

Defensor fidei

The iconography of the knight with a drawn sword on twelfth- and thirteenth-century monuments in the Low Countries

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Twelfth- and thirteenth-century tomb monuments in the Low Countries demonstrate a particular type of tomb iconography, viz. that of a knight brandishing a drawn sword. This imagery contrasts with the more conventional effigy, depicted in an attitude of prayer, which can be seen on non-military monuments, especially those of women. This type of representation seems to be specific to the region, although its popularity had waned by the end of the thirteenth century. The present study concentrates on the iconography of tomb monuments in the Low Countries, although examples will be quoted from further afield.

Introduction

The introduction of lay burial into churches, as evident in tomb monuments, raises questions about various poorly understood aspects of the commemoration of lay patrons – particularly the gestures made by the effigies and any accompanying symbolism. Following the erection of shrine tombs to saints (and to those considered as potential saints), the first burials permitted in churches were those of bishops, royalty, and founders. On the tombs erected over their graves the deceased were represented with dignity, often by means of gestures and symbols of power appropriate to their status. Bishops are shown in the act of blessing with their right hand, while holding a crosier in their left. A ruler holds a sceptre as a symbol of his sovereignty. For the founders of churches, whether they were laity, canons or bishops, the formula was straightforward: they were shown carrying a model of the building in their arms. Other newly permitted categories of burial included women, princes and lords who did not have the right to carry a sceptre, as well as knights, who were represented in armour.

The image of a knight in armour, which was later adopted by overlords, was to become fixed in the fourteenth century as the idealised stereotypical representation of the deceased depicted in an attitude of prayer. However, this image of the knight had earlier been subject to variations in its gestures and in the meaning of the principal symbol, the sword.¹ At the same time, this representation had to compete with that of the already current and more widespread image of a figure expressing adoration in its gestures.

The image of the *orant*²

A large number of twelfth-century monuments were erected after the death of those commemorated, and relate to great and famous individuals, such as saints and the saintly, who were particularly revered by the faithful because of their virtuous lives. The iconography of female effigies is often that of the *orant*, a figure shown in prayer. A good example is the slab of St



Alène in the church of Saint-Denis in Forest near Brussels (Fig. 1).³ She herself was the subject of legend, so the slab dates from the elevation of her relics in 1193. The saint – her head is nimbed – is standing, her right hand open, and the palm turned outwards in a gesture of adoration, while in her left hand she holds a book, which represents the bible.⁴ These two motifs – the open hand and the book – are complementary and are commonly found together in the absence of any other symbolism. The open hand gesture by itself, however, is also associated with other motifs; for example, the posthumous effigy of Plectrude (d. 689) in the church of St Maria im Kapitol in Cologne (Germany), dating around 1125–30, is shown with a scroll in the left hand.⁵ This *orant* motif is also encountered on male tombs, an example being the effigy of Gilbert, abbot of Maria-Laach (d. 1152), who is represented with his left hand open and holding a crosier with his right (Fig. 2).⁶ At Enger (Westphalia) the high-relief tomb of c.1130 to the Saxon king Widukind, who according to legend died in 807, represents him as an *orant* with his open right hand raised and a sceptre in his left.⁷ Around 1160, the tomb of Queen Fredegund (d. 596), originally in the abbey of Saint-Denis, shows her with a sceptre in her right hand and her left held open. These examples highlight a potential problem with the relative hierarchy of these two motifs, *viz.* whether the open hand gesture should be associated with the right hand or the left. Hence, the continued use of these two motifs was confusing and resulted in one or other of them being abandoned, as was the case for other tombs showing conflicting symbolism, such as that on the tomb of Childebert, again at Saint-Denis, where the founder's model of the church is combined with the sceptre.⁸

The iconography of the *orant* is not restricted to funerary or commemorative roles. In Romanesque art it is also associated with figures of the apostles and the Virgin, for instance, but on effigial tombs it was very much the desired model, if not the norm. That said, the

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1. Tomb of St Alène (c.1193), church of St Denis, Forest.
After W.F. Greeny, *Illustrations of incised slabs on the Continent of Europe from rubbings and tracings* (Norwich, 1891), p. 4.

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2. Tomb of Abbot Gilbert (d.1152), originally abbey of Maria-Laach, now Landesmuseum, Bonn.

Photo: author

effigy was not always the dominant form of representation at the end of the twelfth century, as shown by the tomb of Alix de Namur (d. 1169) in the collegiate church of Sainte-Waudru, Mons. It comprises a thick slab of granite bearing a cross that is sculpted in high relief. The *orant* motif was not used here, although it was employed on the monument to her husband, Count Baudouin IV of Hainaut, who died two years later in 1171. Once located in the same church, but since lost, this tomb is known from several different accounts.⁹ The count wears a long tunic and cloak, his head encircled by a coronet, and with his right hand open, the other carrying a book.

There are no further *orant* representations of noblemen following Count Baudouin's tomb. Instead, around the time of its production another iconographic type emerged, showing the deceased as an armed man brandishing his sword. This image radically changed the iconography of tomb monuments, at least as regards male effigies. Even so, the *orant* type also disappeared from female monuments, although here it was due to a straightforward evolution in their design, showing the deceased with their hands in an attitude of prayer. The sense of a divine apparition suggested by the hand gesture of the *orant* is thus replaced by one of personal devotion. The tomb of Marguerite d'Alsace (d. 1194) in the collegiate church of St Donatian in Bruges is probably the oldest tomb monument to feature an effigy with its hands at prayer (Fig. 3).¹⁰ The figure is enclosed within an elaborate architectural surround that contains niches within which are smaller, secondary figures of mitred bishops swinging censers. This tomb is usually dated towards the end of the twelfth century, and all known subsequent monuments to women use the same motif of showing the hands at prayer.¹¹ There is now a clear distinction, therefore, between the ways in which men and women were depicted on monuments: the women were shown at prayer, while men in armour brandished their swords.

The image of the armed man

The tomb of William of Normandy, *alias* Guillaume Cliton (d. 1128), originally situated in the abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer, is the oldest known monument depicting an armed man brandishing his sword. It is known from two early-seventeenth-century drawings (Fig. 4).¹² He is depicted wearing a large hauberk, split up the front and ending in mail mittens covering the hands. His legs are protected by mail while spurs are fastened to his ankles; the head is enclosed within a mail coif and a cylindrical helm with a rounded top and a nose-piece. His right hand is holding a sword pointing upwards; the sword is bare – as the tip of the scabbard is just visible under the shield, which is of the large, almond-shaped, Norman type, drawn up to the neck. This is a completely new monumental design concept as it breaks with the usual *orant* representation without any transitional changes.

Guillaume Cliton had succeeded Charles of Denmark (known as Charles the Good) as count of Flanders after the latter's assassination in Bruges in 1127. From among the claimants to the title, King Louis VI of France had thereupon chosen Guillaume Cliton, expecting him to rally support in Flanders against English interests. Guillaume failed to win over the lords and cities of Flanders, however, and was mortally wounded in the battle of Alost in 1128. His body was transported to the abbey church of St Bertin at Saint-Omer, where he had earlier taken orders and where he had also requested to be buried in his monastic habit.¹³ We know nothing about the tomb which was originally erected over his grave and which adjoined that of his cousin Baudouin VII, count of Flanders. According to the chronicler Jean of Ypres, Baudouin VII was commemorated by a monument in gilt copper alloy, but he fails to mention anything about a monument to Guillaume.¹⁴ The memory of Guillaume was revived about fifty years after his death, however, by the monument of c.1175 that we know from the two later drawings (Fig. 4). Yet the reasons behind its erection are unclear, for the usual motive of wishing to signal dynastic continuity does not apply here: Guillaume died unmarried and

without issue. The avant-garde iconography might provide a clue if the patron were known; the most likely candidate is the abbey of St Bertin itself, but this is pure speculation. Whatever the case, Guillaume Cliton's monument is contemporary with the above-mentioned tomb of Count Baudouin IV of Hainaut, on which the deceased is depicted in a tunic and in an *orant* pose. These two examples illustrate how in 1175 there co-existed two distinct iconographic types.

