be 'probated'.⁴² Attempts to do the same in England generally fail because estate accounts here were not generally filed in Court and thus preserved; none exists for any of the attributed works of our two stonecutters. There are also no trade directories for the area until 1836.⁴³ It thus seems probable that the Angled-Wing and Trailing Cloud Carvers will remain anonymous.

(Endnotes)

- 1 See Jonathan Kewley, 'The Men who Carved in England: Identifying English Gravestone Makers', paper to be delivered at the Association for Gravestone Studies 39th Annual Conference, Xavier University, Cincinnati, OH, MA, June 21st – 26th 2016.
- 2 Jonathan Kewley, 'Henry Quayle: a Georgian "Stonecutter" and his Work', *Georgian Group Journal* 19 (2011): 94-105.
- 3 Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927).
- 4 Blindness overtook him before he could write a definitive book. His articles were collected together in *Markers* 8 (1991)
- 5 M. W. Barley, 'Slate Headstones in Nottinghamshire', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* 52 (1948): 69-86 at 76
- 6 J. C. Davies, 'Harborough Slate Engravers', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society* 61 (1987): 24-33 and Adrian Green (comp), *The Harold Jones Collection of Memorial Rubbings: a catalogue* (Harborough: Leics. Museums, Arts and Records Service, 1993 [revised ed.]), passim.
- 7 Yvonne J. Milspaw, 'Plain Walls and Little Angels: Pioneer Churches in Central Pennsylvania', *Pioneer America* 12: 2 (May 1980): 76-96.
- 8 Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historical Artefacts* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975).
- 9 Thomas Coe †1713 and Modesty Jeness †1718, both at Morston, and John Fiddeman †1718 and Andrew Fiddeman †1720, both at Cley.
- 10 Elizabeth Barker †1722 at Cley.
- 11 John Camell and Thomas Cooke, both †1714 at Cley, Thomas Towell †1718 at Holt, Philip Cooke †1719 at Cley, Martha Seames †1722 at Salthouse

- and Susan Thompson (date illegible) at North Creake.
- 12 I am indebted to Dr Gabriel Byng for this insight.
- 13 Edward Gay †1718 at Gunthorpe, Robert Brigham †1721 at Warham All Saints, Frances Stirges †1723 at Cley and William Haydon †1724, also at Cley.
- 14 Andrew Fiddeman †1717 at Cley.
- 15 1713 – 1724.
- 16 Henry Glendenny †1711.
- 17 Robert Stanforth †1711.
- 18 Andrew Fiddeman †1720 and Elizabeth Barker †1722.
- 19 Elizabeth Dowell †1717 at Cley.
- 20 Thomas Smith †1725 at Wiveton.
- 21 Richard Crisp †1712 at Cley.
- 22 Catherine Cubit †1710 at Holt.
- 23 Lydia Cook †1727 at Sculthorpe.
- 24 Bridgett Dagles †1720, Geils Everitt †1720 and Susan Barit, all at Brancaster. William Skelt †1720 at Gunthorpe may also belong here.
- 25 Robert Wightman †1715 at Stiffkey, John Leeds †1719 at Blakeney and Mary Flaxman †1721 at North Creake.
- 26 Elizabeth Morgan †1782 at Blakeney, and an illegible example (with skull, torches and oroboros) at Holt.
- 27 John Spaul †1786 and Winn Funell †1794, both at Blakeney.
- 28 Thomas Bond †1781 at Blakeney, Ann Boardman †1782 at Blakeney, Mary Isaack †1789 at Blakeney
- 29 Thomas Cooper †1786 at Blakeney.
- 30 James Hanson †1791 at Cley
- 31 John Barker †1772 at Blakeney.
- 32 Philip Edmunds †1791 at Burnham Deepdene
- 33 William Garrett †1782 at Langham Episcopi.
- 34 Although not two early examples, Hannah Funell †1776 †1785 at Morston and Jane Taylor †1777 at Langham Episcopi
- 35 Mary Brown †1776 at Burnham Norton.
- 36 Michael Jackson †1798 at Blakeney.
- 37 John Hurrell †1792 and Henry Smith †1794, both at Blakeney, and John Smith †1787 and James Ram †1798 at Wiveton .
- 38 Augustine Spaul †1797. They are also a speciality of Berwickshire, according to Betty Willsler (Betty Willsler, 'Scottish Churchyard Memorials in the Eighteenth Century', *The Local Historian* 23:2 [May 1993]: 66-84 at 79).
- 39 Robert Moutain †1772 at Blakeney. Sarah Wells †1774 at Blakeney seems to be an example of him trying to find his style. Paul Symonds †1776 at Langham Episcopi has a much more conventional cherub than usual on a more conventionally-shaped stone, but the usual A-lettering. Ann Groom †1768 at Burnham Norton has a cherub more like his mature work, but perhaps it is backdated.
- 40 An illegible one at Holt.
- 41 Amongst others James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen, 'Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees; Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries', *American Antiquity* 31.4 (1966): 502-510; Peter Benes, *The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts 1689-1805* (Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977); Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols 1650-1815* (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 3rd ed. 1999).
- 42 Forbes, 12-13; James Blachowicz, *From Slate to Marble: Gravestone Carving Traditions in Eastern Massachusetts 1770-1870* (Evanston IL: Graver Press, 2006): 6-9.
- 43 William White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk* (Sheffield: for author, 1836).

Unto Death – Funerary Architecture and Family Bonds among the Normans of Southern Italy, 1046-1172

Francesca Petrizzo



Fig. 1 – Sepulchre of the Hauteville brothers (picture by D.N.R. released to Wikimedia Commons)

The Southern Italy of the 11th century was a mosaic of city states, small duchies and principalities, and what remained of the Byzantine Empire's Italian possessions. In this fragmented landscape of conflicted, small powers, came the Norman takeover of the '40s and '50s; and among the conquering Normans the Hautevilles were one of the more numerous kin groups, and eventually the most successful one.¹

Virtually nothing is known of the Hautevilles before their coming to Southern Italy: the patriarch of the family, Tancred, was an obscure knight of the Cotentin, remarkable only for

the vast numbers and great talents of his offspring.² Tancred married twice, Muriella and then Fressenda; with them he had numerous children, of which twelve males. And of these twelve sons, eight (William Iron-arm, Drogo, Humphrey, Geoffrey, Robert Guiscard, William the Younger, Mauger, and Roger) headed to Italy.³ Here they began to found counties, achieving the status of dukes by the '70s, conquering Sicily by the '90s. Roger's son, Roger II, was crowned king of Sicily by the antipope in 1130, establishing a kingdom that would last into the 19th century.

In this paper I will seek to outline

a quick overview of the main Hauteville funerary monuments, showing how following their evolution allows us to glimpse the growth and diversification of Hauteville family relations, at the same time as it can chart the rise to power of the family and their evolving titles. I will be focusing on the period between c.1080 and 1174, that is between the foundation of Venosa and the construction of the cathedral of Monreale, as the main Hauteville funerary monuments which book-end the family's rise from a vaguely defined military title of 'counts' to the zenith of the Norman kingdom of Sicily.

The abbey of Santissima Trinità in Venosa, in Basilicata, constitutes the starting point of my survey, and it shows the Hauteville family at its closest: a band of literal brothers in arms, who supported each other in the initial stages of their conquest. The position of Venosa itself is significant: it is at the heart of the Hautevilles' first zone of influence, a territory which they had received in the first division among the Norman leaders. Its choice for a family tomb at once firmly anchors the first generation of the family in Italy to their limited territory, but also shows their ambitions. While Venosa shows traces of construction and worshipping dating back to the 8th century, in its founding charter count

Drogo, the second Hauteville leader in Southern Italy, lays down the foundation of a new abbey to honour the memory of his elder brother William Iron-arm.⁴ The foundation of an entire complex shows both the importance Drogo placed on his brother's legacy, and his confidence, despite the youth of the Hauteville dominions, that they would endure long enough to see the abbey's completion.

More than this, it shows his perception of himself and his brothers as a closely knit family unit, tied by reciprocal spiritual and material obligations despite their mutual incomprehensions. At his death in an ambush a few years later, Drogo himself was buried in Venosa, which begins to be used properly as a dynastic and family tomb. Humphrey, Drogo's younger brother and successor to the county, continued to endow Venosa, and did so jointly with his brothers despite their infighting. Robert Guiscard, from the start an ambitious and rebellious military leader, was a thorn in the side of both Drogo and Humphrey, but he faithfully witnessed the latter's charters, identifying as part of the ongoing and close group formed by his half-brothers.⁵ At his death, Humphrey had made Guiscard regent for his infant son Abelard; Guiscard immediately usurped the county from his nephew, but this did not keep him from continuing to honour the family foundation.⁶

Guiscard's endowment charters show his commitment to Venosa: they are donations 'for

the souls of his brothers', and they are jointly witnessed with his younger brother William. Relations between the two were not always good, but they came together in celebrating the family legacy of Venosa just as Guiscard and Humphrey had done.⁷ This persistence is

all the more remarkable when we consider that while William Iron-arm, Drogo and Humphrey had expanded from Basilicata as a power-base, Guiscard and William the Younger ranged far from it. William's power base was in the principality of Salerno, hundreds of miles from Venosa,

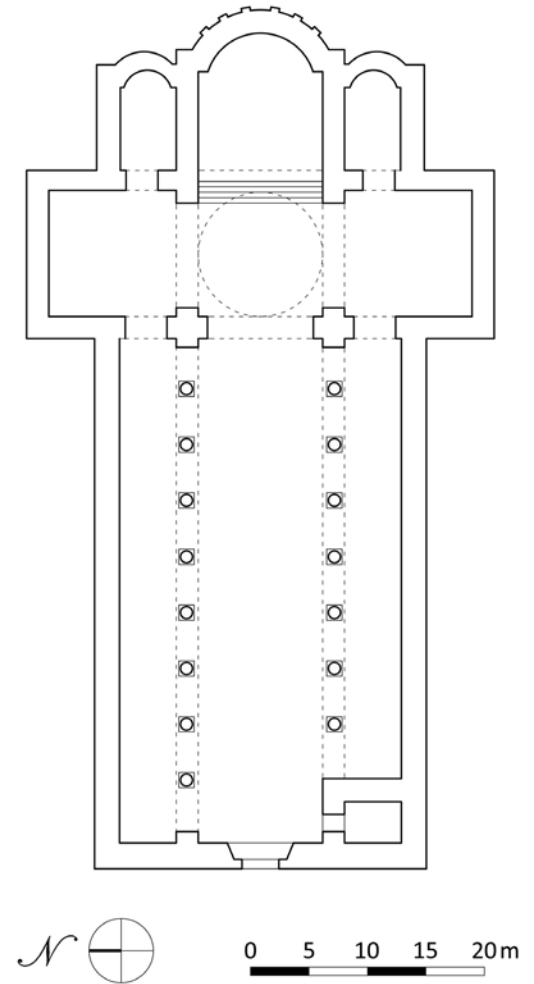


Fig. 2 – Floorplan of the destroyed church

seat of a far more prestigious city and cathedral; but at his death he was buried with his older brothers. Even more remarkably, Guiscard, who had risen to the dignity of duke through papal investiture, who had waged successful war against the Byzantine Empire and completely brought Southern Italy under his control, at his death was buried in Venosa, the small place whence his brothers' initial power came, and the one in which their early conquests had been celebrated.

It was in Venosa that he buried Alberada, his repudiated first Norman wife, the woman he had put aside for the far more prestigious Lombard princess Sichelgaita, but Guiscard's final endorsement of Venosa, however, sealed the ending of Hauteville patronage for the site: Drogo's ambitious foundation is nowadays termed as the 'Incompiuta', unfinished.⁸ Very little remains of the Norman building, and while Alberada's sepulchre has survived through modern era alterations, in the 16th century the bailiff of the Knights Hospitaller of St John in Jerusalem, who then held the abbey, bundled William Iron-arm, Drogo, Humphrey, William the Younger and Guiscard into one tomb.⁹

While therefore Venosa cannot serve us as a testament to the artistic patronage of the Hautevilles, it bears witness to both their dynastic ambitions and at the same time their closeness to their origins. With Guiscard's death, however, we can see the beginning of the dispersal



Fig. 3 – Sarcophagus of Roger I

of the Hauteville kin, with the diversification of the different branches' power bases and their more localised burials.

The last surviving brother, Roger, outlived Robert by about twenty years to die in 1101. By that point he had accomplished the full conquest of Sicily from the Muslims (their last stronghold, Noto, had surrendered to him in 1091) and had colonised the island with the nobility imported from Northern Italy.¹⁰ Count of the largest island in the Mediterranean, apostolic legate with ecclesiastical authority over Sicily, Roger retained as a power base large part of Calabria, and it was here, in his continental capital of Mileto, that he died

and was buried in the abbey of the Santissima Trinità, which he had founded. Roger's burial tells us two things: on the one hand, that he left no dispositions to be buried in Venosa with his brothers (something which could have been easily achieved) and on the other that he felt no inclination to be buried in Sicily. The abbey had only received its first abbot in 1094, and was therefore a very new foundation when Roger died seven years later; his death, coming of old age, was not a surprise, and his choosing to remain in Mileto seems to both express his determination to detach himself from his brothers' legacy and his lack of trust in the solidity of the Sicilian holdings he had spent



Fig. 4 – Mausoleum of Bohemond in Canosa

much of his life consolidating.¹¹

Once more, while the location of Roger's tomb is precious for our assessment of the legacy he intended to leave behind, we can say nothing about it from an artistic standpoint: the abbey was entirely destroyed in 1783 in an earthquake, and all we have is a floorplan deriving from 20th century excavations.¹² Roger's grave, a Roman sarcophagus

dating to the III century AD, is currently preserved in the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum in Naples.¹³

Roger's choice to be buried apart from the rest of the family, in what he perceived to be his powerbase, is indicative of a larger trend within the family in these years. His nephew Roger Borsa, duke of Apulia, had been bolstered in his claim to

power by his mother's kin, the Lombard princes of Salerno, and it is in Salerno that he was buried after his death in 1111. We do not know exactly where he is buried within the Salerno cathedral, which, while it dates to the Norman era, has been rebuilt several times because of earthquakes.¹⁴ Since Sichelgaita herself is buried there, Roger's choice to remain with his mother declares allegiance to her far more ancient and prestigious kin rather than to the foundation which his upstart father and uncle had patronised.