The figure of an armed man brandishing a sword is found on two other monuments from the end of the twelfth century: one is to Nicolas de Rumigny, and the other to Count Baudouin V of Hainaut. The tomb of Nicolas de Rumigny originally bore an effigy sculpted in high relief, but the monument is best appraised from an antiquarian drawing (Fig. 5);¹⁵ only poorly preserved fragments of it remain in the ruins of the abbey of Bonnefontaine, nowadays a private house in Blanchefosse-et-Bay (Département des Ardennes, France). Nicolas is depicted in a large mail hauberk without any mittens over the hands, and on his head a cylindrical helm with a flat top with slits over the eyes and nose. His right hand holds aloft his bare sword, while the left supports a large shield. In the drawing the right hand is mistakenly shown in reverse. The shield bears the arms of Rumigny-Florennes. In 1152–54 Nicolas de Rumigny-Florennes founded the Cistercian monastery of Bonnefontaine at Blanchefosse, where he was buried in 1163, so this monument is believed to be that of the abbey's founder. In comparison with the tomb of Guillaume Cliton, the style of armour depicted on de Rumigny's effigy suggests it to be at least a decade later, perhaps more, so dating to c.1175–95. The unknown patron could thus be Nicolas III of Rumigny (d. 1175) or his son Nicolas IV (d. 1206).

Blanchefosse is approximately twenty kilometres from Rumigny. The lords of Rumigny had for a long time also been lords of Florennes in the principedom of Liège. By virtue of his marriage to Eve de Chièvres, heiress of that eponymous lordship, Nicolas III became one of the lords in the county of Hainaut and lived more at Chièvres than anywhere else. His son Nicolas IV was also one of the barons of Hainaut.¹⁶ Could the iconography of the tomb of the founder of the abbey of Bonnefontaine, located within the abbey itself, have been inspired by its patron – whether Nicolas III or IV – and the Hainaut artistic milieu? An appraisal of the tomb of their suzerain, Count Baudouin V of Hainaut, is useful in trying to clarify things.

The monument to Count Baudouin V (d. 1195) is lost, but knowledge of it can be gleaned from the same sources as for that of his father Baudouin IV, which has already been cited.¹⁷ One description reads 'sa tombe est de marbre poli eslevée sur 4 lyons, au dessus de laquelle est ung homme armé, le heaume en teste, tenant l'espée à dextre et à la gauche son escu' (His tomb slab is of black marble, supported on four lions, on top of which is the figure of an armed man, a helmet on his head, holding a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left).¹⁸ The monument thus followed the effigial imagery introduced on that of Guillaume Cliton and then used on the tomb of Nicolas de Rumigny. One element of the design is unclear, however: is the sword pointing up or down? The typological variations will be analysed below. However, as a large number of the monuments based on the 'princely' design show the sword pointing upwards and mimicking the pose of holding the sceptre, it is likely that Baudouin V's sword followed suit. Indeed, this lost monument can perhaps be imagined when we look at the later, well-preserved example at Ghent that commemorates Hugo II, lord of Ghent (Fig. 6).¹⁹

Baudouin was the husband of Marguerite d'Alsace, daughter of Thierry d'Alsace, count of Flanders (1128–68), and he succeeded his rival Guillaume Cliton to the title. After the death without issue of Thierry's son Philippe d'Alsace in 1191, the title passed to his brother-in-law, Baudouin V of Hainaut, afterwards styled Baudouin VIII of Flanders. The tomb of Marguerite has already been described as an innovative manifestation of female tomb iconography. Consequently, these tomb effigies of husband and wife are completely different in conception: the man is dressed for battle, while his lady is at prayer. It is interesting to note, however, that



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3. Drawing of the tomb of Marguerite d'Alsace (d.1194) in the church of St Donat, Bruges (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS II 1862, fol. 87r).

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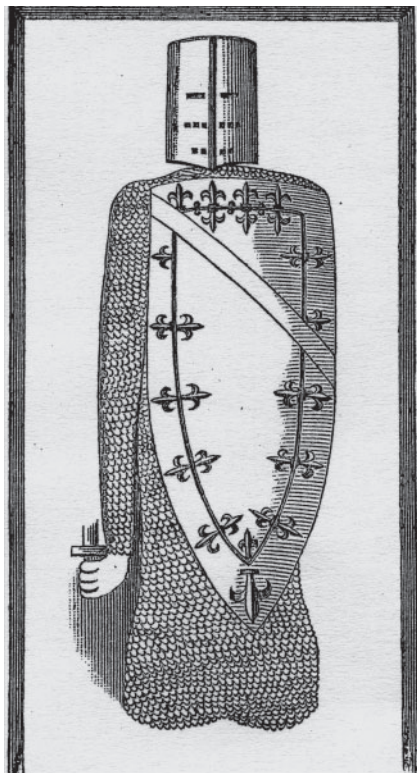
4. Drawing of the tomb of Guillaume Cliton (d. 1128, c.1175). Saint-Omer, abbey of St Bertin (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS II 1862, fol. 43r).

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5. Drawing of the tomb of Nicolas de Rumigny (d. 1163?) at Blanchefosse (Ardenne, France).
From: C.G. Roland, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Rumigny-Florennes, Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*, 19 (1891), fig. 25.

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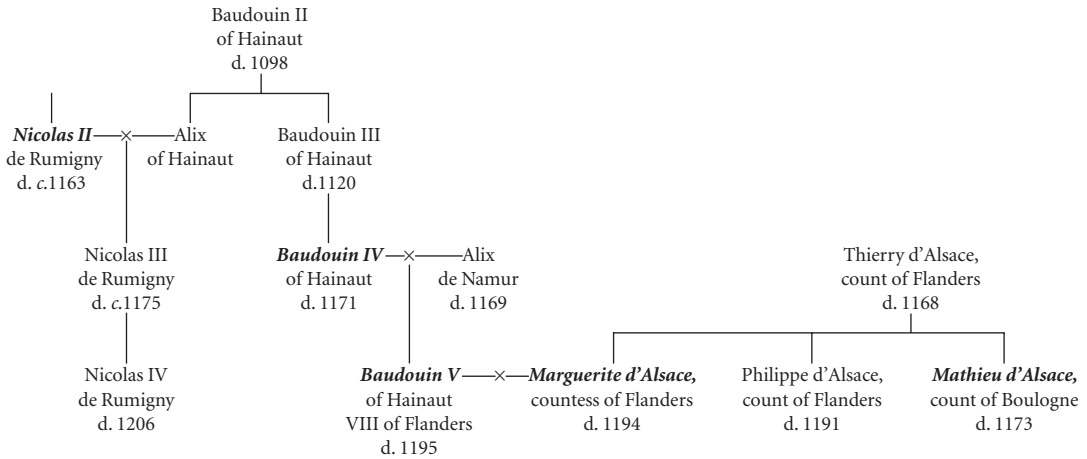


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6. Tomb of Hugo II of Ghent (d.1232), originally at abbey Nieuwenbossche, near Ghent, now Bylokemuseum, Ghent.