But some of the Hautevilles seem to simply have been buried where it was most convenient, without even the planning which Roger of Sicily and Roger Borsa appear to have put in their burials. Bohemond, Guiscard's first son by his wife Alberada, one of the leaders of the First Crusade, collected extensive titles during his life: he was prince of Bari, Taranto and Antioch, and he had married a daughter of the king of France, but when he died in 1111 in the small Apulian town of Canosa he was buried there.¹⁵ He was not brought to Venosa, nor to nearby Bari, Apulia's main city. While for Bohemond we do have a mausoleum, it bespeaks the lack of planning of the burial: built in the years following Bohemond's death, it is squeezed in an external corner of the cathedral in Canosa, and it is very much a tomb that reminds us that its occupant should be somewhere else: its lack of proportions can be attributed in large part to the builders' efforts to reproduce the upper part of the church of



Fig. 5 – Porphyry sarcophagus of William I

the Sepulchre in Jerusalem.¹⁶ In death, Bohemond is not remembered as an Hauteville; but as a crusader who died away from the Holy Land.

It is with the Hauteville kings of Sicily that we see a new attempt at dynasty burials, albeit defined in radically different terms. Roger II, last-born son of Roger I of Sicily, inherited the county upon reaching his majority after a long regency by his mother; further, he inherited the title of duke of Apulia at his cousin William's death in 1127. To the fortuitous legacies he added the ability to defend them and the political acumen to ennoble them: after quashing the rebellion of his newly gained vassals on the continent, Roger backed the antipope Anacletus against Innocent II, and was rewarded by the title of king through a papal bull of 1130. Roger's steamrolling policies, with his forceful entrenchment in both Sicily and the continent, paid off:

Innocent could not defeat him in war despite imperial intervention, and the title stayed.¹⁷

The funerary architecture of the kings of Sicily, far more than that of the members of the family which preceded them, must be inscribed in a precise artistic, religious and political plan: the affirmation of their diversity from the rest of Norman aristocracy whence they had come, and among which they still had numerous relatives; the jealous guarding of the apostolic legateship over Sicily against Roman interference; and the creation of a strong, coherent image of Sicilian kingship to be expressed in both artistic, architectural and administrative form.

It would take several volumes to properly explore the vast ramifications this program took, from the building of palaces and churches to a multilingual administration to deeply

syncretic art: for the purposes of this paper, it will be fundamental to keep in mind that royal Sicilian art incorporated elements of Byzantine, Latin and Arab art, and that the kings of Sicily chose to mark each of their most important religious foundations with the construction, or at least the planning, of a sepulchre for themselves.¹⁸

Roger first began construction of the Cathedral in Cefalù, a small seaside town fairly close to Palermo, when newly crowned in 1131; the church was to prove the tryout for a model that would be more amply explored elsewhere. It is in Cefalù that we first find the royally-sponsored Byzantine mosaics; and it is in Cefalù that Roger had installed two porphyry sarcophagi. It is debatable whom the second sarcophagus was meant for: hypotheses have been advanced that it was meant for his beloved first wife Elvira of Castile, his heir, or as a symbolic tomb.¹⁹ Roger's intention in beginning work on Cefalù are clear: a new, beautifully built, powerfully endowed foundation, to establish his ecclesiastical control on the island, break with what had come before, and function as the worthy sepulchre to the island's new kings. However, as quickly as the work had started, it petered out: Cefalù's construction took centuries, slowed down by the lack of interest on Roger's part once he began reconciling to the Roman church and he no longer had a need for Cefalù as a disturbance element.

At his death in 1154 Roger



Fig. 6 – Christ Pantokrator mosaic in Monreale (picture by Berthold Werner, free to use under Creative Commons)

was buried where he died, in Palermo, his power base. While Roger had undertaken a vast campaign of building and foundations, leaving behind splendid palaces and chapels, William I's controversial reign was marked by a continuation of his father's brutally repressive

policies towards his vassals, but no new foundations. At his death, William I was buried with Roger in Palermo. But the ambitious artistic program initiated by Roger found fulfillment in the project brought forward by William II, William's son. In 1174 William began work on the

cathedral of Monreale, on the hills overlooking Palermo, much as Roger had founded Cefalù: a powerful, beautifully decorated foundation to reaffirm Sicilian royal apostolic legateship.²⁰ Unlike Cefalù, Monreale was quickly completed: it stands today as the largest surviving medieval mosaic decoration, and at its heart, by the side of the altar, stand the burials of William II and his father.²¹ William II's building of Monreale sums up the Sicilian royal project in one foundation: a syncretic, defiant construction, immortalising the glory and independence of Sicilian kingship, destined to both host the body of the king who had begun it and enshrining the legacy he chose to embody; in this case, his father's precedent.²²

In the hundred years of our brief survey the Hautevilles went from a tightly knit clan of robber barons to the highly divided family that gave origin to both the kings of Sicily and the vassals they kept putting down. A look at their main funerary monuments shows us the diversity, geographical spread and institutional variation of Hauteville power, and the different relations to each other they expressed in choosing to memorialise their relatives or be inhumated away from them. In choosing where to stake their claim in death, the Hautevilles celebrated, immortalised or reneged what they had stood for in life; and the changing styles, locations and occupants of their tombs help us form a clearer image of both their familial and political patterns.

(Endnotes)

1 For an extensive introduction to the Southern Italian situation immediately before and during the Norman invasion, see Graham Loud *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (New York: Longman, 2000).

2 Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardis ducis fratris eius*, ed. by Ernesto Pontieri, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 2,V* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1927), I, 39-40, 24-25; I, 5, 9-10; I, 4, 9.

3 Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii*, I, 11, 14.

4 *Recueil des ducs normands d'Italie, 1046-1127*, ed. by Léon-Robert Ménager (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 1980), n. 1-2; the fundamental book on Venosa remains Die Abtei Venosa und das Mönchtum im normannisch-staufischen Süditalien (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995).

5 *Recueil des ducs normands*, n. 3.

6 Guillaume de Pouille, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed., trans., intr. and comm. by Marguerite Mathieu (Palermo: Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici, 1961), II, p. 152, lines 367-371.