Photo: courtesy
R. Op de Beeck,
Antwerp

Table 1 Kinship and alliances of the Houses of Flanders, Hainaut and Rumigny.
The names in italics are those of the tombs described.



these monuments are clearly linked by a number of common features. A 1728 description by Du Mont de Holdre of Baudouin's tomb continues, '*elle portait en bas-relief diverses figures d'église et de quelques prélats mitrés et officiants*' (*there are figures of priests and mitred bishops sculpted in low relief*).²⁰ This brief description recalls the type of figures that are situated on the effigy slab of Marguerite d'Alsace, and again on another monument at Bruay-en-Artois that commemorates St Pharaïlde.²¹ This composition with the effigy of the deceased flanked by columns with superimposed niches containing mitred figures is the same on all three monuments. All these features suggest a common sculptural origin, or at the very least an idea conceived within the same artistic milieu. The monument to Baudouin V was probably erected shortly after his death in 1195. In 1212 his son left on the crusades and died in the Balkans after having been crowned emperor of Constantinople; at that time his daughters Joan and Marguerite were minors.

One important tomb commemorating a member of the same family (see Table 1) and dating from the last quarter of the century remains to be discussed. Mathieu d'Alsace (d. 1173), the brother of Marguerite and of Count Thierry d'Alsace, lived the life of a reprobate and was removed from the line of succession to the county of Flanders. His tomb is preserved in the museum at Boulogne-sur-Mer (Fig. 7).²² It is badly damaged but is still evocative of that of his brother-in-law Baudouin V. Sculpted in high relief in black marble, he is represented in armour with his head covered by a mail coif, but there is no helm, thus leaving his face open to view. In his right hand he holds his sword close by the hip; his left hand holds his shield to shoulder height. He wears a gown or coat armour over the hauberk, a feature that provides a *terminus a quo* of the last decade of the twelfth century, if we take into account the evidence of seals as well as tomb monuments.²³ The 'lowered' position of the sword, close to the body, still recalls the role of a warrior but is far less martial than the upwards brandishing of a drawn sword.

As shown above, the image of a nobleman brandishing his sword does not evolve from that of the *orant* type, nor does this new iconography emerge from the older variety; they are completely different concepts. Moreover, the tombs of Counts Baudouin IV and V, who died respectively in 1171 and 1195, strongly suggest that this transition from one to the other was accomplished within the space of twenty to twenty-five years.

Equestrian seals

The effigy of Guillaume Cliton – considered here as the prototype of this new iconography – highlights a problem of representation, however. The count, who normally fought in armour on horseback, is indeed portrayed in armour – but on foot. This incongruity stems from the need to compose the commemorative image within a rectangle, which was the conventional form of a tomb slab, and to the appropriate dimensions.

This tomb iconography derives from the format of the equestrian seal. On these, the noble is depicted in all his glory: he drives his army into battle, riding his horse at full gallop and brandishing his sword. During the period when the monument to Guillaume Cliton was made, the equestrian seal was the only available and widespread image of a nobleman. This image had by then been in use for more than a century in Flanders, and almost as long in Hainaut; it was adopted by all the provinces in modern-day Belgium around 1175–80.²⁴ Consequently, it can be argued that grand equestrian seals such as those of Philippe d'Alsace (in use from 1163 to 1190) (Figs 8–9) provided the inspiration behind the monument of Guillaume Cliton.²⁵ The counter-seal shows Philippe with a banner from which the image of a nobleman with a lance on monuments perhaps originated.

The earliest equestrian seals were in use prior to the first crusade, early examples being those of Godfrey of Bouillon and of William the Conqueror dated 1069.²⁶ The adoption of the image of the nobleman brandishing his sword on monumental effigies three generations later might be due to the influence of St Bernard who, after the fiasco of the second crusade, used the image of the ideal Christian knight in his preaching. The sword plays a prominent role in the sacralisation of the knight as *defensor fidei* (defender of the faith): it is the most important element of a knight's equipment and was used as a metaphor by St Paul in Ephesians 6:14–17:

Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

The image of the knight was so crucial that even Christ was presented as such. A figure of *Christus armiger* in a mail coat and holding a staff can be observed on the gable of the shrine of St Hadelin in the church of St Martin in Visé.²⁷ Equally, as regards the tortuous question about the use of a Christian sword, asked of Jesus in the Garden of Olives, 'Lord, shall we smite with the sword?' (Luke 22:49), St Paul identified and defined the two functions of the double-edged sword mentioned in Revelations 1:16. This sword should be used to promote justice and execute punishment (Romans 13:4), and the sword is the spirit, *i.e.* the word of God (Ephesians 6:17).

The image of the armed knight had multiple connotations. The sword is its emblem; it is with the sword that the knight is anointed and it likewise sanctified the kings of France in their coronation ceremonies. Similarly, an oath is sworn on a cross formed by the sword blade and the sheath. Therefore, despite the martial implications, this image of the knight was permitted on tomb monuments within churches. The sanctified image of the knight as *defensor fidei* became widely disseminated. The equestrian seals of the princes were also adopted by the barons and the minor aristocracy in all the principalities, such that the princely image merged with that of a knight, eventually becoming indistinguishable.

Typology

As we have seen, the equestrian seal illustrates two types of gesture: the knight either brandishes a sword or he holds a lance. Consequently, on tomb monuments a standing knight is likewise depicted in one or other of these varieties, with either a sword or a lance, the former being more



7. Tomb of Mathieu d'Alsace (d. 1173, c.1200), originally at abbey Saint-Josse, near Montreuil (Pas-de-Calais, France), now Castle Museum, Boulogne. From: *Soil de Morialmé, 'Les anciennes industries d'art tounaisiennes à l'exposition de 1911'*, Annales de la Société Historique et Archéologique de Tournai, nouvelle série, 15, (1912), pl. XXIII.



8. Seal and counter-seal of Philippe d'Alsace (1163–1190). From: Vredius, *Sigilla comitum Flandriae* [...] (Bruges, 1639), pp. 21, 19.



9. Seal of Philippe d'Alsace (1170). From: R. Laurent, *Les sceaux des princes territoriaux belges* (Brussels, 1993), p. 19.

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10. Drawing of the tomb of Guillaume Cliton (d. 1128, c.1175), abbey of St Bertin, Saint-Omer.
 From: *Vredius, Sigilla comitum Flandriae* [...] (Bruges, 1639), p. 14.

11. Slab of Alard de Chimay (c.1220), collegiate church, Molhain (Ardennes, France).

Photo: author

12. Brass of King Menved of Denmark (d. 1319), Ringsted Cathedral (Denmark). From W.F. Creeny,
A book of fac-similes of monumental brasses on the Continent of Europe (London, 1884), p. 3.

common. The image of a knight with a sword on a tomb monument could thus be understood as representing the idealised knight. Yet there are numerous iconographic connotations which complicate the distinction between the symbolism of the entire image and the particular sword motif, as indicated by the various ways of representing the sword. The way in which a sword is depicted relates directly to the action of the man handling it, as well as to his being shown in armour. A typological analysis of the motifs has to consider both of these characteristics.

The sword is depicted in two distinct ways: either sheathed or with a naked blade, and in any sword-handling effigial pose with the point turned either up or down. Combining these modes produces four iconographical types, from which further variations were developed in an effort to perfect the ideal tomb iconography. First of all, the bare erect swords of Guillaume Cliton (Fig. 10) and of Alard de Chimay at Molhain (Fig. 11) are being held by a man prepared

for combat. The knight in both examples is protected by a hauberk of mail and a helmet, but the sword is added as an offensive weapon to supplement this defence: it is unsheathed and shown before being used to strike. This type of image is not at all funerary in origin: it serves to evoke religious figures in biblical scenes, such as Abraham on the point of sacrificing Isaac; angels such as St Michael; and also male and female saints such as Sts George, Paul and Catherine. Its use on tomb monuments is matched by that on heraldic seals, and in both cases the image is an emphatic illustration of power.