7 *Recueil des ducs normands*, n.5.

8 For her epitaph, that still identifies her as Guiscard's coniux, see G. Antonucci, *Note critiche per la storia dei Normanni nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia*. I. Alberada, *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, IV, 1-3 (1934).

9 See fig. 1.

10 Julia Becker, *Documenti greci e latini del conte Ruggero I di Calabria e di Sicilia* (Roma: Ricerche dell'Istituto storico germanico di Roma, 2013), Introduction.

11 The fundamental work on Roger I's career, its political developments and ends is Julia Becker's *Graf Roger I. von Sizilien. Wegbereiter des normannischen Königreichs* (Tübingen: Verlag, 2008).

12 See fig. 2.

13 See fig. 3.

14 For a detailed discussion on the artistic and historic layers of the complicated history of the survival of Salerno cathedral, see Antonio Braca, *Il Duomo di Salerno: architettura e culture artistiche del Medioevo e dell'età moderna* (Salerno: Laveglia, 2003).

15 For a slightly literary but interesting biography of Bohemond see Jean Flori, *Bohémond d'Antioche: chevalier d'aventure* (Paris: Payot, c2007).

16 See fig. 4.

17 For a discussion on the career and deeds of Roger, see Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler Between East and West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

18 For an introduction to different aspects of Sicilian cultural syncretism, see: Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (S.I.: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949); Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Diwan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and the excellent critical apparatus to the catalogue *Nobiles Officinae: perle, filigrane e trame di seta del Palazzo Reale di Palermo*, edited by Maria Andaloro (Catania: G.Maimone, c.2006).

19 For an introduction to the purposes and peculiarities of Cefalu', see Thomas Tieme and Ingamay Beck, *La cattedrale normanna di Cefalu': un frammento della civiltà sociopolitica della Sicilia medioevale* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1977).

20 For a detailed discussion on Monreale see Thomas Dittelbach, *Rex Imago Christi: Der Dom von Monreale Bildsprachen und Zeremoniell in Mosaikunst und Architektur* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003).

21 See fig. 5.

22 See fig. 6.

The Commemorative Monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan in Santi Giovanni e Paolo: Rethinking the Funerary Memory in Early Seventeenth-Century Venice

Stefano Colombo



Fig. 1 Danese Cataneo and Gerolamo Campagna, *Funerary Monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan*, c. 1566-1616, Marble, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Photo: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, NY)

The custom of financing and executing magniloquent sepulchral monuments in honour of Venetian doges had a long-standing tradition whose origins can be traced back to the Middle Ages. By the Renaissance period, Venetian tomb monuments had become one of the most magnificent forms of commemoration, aiming to perpetuate the achievements of the doges through a form of public imagery. Sepulchral monuments became vehicles of propagandistic ideas concerning the prosperity of the Venetian state through the achievements of the doges. Above all, these monuments were exploited as rhetorical devices to symbolically raise the status of the doge – a lay ruler with strict limits to his power – to the rank of a sovereign.¹

This essay focuses on the commemorative monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Fig. 1). Devised by the sculptor and architect Danese Cataneo and executed by Cataneo himself and Gerolamo Campagna, the monument has pride of place on the right wall of the presbytery in Santi Giovanni e Paolo.² The



Fig. 2 Danese Cataneo and Gerolamo Campagna, Doge Leonardo Loredan alongside the Personifications of Venice and the League of Cambrai and the Allegories of Peace and Abundantia, Marble, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Photo: Author)

monument commemorates the achievements of Leonardo Loredan (1436-1521), doge of the Venetian republic during the war of the League of Cambrai (1508-16), the anti-Venetian alliance intended to restrain Venice's expansion in northern Italy.³ This essay investigates the Loredan monument in relation to the self-celebratory imagery of Venice. The iconographical reading of this monument followed by comparisons with other tomb monuments of doges and paintings financed by the Venetian republic aims to analyse the Loredan monument as a rhetorical device celebrating Venice and instilling a subtle form of republican propaganda. Not only did this monument intend to commemorate the doge, but

it also aggrandised Loredan to a political and military leader capable of reinvigorating the so-called 'myth of Venice' in new ways.⁴

The Loredan monument had a long and complex history spanning almost a century.⁵ The project for the monument in honour of Loredan tracks its origins back to 1517, when Lorenzo Loredan, the son of the doge, had already received the permission to erect a monument in Santi Giovanni e Paolo. After Loredan's death in 1521, his body was interred in a grave in the presbytery of the church, although the monument remained unexecuted until Cataneo's recruitment in the 1560s. By 1572, the statue representing Venice and the personifications of Peace

and *Abundantia* were already completed, as described by Cataneo in his testament.⁶ However, the works were in progress until 1616, when the timber merchant Martin Macarin made a plea to be buried near the doge's monument.⁷ In 1663, the monument was mentioned for the first time in the third edition of Francesco Sansovino's *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*.⁸

The architectural framework of the Loredan monument displays a triumphal arch form surmounted by an attic storey (Fig. 1). Four composite columns subdivide the monument into three compartments. At the centre, the statue of Leonardo Loredan has pride of place above three blocks of variegated marble forming a staircase which is sustained by a base showing the funerary epitaph. The statue is set against slabs of black and white marble and is flanked by the personifications of Venice on the left, and the League of Cambrai on the right (Fig. 2).⁹ It is important to note that the doge is not sitting on a throne, but he is in the act of rising to his feet inciting the two figures on the sides to fight. The allusion is made to the war of the League of Cambrai, which was notorious for the defeat of Venice in Agnadello in 1509 during Loredan's tenure of power.¹⁰ In the Loredan monument, the armed figure of Venice is looking towards the personification of the League of Cambrai, a female



Fig. 3 Danese Cataneo, Padua as Muse, c. 1566-70, Bronze, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Photo: Author)

figure holding a shield with the coat of arms of the allied forces. In the niches on the sides, a female figure on the left holding a cornucopia in her hand represents the allegory of *Abundantia*.¹¹ On the right, a female figure burning weapons with a torch represents the allegory of Peace.¹² Above and below Peace and *Abundantia*, four bronze reliefs display allegories allusive to Loredan's dogate (Figs 1, 3-4).¹³ The relief below *Abundantia* represents Padua as a muse (Fig. 3) and the one above depicts the Paduan saints (Prosdocimo and Anthony) and rivers (Brenta



Fig. 4 Danese Cataneo, Minerva Triumphant over the Imperials, c. 1566-70, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Photo: Author)

and Bacchiglione). The relief below Peace represents an allegory of Venice triumphing over the League of Cambrai (Fig. 4), while the one above shows a recumbent female figure bearing a crown and holding a sceptre representing the allegory of Venice Queen. In the attic storey, a bas-relief representing the personification of Venice receiving homage from the cities of the dominion of Loredan recalls a memorable speech which the doge gave to the Great Council in 1509. In his peroration, Loredan incited the Venetian soldiers to pursue the war against the enemies, which resulted in the recapture of Padua, the most remarkable achievement under

The design of the Loredan monument brought substantial changes to the iconography



Fig. 5 Venice Receiving Homage from the Cities of the Venetian Dominion, end of sixteenth century-beginning of the seventeenth, Marble, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Photo: Author)

his dogate.¹⁵ Most importantly, Loredan reminded the soldiers that their commitment to the recovery of the Republic's lost territories would bestow the splendour of a new Rome upon Venice. In the monument, the eloquence of Loredan's speech is reflected in the act of exhortation performed by the doge's hands pointing to the figures on the sides. To better emphasise the doge's figure, Campagna 'activated' his effigy as if he were alive controlling over an imminent battle, instead of resorting to the more conventional recumbent effigy on the sarcophagus which was less suitable in this case. The adoption of the living figure of the doge enabled Campagna to exploit the full potency of such pose, thereby evoking an idea of both majesty and command.¹⁶

The allusion to the theme of imperial Rome occurs as a recurring element of Loredan's military campaign. The reference to Rome as the fundamental model in terms of imperialistic power and military strength reinforced an ideology

intended to counteract the military forces allied against Venice, which included the Holy See and the Holy Roman Empire. In the Loredan monument, the Venetian sense of the Roman past is processed especially through the doge's enthroned figure set within a triumphal arch form. It is likely that the rhetorical efficacy of this combination was derived from tomb monuments to sovereigns and Roman popes.¹⁷ For example, in the sepulchral monument to Pope Clement VII in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome (1536-42), the triumphal arch form sustained by four composite columns displays the statue of the pope sitting on a throne and flanked by saints. Above the entablature, the attic displays narrative reliefs and the pope's coat of arms. The architectural framework of the triumphal arch – a typology derived from the Arch of Constantine – recalled that popes were on a par with emperors, and therefore benefitted from both spiritual and temporal powers in a Christian corporation equal in authority and majesty to the

Roman Empire. So too did Venetian architects resort to triumphal arches to proclaim that Venice was second neither to the papacy nor to the Florence of the Medici popes, but it too carried the splendour and supremacy of an imperial Rome.¹⁸

Another main feature of the Loredan monument are the allusions to the doge's religious devotion which are indirect and limited to few words in the funerary epitaph.¹⁹ It is worthwhile noting that bas-relief in the attic, which generally displayed the statue of Christ or other religious figures in Venetian ducal tombs of the high Renaissance, presents a political allegory (Fig. 5). In Venice there was a long-standing tradition of ducal tombs representing Christ, God the Father or the doge kneeling before the Virgin either in a lunette above the sarcophagus or in the pediment.²⁰ In this kind of representations the visual fusion of politics with religion evoked the sacrality of the doge's magistracy and presupposed a sacred

conception of the Venetian state where the doge metaphorically assumed the characters of a quasi-religious figure. This notion of the Venetian state was partially inspired by early modern absolutism and was exemplified in the civic and religious ritual, as well as in the arts.²¹

In the Loredan monument, the bas-relief in the attic conveys the majestic and mystic essence of the Venetian state by exemplifying the results of his good government after the recapture of the territories lost in the war (Fig. 5). The intention of this programme is enhanced by the monument's subdivision into two separate registers: the lower register focused on the historical present, that is, the doge alive inciting the personification of Venice to fight; and the upper register focused on the results of the event displayed below. Loredan's military campaign caused Venice to win over the enemies and resulted in the wellbeing in the dominion, as shown by the allegories of Peace and Abundantia (Fig. 2). It is therefore clear that the Loredan monument both celebrates Venice on account of its military feats and extols the doge's immortal body. It is not a coincidence, then, that the Loredan monument displays a Latin inscription in place of the sarcophagus recalling the prosperity in the Venetian dominion as a result of Loredan's military campaign.²²



Fig. 6 Jacopo Palma Giovane, Commemorative Painting of Doge Leonardo Loredan, c. 1593, Canvas, Doge's Palace, Pregadi, Venice (Photo: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, NY)

The Loredan monument combines the celebration of the doge with the triumph of Venice. The prominence given to Loredan's figure in the slightly elevated central position above the staircase makes him stand out among the other figures and to highlight the visual link with the bas-relief in the attic (Figs 2, 5). Both figures of Loredan and Venice share a similar aspect and a complementary significance: the regal image of the doge is accentuated as if he were enthroned and by his charismatic posture. Accordingly, queenly Venice sitting on a throne above a pedestal is bearing a crown and holding a sceptre in the right hand. In addition, the

regal status of both Venice and Loredan evokes the ideal of sovereignty grounded in the administration of the Venetian territories and in Venice's perpetual liberty. It is no surprise, then, that the bas-relief in the attic displays the recapture of the lost towns of the Venetian dominion shown through the act of spontaneous capitulation under Venice's sovereignty. It is opportune to observe that a similar depiction in Antonio Lombardo's cenotaph of Doge Pietro Mocenigo in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (1476-80) set a model for the Loredan monument. In the Mocenigo cenotaph, a bas-relief on the sarcophagus displays on the left a kneeling Turk giving

Mocenigo the keys of Skutari, a Venetian territory conquered by Mocenigo in 1474. On the right, the doge is delivering the keys of Famagusta to the queen of Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro.²³

Significantly, this type of composition became part of Venice's traditional imagery celebrating its sovereign power. In the allegory depicted by Jacopo Tintoretto on the ceiling of the Great Council in the Doge's Palace (1580-84), the majestic figure of Doge Nicolò Da Ponte is shown at the top of the staircase receiving the keys of the captured territories during their voluntary subjection to Venice. In the sky, queenly Venice receives a palm from the lion of Saint Mark while she gives a laurel wreath probably to the doge.²⁴

Equally important is Leonardo Loredan's commemorative painting executed for the Senate room of the Doge's Palace by the Venetian painter Jacopo Palma Giovane c. 1593 which commemorates the substantial role played by Loredan in ruling the Venetian dominion (Fig. 6). The painting shows the standing figure of Loredan opening his arms and placing his left hand over the shoulder of the personification of Venice on the left, thereby exhorting Venice to attack the female figure riding a bull on the right representing the League of Cambrai. The doge's majestic pose and the allegories of Peace and *Abundantia* on the far left of the painting indeed

recall the Loredan monument. However, while the painting emphasises the doge's military exploits, the monument underlines his role as a peacemaker and his successful strategies in reconquering the lost territories.²⁵

Just as the paintings by Tintoretto and Palma visually convey the foundation of Venice's sovereign power in a form of public imagery, so too does the Loredan monument celebrate the splendour of Venice through a civic monument in memory of the doge's outstanding achievements.²⁶ This message of the Loredan monument is eventually complemented by the allegories in the bronze reliefs above and below the personifications of Peace and *Abundantia* (Figs 2, 3-4). These allegories establish a visual link between the doge's major exploit and the resulting triumph of Venice as a queen. The female figure wearing a cuirass and holding a shield in the bottom-right relief has been identified as an allegory of Venice as Minerva triumphing over the Imperials, no doubt an allusion to the siege of Padua in 1509 (Fig. 4).²⁷ The significance of this allegory is visually connected with the relief at the bottom left, which represents the personification of Padua, surrounded by the symbols of the liberal arts, as a muse of the male figure bearing a book, perhaps a poet or a philosopher (Fig. 3).²⁸ The triumph of Venice as

the result of Loredan's military campaign is symbolised in the relief at the top right, showing the recumbent figure of the crowned Venice alongside the personification of a river. At the centre of the monument, the statue of the doge carries the dignity of a prince, wisely ruling and perpetuating the memory of his actions to the future generations (Fig. 2).