Needless to say, there are obvious sculptural problems in transposing such an image from a seal to a monument. The rounded form of the seal allows freedom of composition with regard to an equestrian figure, whereas the elongated outline of a tomb slab is restrictive and requires the composition to be unnaturally contorted, unless the effigy is shown standing. Even so there are problems, which are illustrated by the monument to Nicolas de Rumigny, where the gestures seem rather forced. Similarly unusual is the way in which Guillaume Cliton's head is turned to the right, which may have been influenced by the pose adopted by some riders on their seals.

A second way in which the drawn and upright sword is depicted is when it is held by an otherwise unarmed man sumptuously dressed in civilian clothes. The hand holding the sword is close to the chest or belt, and the blade lies obliquely across the shoulder.²⁸ Here the sword is a purely emblematic representation of the sceptre, mimicking the image of an enthroned prince in majesty. In this variation of the sword-handling attitude, the sword is usually sheathed and the man is only rarely shown standing. This type can be found on royal and aristocratic monuments, a famous example in the museum at Le Mans being the enamelled figure of Geoffroy Plantagenet (d. 1151), which is the sole surviving component of a shrine or reliquary.²⁹ It shows Geoffroy in a standing position wearing a long tunic and fur-lined coat; in his right hand he holds a raised sword while he protects himself with a large tapering shield on the other arm. He thus looks at once to be a formidable combination of prince and warrior, being presented simultaneously as the protector and defender of the Church.

Also exceptional is the effigy of Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony at Brunswick. Its iconography recalls the above-mentioned tomb of Childebert at Saint-Denis in using two motifs: one being the model of the church that he founded and where he was buried, and the second being that of the sword. In this instance the sword is held upright in the left hand, sheathed, and parallel with the body. The iconography of this monument resonates with the brass of King Eric Menved of Denmark (d. 1319) at Ringsted (Fig. 12). The king is depicted crowned and dressed in an elaborate heraldic tunic, holding a bare sword erect in his right hand and his sceptre in the left. The sword is unsheathed yet the image is clearly one of a king in majesty, despite the sword motif dominating the sceptre, which is held in the left rather than the seemingly more potent right hand.³⁰

The 'ruler in majesty' type exemplified by these royal tombs was taken up by other monuments of the aristocracy of the Holy Roman Empire. A later example is the high tomb of Duke Henri IV of Silesia (d. 1290) at Breslau.³¹ In addition, the celebrated 'Gallery of the Princes', *i.e.* the family chapel in Naumburg Cathedral, furnishes examples of all the possible postural variations of a knight with a sword, which indicate a reduction in the status of the 'imperial image' to that of a knight, or indeed a mere man at arms. The 'prince' represented by this formulaic image is now recognisable only by the tunic he wears.

This imagery is only rarely encountered in the tomb iconography of the Low Countries, perhaps because its double origins suggested an ambiguity. One example is the monument to Godefroid des Fontaines, once in the Dominican church at Liège and now known only from a drawing of 1615.³² The effigy is in armour, the head hidden by a cylindrical helm with a crest on top, an heraldic gown covers the mail hauberk and he holds an oval shield in his left hand.



In his right hand he holds a sword, the blade of which rests on his shoulder. Two more examples are known from the Liège region. The first of these is an incised slab, now very worn, to Tilman van Wilre, knight, in the church of the Franciscans at Maastricht.³³ The other, known only from a drawing, was in the abbey of Val-Dieu at Charneux. It commemorated a knight, Ernold de Neufchâteau, who is represented with his sword held across his body.³⁴

Third, the posture of a knight holding a sword with the point to the ground is one which may be interpreted as suggesting that the knight is making a challenge to combat, two lost monuments, already mentioned, demonstrating this attitude. The first is that of the knight Renaud, once at the abbey of Saint-Vaast in Arras (Fig. 13). This effigy was sculpted in full relief and is known from a beautiful drawing by de Sutta.³⁵ Renaud died in 1221, although his monument dates from the period following. The sword is unsheathed and held by the hand resting on the *quillons*. The other monument was in the abbey of Villers-la-Ville and commemorated Pierre de Marbais, and is known from a drawing by the herald Le Fort (Fig. 14).³⁶ The posture is identical; the shield however, being smaller in size, suggests a later date. In both of these examples the effigy is in armour and the sword is unsheathed. This attitude is less aggressive than that where the sword is raised, but may be regarded as no less warlike. There is a difference in meaning between the two iconographies, but it is subtle.

Fourth, the final posture to consider is that with the sword pointed downwards and kept inside its scabbard; the juxtaposition of the body is important, whether or not the sword is hung from a *baudrier* or arse-girdle. At Boulogne, on the tomb of Mathieu d'Alsace, mentioned above, he holds his sword close by him as if he truly treasured it, with his hand slightly lower than the cross-guard. The sheath bears an inscription which records his accidental death; it is a unique example.

The sword is more commonly found simply hanging

above left

13. Drawing of the tomb of Renaud de St Vaast (d. 1221), abbey of St Vaast, Arras (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS II 1862, fol. 25v).

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14. Drawing of the tomb of Pierre de Marbais (d. 1258) at the ancient abbey of Villers-la-Ville (Liège, Archives de l'État à Liège, MS Le Fort, IV, 23).

Photo: author, by permission of Archives de l'État à Liège





left to right

15. Slab of Willem van Hamal (d. 1279), St Stevenskerk, 's Herenelderen (Limburg, Belgium). London, Victoria & Albert Museum, N° E-1481-1922.

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16. Drawing of the tomb of Louis de Looz (d. 1218) in the ancient abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert, Seraing, near Liège (Rocheport, MS Langius, fol. 234).

Photo: author, by permission of the abbey of Rocheport

17. Slab of the knight Antoine (c.1250), originally at the priory of Saint-Nicolas-en-Glain, near Liège, now Musée Curtius, Liège. *From: Cahiers de l'Institut archéologique liégeois, III (1985), vol. 2, no. 102, pl. 76.*

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from the arse-girdle. This formula gives rise to several possibilities: the hand of the knight is laid on the pommel as if the sword has just been sheathed; or his hand seems just about to draw the sword from its sheath; or this last action has just started. Such postures were developed in England from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, although its evolution is independent of the pattern used in the Low Countries.³⁷ A single example of this type is found at Vouziers, in a region bordering France, on the incised slab to Baudouin de Vandy (d. 1275).³⁸ Here the knight puts one hand on the pommel of the sword and holds the top edge of his shield with the other. A relief effigy of a Sire de Montchâlons at Laon shows him with his right hand placed against the front of his shield at waist height, but the pose is far from convincing and it is likely that it is provincial work.³⁹

The other potent emblem of chivalry is the lance. Equestrian seals which show the lance dynamically portray the rider in action; but on tomb monuments the commemorated have a tranquillity about them, although they are clearly alive. To the lance is attached a *fanion*, like a banner (Fig. 15), or a *gonfalon* (Fig. 16).⁴⁰ They are rarely without some kind of decoration (Fig. 17). When the knight is depicted with a lance he holds it in his right hand, while the left is

laid on the edge of his shield hanging from the harness, or pointing at the ground.⁴¹ The iconographies of the sword and lance became widely diffused over the first half of the thirteenth century; concurrently the fashion for using equestrian seals was taken up by courtiers and the aristocracy.⁴² Yet the dissemination of the iconography of the tomb monument was much more potent, as not only did a monument have an enormous visual impact but it was open to public view compared to the relative privacy of a seal.

Distribution

The iconography of the knight 'with sword' appeared at the end of the twelfth century, the tombs of Guillaume Cliton and Nicolas de Rumigny being the earliest examples, followed by others after a considerable interval – as much as a generation. On the tombs of individual knights, its use continued throughout the thirteenth century without any developments until the last quarter of the century.

In the Low Countries, *lato sensu*, there are forty-one monuments dating to before 1300 that portray one or other variations on the postures adopted with a weapon of attack – the sword and lance – as noted above. Appendix 1 lists the stylistic classifications. Yet the distribution between these two basic types is unequal: thirty-one of the group are 'with sword' and only ten are 'with lance'. This latter group is concentrated in and around Liège. Among the thirty-one knights 'with sword', twenty-five – *i.e.* 80% – follow the model established by Guillaume Cliton in having a bare sword held upright. Other cases already noted show the bare sword pointing to the ground, *viz.* on the monuments of Sir Renaud at Arras and that of Pierre de Marbais at Villers-la-Ville. The sword resting on the shoulder is depicted on three tombs at Liège, Maastricht and the Abbey of Val-Dieu, whereas the sword within its sheath is found on two final tombs, *viz.* on the effigy of Mathieu d'Alsace at Boulogne, who is holding the sword close by his side, and on that of a knight at Vouziers who rests his hand on the pommel. Crucially, these first twenty-five monuments, which comprise both high relief tombs and incised slabs, form an iconographic core that depict the upright sword on which the others are based.

Of the forty-one monuments in total, however, only eleven are extant, with the remaining thirty now lost. Two of these are known from the *Memoriaux* of de Succa; Henri Nowé recorded eight others in various publications, and added here are details of nineteen more extracted from various archival sources, but mainly from Liège, as in Appendix 1. Of the thirty lost monuments, thirteen are known from drawings and sketches (nos 1, 13, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38 and 41), and seventeen from written accounts. These antiquarian notes date from the sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries and are generally brief in the details they record of the tomb, as they are written by genealogists, hardly ever by historians, and so they have only a minor interest in the postures of the effigies. However, whenever these sources mention the figure holding a sword 'in a fist' then it most likely means that the sword is held upwards – and it has been taken as such here. Eleven monuments are known from the drawings of the herald Le Fort or from their reference to the sword being held in a fist, which most likely carries the same meaning.

The iconography of the knight with either a sword or a lance spread during the thirteenth century throughout the region bounded by the rivers Escaut and Meuse and their tributaries. This geographical region also coincides with the area of distribution of sculptures made in polishable black carboniferous limestones. It thus effectively transgressed the political borders between the Holy Roman Empire and the kingdom of France as well as demonstrating a spread towards the southern Netherlands, coincident with the great territorial expansion of Flanders, such that it also extended south to the county of Artois. These works are found in all the Belgian regions of that time, except Luxembourg and Chiny, namely Flanders, Hainaut, Namur and Looz, the duchies of Brabant and Limbourg, and the ecclesiastical province of Liège.

The oldest monuments are found mainly in the county of Flanders. They comprise chest tombs and slabs raised up on independent supports, such as that to Lord Hugo II of Ghent (d. 1232), which is the only well-preserved example (Fig. 6).⁴³ The same effigial type of knight with an upright sword, sculpted in relief, was found elsewhere in the county, such as on the monument (now lost) to Siger, châtelain of Ghent (d. 1227) at Bornem⁴⁴; in an anonymous effigy at Harelbeke⁴⁵; on the monument to Gérard de Saint-Omer in the abbey of Clairmarais⁴⁶; and probably also on that to Gérard de Grimbergen at Ninove. The lost monument to Renaud de Saint-Vaast at Arras (Fig. 13) portrays the knight holding his sword in the lowered position.⁴⁷ All these effigies were sculpted in high relief in Tournai marble, the slabs being raised up from the floor on supports. The tomb of Louis de Looz in the abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert is most likely of Mosan origin, however, although it is also dated from the first quarter of the thirteenth century and seems to have been a particularly prestigious work (Fig. 16).⁴⁸

Following the production of these three-dimensional high tombs, incised slabs with this iconography appeared at the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Two examples are extant, the first at Molhain portraying Alard de Chimai as a knight with a sword (Fig. 11).⁴⁹ The second one to a nobleman known only as Antoine, which was once at Saint-Nicolas-en-Glain and is now in the Musée Curtius in Liège, depicts a knight with a lance (Fig. 17).⁵⁰ The effigy to Pierre de Marbais in the abbey of Villers-la-Ville (Brabant) is recorded in a drawing that shows the figure with a sword pointing down (Fig. 14).⁵¹ At the extreme west of the principality of Liège, on the banks of the Sambre, the abbey of Aulne once housed several tombs of knights with raised swords; that to an anonymous knight (d. 1223) is the oldest dated slab of this type, followed shortly after by another monument to one Otbert (d. 1233).⁵²

The fashion for three-dimensional tombs with this sword iconography declined after the 1230s, and it was the incised slab which became the primary form of tomb monument to disseminate the iconography of the knight with a sword or with a lance. Apart from the above-mentioned slab of Alard de Chimai at Molhain, there are in the principality of Liège the slabs of Georges de Nivèrlée (d. 1262) in a village of the same name (Fig. 18); that of Tilman van Wilre at Maastricht; and one of a knight with a lance to Eustache de Hognoul (d. 1269) at Hognoul.⁵³ Lost Liège monuments are known from various drawings, some of which are extremely summary, such as those of the incised slabs of Gachard de Peis (d. 1248) in the church of the Franciscans in Liège; of Louis de Flemalle in the abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert at Seraing; of Godefroid de Fontaines in the church of the Dominicans at Liège; of Jacques de Horion (d. 1256) in the church of the Franciscans at Huy; and of Henri de Flémalle (d. 1275) in the abbey of Flône.⁵⁴

In the county of Hainaut, besides the tomb of Count Baudoin V at Mons, the church of Saint-Paul at Valenciennes houses the tomb of Thierry de Bevre of c.1240, while the abbey of Cambron has two tombs with knights with a sword, *viz.* a knight of the de Ligne family and Arnould d'Enghien.⁵⁵ In the county of Namur the tomb of Henri de Han, once in the priory of Oignies, is known from a drawing (Fig. 20).⁵⁶ At Namèche (near Namur), the lost tomb of Guillaume de Goumignies (d. 1255) appears to show him with his sword in hand.⁵⁷ In the duchy of Brabant the abbey of Villers-la-Ville originally housed two monuments: one commemorated Pierre de Marbais, but it has now disappeared (Fig. 14).⁵⁸ The other is an extant incised slab to Wauthier de Houtain (Fig. 21), which demonstrates the persistence of this iconography up to the end of the century as well as the assured skill of the craftsmen responsible.⁵⁹

There are yet more examples. The county of Looz boasts the remarkable slab of Willem van Hamal at 's Herenelderden (Fig. 15), showing the type of the knight with a lance, which in this case is decorated with a prominent banner.⁶⁰ The abbey of Val-Dieux at Charneux in the duchy of Limbourg houses three slabs featuring knights with a sword, which commemorate Renier



clockwise from top left

18. Rubbing of the slab of Georges de Nivèrlée (d. 1262), church of the Assumption, Nivèrlée (prov. Namur) (Société archéologique de Namur).

Photo: author, by permission of Société archéologique de Namur



19. Drawing of the slab of Eustache de Hognoul (d. 1269), church of St Pierre, Hognoul, near Liège (Université de Liège, Bibliothèque générale de Philosophie et Lettres, MS 3338, fol. 37).

Photo: author, by permission of Université de Liège

20. Drawing of the slab of Henri de Han (13th century), ancient priory church of Oignies (Hainaut) (Liège, Archives de l'État à Liège, MS Le Fort, IV, 23).