In conclusion, in the Loredan monument the intersection of politics with religion resulted in a powerful ducal image evoking the dual nature of the doge's office. Despite the limits to his power, the doge incorporated the mystic and sovereign essence of the Republic. The references to Loredan's political and military achievements and the presence of allegorical personifications emphasised the importance of the state's conservation as a fundament of the republican ideology. In addition, the doge's pivotal figure, in conjunction with a new emphasis on traditional architectural elements, renovated the tradition of ducal tombs as a monumental display of republican pride. As a result, the Loredan monument became a visual counterpart of rhetorical thoughts, imbued with republican ideology, and ultimately offered an opportunity to reconsider the theme of funerary memory and the capacity of images to coax into belief or action.

(Endnotes)

1 * This study is a shorter version of a chapter of my doctoral dissertation (University of Warwick, thesis to be submitted December 2016), which focuses on seventeenth-century tomb monuments to Venetian doges and patricians. I wish to thank Lorenzo Pericolo and Kayoko Ichikawa.

The study of Venetian ducal tombs from the fourteenth century onwards still deserves further scrutiny. For an overview of the most important scholarly contributions, see the following studies: Jan Simane, *Grabmonumente der Dogen. Venetianische Sepulkralkunst im Cinquecento* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993); Debra Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo Pantheon della Serenissima, ed. Giuseppe Pavanello (Venice: Marcianum Press, 2013), esp. pp. 67-201 and 239-414.

2 Santi Giovanni e Paolo was a Dominican church and 'pantheon' of the doges: from the fifteenth century onwards, the funeral of the doges were held here and twenty-five doges are buried in the church. For a complete overview, see Pavanello (2013).

3 For the war of the League of Cambrai, see Felix Gilbert, 'Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai', *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), pp. 274-92.

4 The bibliography on the 'myth of Venice' is vast and goes beyond the limits of this study. For an overview of the most important scholarly contributions, see the summary in Giorgio Tagliaro, 'Le forme della Vergine: la personificazione di Venezia nel processo creativo di Paolo Veronese', *Venezia cinquecento* 30 (2005), pp. 131-33.

5 Scholars have dealt at great length with the chronological reconstruction of this monument. For a summary, including a complete bibliography, see the following studies: Simane (1993), pp. 30-48; Massimiliano Rossi, *La poesia scolpita. Danese Cataneo nella Venezia del Cinquecento* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 1995), pp. 161-85; Andrea Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia nella vita pubblica e privata* (Florence and Milan: Giunti, 2003, first published 1960), pp. 222-24; Giovanna Baldissin Molli, 'Catalogo delle opere', in Danese Cattaneo da Colonna 1512-1572. *Scultore Poeta Architetto* (Fosdinovo: Associazione Artistico Culturale Percorsi d'Arte, 2013),

pp. 282-84; Paola Rossi, 'Scultura e pittura nel secondo Cinquecento. Il manierismo e il tardomanierismo', in *La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo* (2013), pp. 241 and 247-55. 6 Rossi (1995), p. 165.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

8 Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare. Con le aggiunte di Giustiniano Martinioni* (Venetia: Stefano Curti, 1663), p. 68.

9 Rossi (1995), p. 165.

10 See Gilbert (1973), pp. 274-92.

11 Rossi (1995), p. 165.

12 *Ibid.*

13 For these reliefs, see Rossi (1995), pp. 174-75.

14 For Venetian tomb monuments from the Middle Ages onwards, see bibliography above, note 1.

15 Loredan's speech is recalled by the historian Marin Sanudo (1466-1536) in his diaries. See Rossi (1995), p. 177.

16 For the concept of the 'active' effigy of the doge, see Simane (1993), pp. 99-101. For early representations of enthroned doges, see Wolfgang Wolters, *Storia e politica nei dipinti di Palazzo Ducale: aspetti dell'autocelebrazione della Repubblica di Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Venice: Arsenale, 1987, first published 1983), note 8. p. 81.

17 For a broader analysis of ducal tombs in relation to tomb monuments to popes, see Simane (1993), pp. 22, 99-100, 143.

18 See the interesting insights in Baccio Bandinelli, *Sculture e maestro (1493-1560)* (exhibition catalogue, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, 9 April - 13 July 2014), eds Detlef Heikamp and Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi (Florence: Giunti, 2014), p. 180. On Venice as a second Rome, and on the influence of classical architecture in Venice, see the fundamental monograph by Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice & Antiquity. The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), esp. pp. 171-72.

19 D.O.M. | LEONARDO LOREDANO PRINCIPI [...] PIO, FORTI, | PRUDENTI'. 20 To name only few examples: Pietro Lombardo's tombs of Doge Pasquale Malipiero (c. 1463) and Doge Nicolò Marcello (1490s), or the colossal monument to Doge Alvise Mocenigo (c. 1581-1651), all of them in Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

21 The bibliography on this topic is vast. For an overview, especially in connection with ducal tombs, see Gina Fasoli, 'Liturgia e cerimoniale

ducale', in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence, Olschki, 1973), pp. 261-95; Michelangelo Muraro, 'Ideologia e iconografia dei dogi di Venezia', in *Le prince Lazar. Recueil de travaux du Symposium de Krusevac* (Beograd, Musée National Krusevac, 1975), pp. 421-36; Gaetano Cozzi, 'Venezia, una repubblica di principi?', *Studi Veneziani* 11 (1986), pp. 139-57; Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), esp. pp. 251-89; Pincus (2000), passim. 22 'IN REM VENETAM CONSPIRANTIIUM FURE COMPRESSO | PATAVIO OBSIDIONE LEVATO' and 'SALUTE OBJECTIS TERTERESTRIS IMPERII POST ACERBISSIMUM BELLUM | PRISTINA AMPLITUDINE VINDICATA, DIGNITATE, ET PACE REIPUBLICAE RESTITUTA'. For the full inscription, see Andrea Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe* (Venice: Ferdinando Ongania, 1939), p. 333.

23 For the Mocenigo cenotaph, see Anne Markham Schulz, 'Scultura del secondo quattrocento e del primo cinquecento', in Pavanello (2013), pp. 142-49.