Photo: author, by permission of Archives de l'État à Liège

21. Drawing of the slab of Wauthier de Houtain (c.1290–1300), ancient abbey of Villers-la-Ville.

Photo: courtesy R. Op de Beeck, Antwerp





de Neufchâteau, Lambert de Peves (d. 1262), and Ernold de Neufchâteau.⁶¹ In the county of Flanders, a slab of an anonymous knight is now preserved in the Musée Lapidaire of the abbey of St Bavo in Ghent (Fig. 22).⁶²

The image of the knight 'with sword' was evidently largely restricted to the principalities of the Low Countries and did not spread widely in continental Europe. For France, however, we have the evidence of the Gaignières drawings, albeit that these concentrate on regions to the west of the country, Burgundy, Paris and the Île-de-France.⁶³ These drawings also include several examples of thirteenth-century tombs of knights, but with a subtly different iconography from those of the Low Countries. The French knight is represented in armour but with his hands together. Out of several dozen thirteenth-century tombs only one shows the type of knight with a sword, in this case with the blade bare and raised up vertically in front of him.⁶⁴ Eleven monuments show the type of the knight with a lance, in three of which the lance is integral to the function of the commemorated, *viz. vidame* or *advocatus* of the abbey of Joshaphat, *vidame* of Châlons, and a valet to the king.⁶⁵ The other eight are in Burgundy, of which the latest in date are from the early fourteenth century.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the drawings show some monuments which are non-effigial and have only the emblem of a sheathed sword on them;⁶⁷ a model not found at all in the Low Countries. In addition, there are a few monuments that portray the knight with his sword in its sheath by his side.⁶⁸ Yet the iconography of the Low Countries variety of a knight with a sword essentially originated and developed differently from France, where the posture of a knight with hands at prayer was the predominant model. Nonetheless, there are *caveats* in this interpretation inasmuch as the Gaignières drawings do not encompass the whole of France. Crucially, the zone which separated the former Low Countries (from modern-day Belgium to the limits of the Holy Roman Empire, Flanders and Artois) from the Île-de-France, was only partially recorded, although a good portion of Picardie is covered.⁶⁹ For instance, an incised slab to a knight, Godefroid de Morialmer (d. 1278) has only recently been discovered at Compiègne; it is made from black (probably Tournai) marble (Fig. 23).⁷⁰ The area of distribution of Tournai and Mosan products to the south is still not assessed here.

above left

22. Slab of an unknown knight (c.1250), former abbey of St Bavo, Ghent.

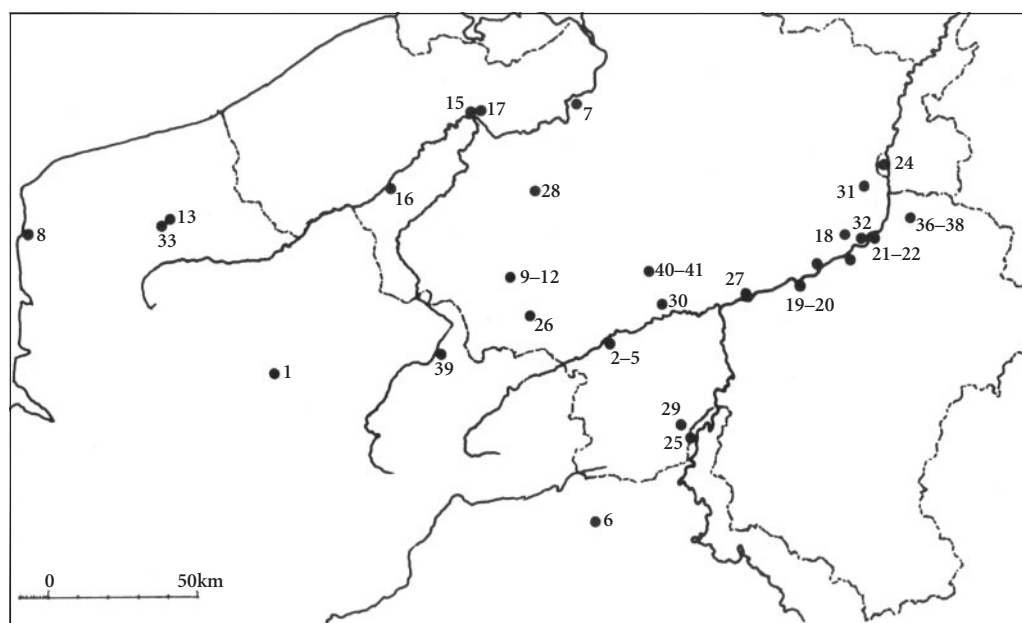
Photo: courtesy R. Op de Beeck, Antwerp

left

23. Slab of Godefroid de Morialmer (d. 1278), church of St Antoine, Compiègne (Oise, France). From: Ph. Racinet, *Inventaire et étude d'une série de dalles funéraires médiévales et modernes à Compiègne, Oise*, *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, 1/2 (1996), p. 165.

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24. Map of the tombs of the knights.

1	Arras	17	Heusden	28	Ninove
2–5	Aulne	18	Hognoul	29	Nivelée
6	Blanchefosse	19–20	Huy	30	Oignies
7	Bornem	21–22	Liège	31	's Herenelderen
8	Boulogne	23	Unknown location, near Maastricht	32	Saint-Nicolas-en-Glain
9–12	Cambron	24	Maastricht	33	Saint-Omer
13	Clairmarais	25	Molhain	34–35	Seraing
14	Flône	26	Mons	36–38	Val-Dieu
15	Ghent	27	Namèche	39	Valenciennes
16	Harelbeke			40–41	Villers-la-Ville

In Germany there are many tombs to the aristocracy of the Holy Roman Empire which portray them holding their swords in front with the blade resting on their shoulder. The sword is sheathed and the man is dressed in a tunic, which recalls the image of majesty, as discussed above, rather than that of combat, although this model is not found in the area currently under scrutiny. The typology of the bare and erect sword in fact does not relate at all to that found in the remainder of the Holy Roman Empire, where the sword is depicted sheathed.⁷¹

Unlike France and Germany, England offers few examples of the bare sword being brandished by a knight. Rare exceptions include a group in Co. Durham probably produced in the second half of the thirteenth century, with effigies at Pitlington, Whitworth, Chester-le-Street (two examples) and Hurworth-on-Tees. Another example, in Purbeck marble, is at Wareham (Dorset). Also relevant is a coffin lid at Orton-on-the-Hill (Leicestershire), which has carved at the head end a knight on horseback, flourishing a sword. Yet the image of a knight at the ready to draw his sword, holding his hand at the guard, was the predominant type. As explained, however, this variety developed independently without any influence from continental patterns.⁷² The geographical distribution of the effigial types of knights with a sword and with a lance is given in the map above (Fig. 24). Forty-one tombs are identified, thirty-one being 'with sword' and ten 'with lance'.

Slabs depicting husbands and wives as couples at prayer

The image of a knight on horseback brandishing his sword remained very popular on seals until the end of the Middle Ages, and its use spread throughout western Europe. On tomb monuments, however, it disappeared around 1300, its influence being comparatively shorter and much more geographically restricted. It is difficult to explain why it was abandoned on tombs in the quest for the ideal knightly image, if indeed it persisted on seals.

From the second half of the thirteenth century, instead of married couples having separate monuments, they were increasingly portrayed together on double tombs. The divergent symbolism of monuments erected independently to men and women then current in the Low Countries appeared initially to cause problems in attempting to reconcile the two models. For instance, two effigies produced at around the same time for a husband and wife show completely different types of iconography: Countess Marguerite d'Alsace is portrayed with her hands joined together in prayer, while her husband Baudoin V of Hainaut is represented as a man of action, brandishing his sword. The differences between the figures are far more emphatic than their similarities, yet the same type of architectural surround incorporating small figures is found on both monuments, suggesting a common source. A distinct design problem arises, therefore, when there is a requirement for the two figures to be presented together as a couple, side by side.

Princely monuments easily avoided this difficulty as they continued to adopt the iconography of their representation in majesty, with sceptre in hand; a posture quite compatible with that of a woman at prayer. The tomb of Gerard IV, count of Guelders and Zutphen (d. 1229), and his wife Margaretha of Brabant (d. 1231) in the minster church at Roermond is one of the earliest examples of a double tomb for a married couple.⁷³ The figures of the count and his wife adopt the effigial model of being represented in majesty, although the lack of the sceptre makes this less convincing. The above-mentioned monument of c.1220–40 to Henry the Lion and Matilda of England in Brunswick Cathedral illustrates a compromise: the duchess has her hands together at prayer whereas the duke holds his sceptre in one hand and his sheathed sword in the other.⁷⁴ This princely iconography is also evident in the effigies on the tombs of the dukes of Brabant, of whom three died in the space of three decades. Henry I (d. 1235) in the church of Saint-Pierre at Louvain is portrayed truly in majesty, sceptre in hand.⁷⁵ His son Henry II (d. 1248) at the abbey of Villers-la-Ville is shown dressed in an elaborate courtly tunic, but he has abandoned the sceptre and holds his hands at prayer.⁷⁶ Henry III (d. 1261) at the church of the Dominicans in Louvain is in armour alongside his wife, with his hands again at prayer.⁷⁷

The iconography of the commemorated at prayer on the tombs of married couples seems to become the standard form after the middle of the thirteenth century. One of the oldest known representations of a couple both of whom with their hands at prayer is found on the incised slab to Engelbert of Enghien (d. 1205) and Ida of Avesnes (d. 1243/6), formerly at Bellinghen but now in the *Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Brussels (Fig. 25).⁷⁸ Depicted beside his wife, Engelbert has his sword already sheathed to permit him to use his hands to pray, yet his head is encased in his helm as if he were reluctant to relinquish his readiness for combat. This curious compromise illustrates the problem of the development of a particular image that was initially abandoned, only to re-emerge a little later on the slab of Jean de Courtrai (d. 1317) and his wife at Dimechaux.⁷⁹ Both figures here are represented with their hands at prayer, as was usual in the last three decades of the thirteenth century; there are similar depictions on a joint slab – this time to a father and daughter – (1271) at Ghent and on the slab of a mother and her son (1277) at Seilles, near Namur.⁸⁰ The first example depicts the couple as civilians yet the man on the second slab wears armour. Other slabs of couples are found post-1260, but there is little to be said about the postures and gestures of these effigies. Only one slab is



25. Slab of Englebert d'Enguien and Ide d'Avesnes (c.1260), Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.

Photo: author



26. Drawing of the slab of Godefroid de Soheit (d. 1310) and Mathilde de Reisenberghe (d. 1297), present whereabouts unknown (Liège, Archives de l'État à Liège, MS Le Fort, IV, 23).

Photo: author, by permission of Archives de l'État à Liège

known to have featured a figure of a knight brandishing his sword with his wife beside him at prayer (Fig. 26), but it dates to the end of the century and seems an extreme case.⁸¹

It seems likely, therefore, that the iconography of the drawn sword was abandoned as monuments to married couples became more popular. The idealised image of a knight continued to evolve in the thirteenth century, although some effigies maintained the traditional model. Hence, on individual slabs, the image of the knight with a sword was much slower to adapt to these changes when there was no need for it to appear alongside a second (female) figure. Moreover, tombs to individuals during the last three decades of the thirteenth century were far more common than monuments to couples. It is only by following the trends on these individual slabs that one can trace an evolution of the iconographical motif of the knight with a sword.

In fact, only a few tomb monuments survive, and not many more are known from antiquarian sources. The effigy of Thierry of Houffalize (d. 1282) in the church at Houffalize provides a perfect example of a knight at prayer, dressed in armour with his shield slung from his harness and, importantly, bareheaded.⁸² Yet this is a late work dating from the last quarter of the century. Prior to that, there is the relief effigy of Godefroid of Perwez, which was formerly at the abbey church of Villers-la-Ville. This now badly damaged monument is recorded by a splendid drawing that shows the knight in armour, his head covered by a mail coif and with his hands at prayer. Godefroid died around 1257, and the monument could have been commissioned shortly after that date for the architectural surround to the figure is



27. Slab of Humbier Corbeau (d. 1298), church of St Agathe, Awans (Liège).

From: W.F. Greeny, *Illustrations of incised slabs on the Continent of Europe from rubbings and tracings* (Norwich, 1891), p. 29.

contemporary with those found on other tombs, such as that to Duke Henry II in the same abbey (before 1248).⁸³ This lone example merely acts as evidence that around 1250–60 the image of a knight at prayer took its place alongside that of a knight with a sword.

The iconography for incised slabs evolved differently. The general idea that these horizontal, flat effigies are merely a two-dimensional projection of those in relief and on high tombs is mistaken, as it overlooks subtleties in their design.⁸⁴ There is, for instance, an apparent reluctance to incorporate the image of the knight at prayer in an area where knights were more frequently depicted with a sword. Hence, the earliest knight depicted with his hands at prayer is Renier of Rijkel (d. 1270) in the abbey of Saint-Trond.⁸⁵ Yet it is a good twenty years until further examples occur in monuments at Gothem to Nenkin of Gothem (d. 1296) and at Awans to Humbier Corbeau (d. 1298) (Fig. 27).⁸⁶ During this interim period from 1270 until 1295, there are many incised effigies of knights with a sword: Egidius (d. 1271) in the abbey of Aulne; Henri de Hermalle (d. 1275) in the abbey of Flône; Godescalc de Morielmer (d. 1278) at Compiègne (Fig. 23); and Wauthier de Houtain (c.1290–1300) in the abbey of Villers-la-Ville (Fig. 21).⁸⁷ One can only conclude that the iconography of portraying hands joined at prayer was adopted on incised slabs only several decades after it appeared on chest tombs around 1250, and that there were two military images in use during the whole of the second part of the thirteenth century.

It may well be that it was hard for the workshops to engineer a compromise between the two. The image of a man in armour with a helm on his head but with his hands at prayer provided some kind of working arrangement. Even so, it was hardly convincing one way or the other, as discussed above in relation to the slab of Engelbert d'Engnien and Ida d'Avesnes, and it was used on a number of other individual slabs.⁸⁸

As a model it evidently did not have much of a future, however. Obviously the very limited number of monuments either extant or known from documentary evidence which are open to analysis invites caution in ultimate interpretation, but all the evidence considered here suggests that the image of a knight brandishing a sword was only truly abandoned around 1300.⁸⁹ Thereafter, the knight depicted with his sword safely in its sheath was still portrayed

in armour, as it was an essential feature necessary to distinguish him from a civilian figure when they first appeared on slabs c.1250, primarily in Ghent (Fig. 28).⁹⁰

To conclude this analysis of the iconographical development of thirteenth-century incised slabs, it is clear that another potent symbol also emerges: the shield. Heraldic slabs, *i.e.* those which are engraved with a shield as the only feature, appeared around 1260 and became increasingly popular thereafter, the success of this format perhaps suggested by the fact that it avoided any of the difficulties encountered in designing effigial monuments.⁹¹

Conclusion

The iconography of the equestrian seal, with its image of a knight astride a horse at full gallop, and brandishing his sword, was a potent symbol of knighthood that was adapted on tomb monuments as an armed figure raising his unsheathed sword. In use since the middle of the eleventh century, this imagery continued to be used on princely seals until the end of the fifteenth century. On tomb monuments, however, the figure of an armed knight brandishing his sword had a much shorter life, being superseded by the depiction of a knight with his hands at prayer. The initial model evolved in the Low Countries and developed independently of imagery adopted in neighbouring countries, such that during the last quarter of the twelfth and the first quarter of the thirteenth centuries it was probably the only one then in use.