24 For this painting, see Wolters (1987), pp. 271-73.

25 For Loredan's commemorative painting, see Staale Sinding-Larsen, 'Christ in the Council Hall. Studies in the religious iconography of the Venetian Republic', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 5 (1974), pp. 24-27, 247, and Wolters (1987), pp. 205-06. For the interpretation of this painting as 'commemorative', see Stefano Colombo, 'Portraits of Sovereignty: Jacopo Palma Giovane and the Doges' Commemorative Cycle in the Doge's Palace, Venice', *Artibus et historiae*, forthcoming.

26 As Debra Pincus observes, although ducal tombs were generally private commissions financed by the family of the deceased doge, they tended to assume civic function and become part of the state apparatus. See Pincus (2000), p. 11.

27 See Rossi (1995), p. 174. According to Jan Simane, the bronze relief represents an allegory of Brescia, a town of the Venetian dominion which was Venice's historic producer of weapons. See Simane (1993), pp. 32 and 46-48.

28 Rossi (1995), p. 174.

The Palatine Hapsburg Crypt Budapest

Ian Johnson



Figure 1

During a short trip to Budapest in January 2016 I made a visit to the old palace of the Hapsburgs. The palace stands on a hill overlooking the Danube and dominates the Budapest skyline. The building houses the National Library, the National Museum and the National Gallery. The three areas tend to merge into one but the

Gallery contains an astonishing collection of paintings and sculptures as well as other art. Little remains, as far as I can establish, of the old imperial interior, the palace having been badly damaged at the end of the second world war, with one exception-The Hapsburg crypt.

The Crypt appears in guide



Figure 2

books thus I asked at the information desk to visit the crypt and was told that it is only available as part of a guided tour, none of which were planned at the time. However the helpful assistant on the desk asked for my mobile telephone number and said she would see what could be arranged. Astonishingly about an hour later I was called and told that no tour could be arranged due to lack of guides but that nevertheless a porter would be happy to show me the crypt if I agreed a time.

The following day I was taken through a series of in-preparation exhibition halls to a modern door in the wall (exactly matching the surrounding walls) behind which was an older door and then a locked grill. Behind the grill was a set of quite wide steps which led down to an amazing sight.

Work began on the Hapsburg Crypt (actually correctly known as the Hapsburg Palatine crypt) in the reign of Maria Theresa in 1715 when she inaugurated the building of a new palace. The crypt began life as part of that palace chapel which was consecrated in honour of St Sigismund in 1769. The first plans for the place were drawn up by the imperial Chief Architect Jean Nicholas JADOT. Until 1777 the crypt was used by the nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Apart from

members of the order some of the dead from the palace were also buried here. Adults were placed in the wall, children in the floor.

The crypt was unused until 1820 when the Palatine Joseph (effectively the royal official who ruled Hungary on behalf of the Emperor, and who was usually a relative of the Emperor) asked for permission to convert the crypt for family use. The Hapsburg Palatines of Hungary resided in the royal palace from the end of the 18th century up to 1849. The first to move in was Alexander Leopold followed by the Palatine Joseph. Joseph controlled the affairs of the country for fifty years and improved greatly the prosperity of the country making Budapest an outstanding European city.

An Austrian, Franz HUPPERMAN was commissioned to oversee the construction. The remains of those previously buried there were transferred to the wall of the passage linking the two rooms. In 1847 when the Palatine Joseph died the remodelling, along Florentine lines, was taken over by Hupperman's son Stefan. Stefan oversaw the creation of the stone sarcophagi. After 1855 the Archduke Joseph Charles made sure the work continued. Between 1905 and 1927 the wife of Archduke Charles, the wonderfully named Clothilde, continued to supervise the construction.

The crypt consists of three rooms over a space of 25 x 7.5 metres. As explained Its



Figure 3

entrance passage is situated on the ground floor of the now Hungarian National gallery. The entrance passage leads into the chapel (fig. 1) with a simple altarpiece. The innermost room serves as the crypt. (fig. 2)

The simple grey and white imitation marble decoration (see fig. 3) was made by an unknown Italian master sculptor at the turn of the 19th century. The broad vaulting of the crypt was moulded from a mixture of coloured sandstone powder following the style of the Medici Chapel in Florence. The decoration overhead invokes the starry firmament, the walks adorned with angels. The original red marble floor was never completed. The reliefs on the sarcophagi and statues were made by Italian sculptors, again around the turn of the 19th century. The central statue of Palatine Joseph was made by Gyorhy ZALA, that of

Elisabeth Clementina by Alajos STROBL the child Gisela by Karoly SENNYEI. (Fig 4)

The crypt escaped the devastations of the 2nd World War, unlike the palace above, but in the early 1970s it was broken into and plundered however its repair and restoration began in the late 1970s. Happily it is now restored and protected but, I believe, little seen.



Figure 4

REVIEWS

DEATH AND MEMORY: SOANE AND THE ARCHTECTURE OF LEGACY

Roger Bowdler



Soane office Royal Academy lecture drawing showing James Wyatt's mausoleum to the 3rd Earl of Darnley, Cobham Hall, Kent, c.1806-15, SM 18/6/1. By courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum

Curated by MMT Trustee Fran Sands, this exhibition used the unparalleled collections of the Soane Museum to chart one special man's preoccupation with the funerary arts. It was a fascinating display.

Back in 1996, Giles Waterfield mounted a substantial exhibition at the Dulwich Picture Gallery – itself a mausoleum. The latest show, which finished on March 24th after a six-month run, was smaller but of choice content. It was mounted to honour the 200th anniversary of the death of Eliza Soane on 22nd November 1815. The raw agony of the circumstances behind the family tomb in St Pancras Gardens the Soane family's disintegration is told once more, through drawings and objects. The saddest has to be the funereal board, mounted with the spiteful article by George Soane attacking his father's work, which is said to have caused Mrs Soane's "death blows". There are times when the chaste classicism of Georgian tombs can seem remote from feelings: that is certainly not the case here.

Other exhibits took us inside Soane's creative mind, such as designs for national

monuments and other funerary commissions, while others show the achievements in this field of other contemporary designers, like James Wyatt. His Darnley mausoleum at Cobham, Kent (the destination of several MMT outings over the years) was shown here in one of the fine exhibition watercolours, executed for the 1783 Royal Academy. The Soane possesses an extraordinary collection of drawings: inevitably, only a few are ever on view. One area of holdings that has recently benefited from the recent wave of enhancement (ushered in under the recent directorship of MMT patron Tim Knox) has been the display of models. The Etruscan cork tomb included in the exhibition reminded me that the body's final resting place, the "long home" of moralists, was the ultimate in architectural fundamentals.

The accompanying short book isn't a catalogue; rather, it is a collection of essays on related themes. Helen Dorey writes about the sepulchral items that abound within the museum, and how they relate

to his carefully created and symbolic ensemble. Drawings catloguer Tom Drysdale gives us the fullest ever account of the building of the family tomb in St Pancras Gardens; Fran Sands offers up an overview of designs for tombs from Antiquity onwards, as reflected in items from Soane's collection; while librarian Susan Palmer's essay, intriguingly entitled "The Mystery of the Sealed Repositories", covers a little-known element in Soane's self-mythologizing life, concerning the three time-capsules which were only to be opened in 1866, 1886 and 1896, long after his death in 1837.

This was one of the newer topics within *Soane and the Architecture of Legacy*. Such is the dedication and scholarship of the Soane's curatorial team, as well as the richness of the collections, that new tales are still emerging. Soane spent much time on commemorative projects: he also pondered how he himself would in time be remembered. Having left his house and collection to the nation, he also left behind two

sealed sets of drawers and his locked bath. In the event, the contents varied widely, from household bills and false teeth, to the manuscript for his *Crude Hints towards an History of My House in L[incoln's] I[nn] Fields*, and more painful family correspondence relating to his sons. It doesn't always pay to take everything to do with posthumous honour too seriously.

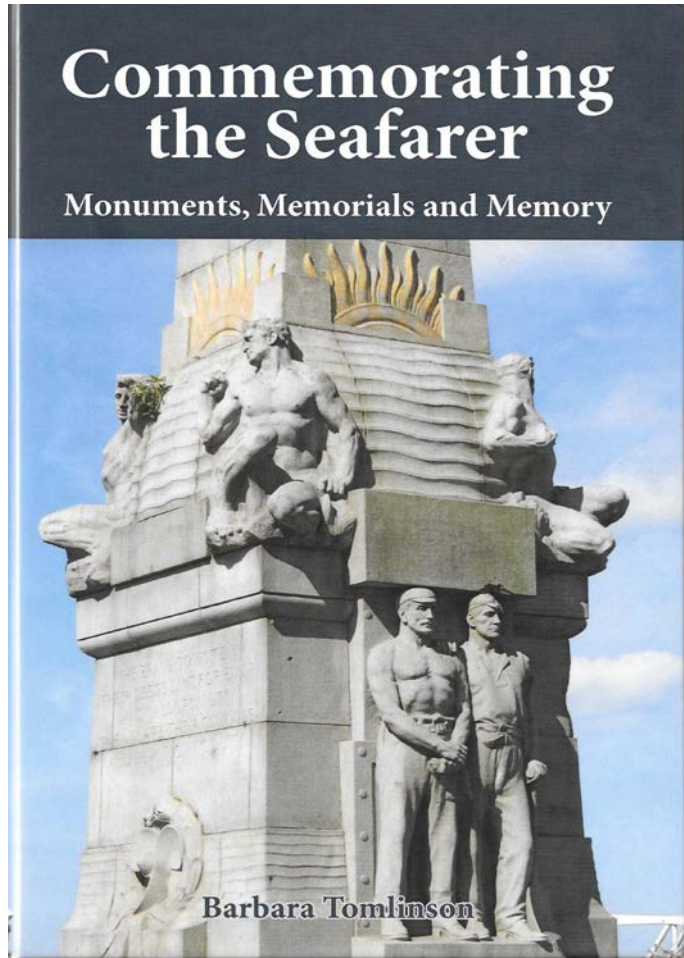
It was this combination of the some of the greatest funereal designs of all, plus a very strong biographical back-story, that made this exhibition so interesting and rather more than a reduced re-hash of the Dulwich show. There are consolations for those who didn't see *Death and Memory*: the museum always displays lots of commemorative items, and his memorials themselves still exist in good shape, having benefited from the work of the Soane Monuments Trust. The evening visit to the exhibition, organised by the curator for MMT members back in February, will be remembered by everyone who was there.

Barbara Tomlinson

COMMEMORATING THE SEAFARER, Monuments, Memorials and Memory

(National Maritime Museum, pub. The Boydell Press)

John St Brioc Hooper



“From Padstow Point to Hartland Light is a watery grave by day and night” so goes an old Cornish saying. In fact the whole of the Cornish coast is hazardous and is littered with wrecks. In the Great Blizzard of 1891 some 22 ships were wrecked around the county.

My great-grandfather was Captain of the Agnes Louisa a ship registered in Newquay. It went down off the Isles of Scilly on 10 March 1891 with all hands. None of the bodies were ever recovered, there is no monument to these men and their only grave is the sea, so it was with great interest that I began to read this book. There are, inevitably, chunks of the book devoted to our great sea-going heroes from Drake to Shackleton, with Nelson, Cunningham, Cloudsley Shovell, Anson, Boscawen, Franklin, Jellicoe, and many others in between, but the subject matter encompasses a great number of less well-known people who died on the ocean wave, or were closely associated with the sea.

The book discusses much more than just memorials, which are to be found in churches, cemeteries, public parks and squares, it describes the history from the sixteenth

century to the present day of naval and maritime trade. Those commemorated in memorials by major British artists and some more modest offerings, are not only the great sea captains, but some of the ordinary fishermen many of whom lost their lives at sea and those travelling as passengers, victims of shipwrecks. It is interesting that on so many monuments to seafarers the depiction of the wrecked ship was widely used, and that the motifs on them occur again and again.

Barbara Tomlinson tells the dramatic stories behind these memorials and illustrates the significant social and cultural changes in Britain's relationship

to the sea, the hazards of seagoing life and the impact these had on the families of the deceased and the general public.

The book is illustrated with some 100 black and white photographs, not all of which are very sharp; the two pictures showing the two monuments to Shelley, one at University College, Oxford and the other at Christchurch, Dorset, for example, do not show the crispness of the carving and some details cannot be appreciated to the full – obviously the answer is, go and look at the monuments themselves. Reading this book has certainly kindled an enthusiasm in me which I am

keen to pursue.

Barbara Tomlinson was for several years Secretary of the Church Monuments Society and writes with authority and in a very readable way. I recommend this book as a good edition to anyone's library as either a straight read or for reference.

The publisher has offered members of the MMT a special rate. Order direct from Boydell & Brewer (Bridge Farm Business Park, Top Street, Martlesham, Suffolk IP12 4RB) mentioning MMT and pay just £22.50, plus £3 postage (UK), order online at www.boydellandbrewer.com or telephone 01394 610600 quoting Offer Code 15700.

EVENTS

Annual General Meeting

Brompton Cemetery

Saturday 18 June

See enclosed notice and agenda

A tour of selected mausolea in North Yorkshire

*The Mausolea & Monuments Trust together with The York
Georgian Society*

18 July 2016 at 10.00 am

Cost:
£58 each

A visit to the museum of Frederick W Paine

Funeral Directors of Kingston-upon-Thames

Saturday 12 November at 2.30 pm

For further information, see enclosed flyer/booking form.

*For more information please refer to the enclosed forms.
Email the Secretary at info@mmtrust.org.uk, or tel 07856 985974*