28. Slab of Baudouin (1300–25), son of Abraham, former abbey of St Bavo, Ghent.

From: Béthune de Villers, 'Musée lapidaire des ruines de Saint-Bavon. Dalles funéraires retrouvées à l'écluse des Braemgaten', *Messenger des Sciences Historiques*, 65 (1891), pl. Ibis.

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APPENDIX 1

LIST OF THE MONUMENTS

D = lost

Nr	Place-name	Name	Date	Technique	Weapon	Type	D	Source
1	Arras, abbey of Saint-Vaast	Knight Renaud	d. 1221	High relief	unsheathed sword	downwards	D	De Succa, fol. 25v
2	Aulne, abbey	Egidius	d. 1246		unsheathed sword	upright (?)	D	MS Le Fort, IV, 23
3	Aulne, abbey	Obertus	d. 1233		unsheathed sword	upright	D	MS Le Fort, IV, 23
4	Aulne, abbey	Egidius de Scallia	d. 1271		unsheathed sword	upright (?)	D	MS Le Fort, IV, 23
5	Aulne, abbey	N.	d. 1223		unsheathed sword	upright	D	MS Le Fort, IV, 23
6	Bonnefontaine, abbey	Nicolas de Rumigny	d. c. 1200–20	High relief	unsheathed sword	upright		
7	Bornem, priory	Siger, lord of the manor	d. 1227	High relief	unsheathed sword	upright (?)	D	Béthune, p. 44
8	Boulogne, museum	Mathieu d'Alsace	d. c. 1200	High relief	sheathed sword	biside		
9	Cambron, abbey	Arnould d'Enghien	c. 1270		unsheathed sword	upright	D	Monnier, p. 54
10	Cambron, abbey	Sohier d'Enghien	12—		lance	bare	D	Monnier, p. 51
11	Cambron, abbey	Arnoul de la Hamaide	12—		lance	bare	D	Monnier, p. 52
12	Cambron, abbey	Knight de Ligne	12—		unsheathed sword	upright	D	Monnier, p. 56
13	Clairmarais, abbey	Knight Gérard	12—		unsheathed sword	upright	D	De Succa, fol. 52r
14	Flône, abbey	Henri de Hermalle	d. 1275		unsheathed sword	upright	D	Langius, fol. 238r
15	Ghent, ancient abbey of St Bavo	Knight	c. 1250	Incised	unsheathed sword	upright		
16	Harelbeke	Knight	12—	High relief	unsheathed sword	upright	D	Béthune, p. 296
17	Heusden, abbey	Hugo of Ghend	d. 1232	High relief	unsheathed sword	upright		
18	Hognoul	Eustache de Hognoul	d. 1269	Incised	lance	+ banner		
19	Huy, Franciscans	Jacques de Horion	d. 1256		lance	bare	D	Langius, fol. 468r
20	Huy, Franciscans	Guillaume de Liesen	12—		lance	bare	D	Langius, fol. 467r
21	Liège, Dominicans	Godefroid des Fontaines	12—		sword	to the shoulder	D	del Rey, fol. 50v
22	Liège, Franciscans	Gacherus de Peis	d. 1247		lance	+ banner	D	Le Fort, no. 351
23	Whereabouts unknown	Godefroid de Soheit	d. 1297		unsheathed sword	upright	D	MS Le Fort, IV, 23
24	Maastricht, Minderbroeders	Tilman van Wilre	12—	Incised	sword	to the shoulder		
25	Molhain, ancient abbey	Alard de Chimai	c. 1220	Incised	unsheathed sword	upright		
26	Mons, Sainte-Waudru	Baudouin V of Hainaut	c. 1200	High relief	unsheathed sword	upright	D	Devilleers, p. 77
27	Namèche	Guillaume de Goumignies	d. 1255		sword	upright	D	Croonendael, vol. 1
28	Ninove	Gérard de Grimbergen	12—		unsheathed sword	upright	D	Béthune, p. 85
29	Nivelée	Georges de Niverlée	d. 1262	Incised	unsheathed sword	upright		
30	Oignies, priory	Henri de Han	12—		unsheathed sword	upright	D	MS Le Fort, IV, 23
31	's Herenelderen	Guillaume de Hamal	d. 1279	Incised	lance	+ banner		
32	Saint-Nicolas en Glain	Knight Antoine	c. 1220	Incised	lance	bare		
33	Saint-Omer, abbey of St-Bertin	Guillaume Cliton	c. 1175	High relief	unsheathed sword	upright	D	De Succa, fol. 43r
34	Seraing, abbey of Val St-Lambert	Louis de Looz	d. 1218		lance	+ gonfalon	D	Langius fol. 234r
35	Seraing, abbey of Val-St-Lambert	Louis de Flémalle	12—		lance	bare	D	Le Fort, no. 1202
36	Val-Dieu, ancient abbey	Lambert de Pèves	12—		sword	upright	D	Le Fort, no. 1169
37	Val-Dieu, ancient abbey	Renier de Neufchâteau	12—		unsheathed sword	upright	D	MS Le Fort, IV, 22
38	Val-Dieu, ancient abbey	Ernold de Neufchâteau	12—	Incised?	unsheathed sword	to the shoulder	D	Henrotte, vol. 49
39	Valenciennes, St Paul	Thierry de Bèvre	c. 1240		sword	upright	D	Butkens, p. 180
40	Villers-la-Ville, ancient abbey	Walter de Houtaing	end 12—	Incised	unsheathed sword	upright		
41	Villers-la-Ville, ancient abbey	Pierre de Marbais	12—	High relief	unsheathed sword	downwards	D	MS Le Fort, IV, 23

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Butkens, C., *Trophées tant sacrés que profanes de la duché de Brabant ...* (The Hague, 1724).

Croonendael, P. de, *Cronique contenant l'estat ancien et moderne du pays et comté de Namur ...* (Brussels, 1878–79).

De Succa: M. Comblen and C. Van de Berghen, *Les mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa, Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms II 1862* (Brussels, 1977).

Del Rey: Liège, musée Curtius, MS: *Traicté des familles et maisons les plus nobles, illustres et remarquables du pays de Liège et comté de Looz, par le sieur Del Rey, en suit du traicté du sieur Jacques de Hemricourt dit le miroir des nobles.*

Devillers, L., *Mémoire historique sur l'église de Sainte-Waudru à Mons* (Mons, 1857).

Le Fort: L. Naveau, 'Analyse du recueil d'épithaphes de Jean-Gilles et de Jacques-Henri Le Fort, hérauts d'armes de la principauté de Liège', *Bulletin de la Société des Bibliophiles liégeois*, 3 (1888) and 5 (1899).

Monnier, C., 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Cambron', *Annales du Cercle archéologique de Mons*, 17 (1884).

MS Henrotte: Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, *Inscriptions de la principauté de Liège*.

MS Langius, Rochefort, abbaye de Notre-Dame de Saint-Remy, *Origine, commencement et accroissement de la ville et Cité de Liège*.

MS Le Fort: Archives de l'Etat à Liège, *Fonds Le Fort*.

NOTES

1 To my knowledge, the iconography of the knight brandishing his sword has not previously been the object of a dedicated study. K. Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin and New York, 1976), devotes a chapter of his book to the knight, but the symbolism of the armed image is not advanced further than a discussion of the emblems carried or gestures made. J.W. Hurtig, *The armored gisant before 1400* (New York and London, 1979), studies the works country by country and includes those of the Low Countries in the chapter devoted to Germany. The iconography of the raised sword is mentioned there simply as a peculiarity. The study by H. Nowé, 'Le gisant de l'abbaye de Nieuwen Bossche à Heusden', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 21:1 (1952), pp. 153–73, widely explores the iconography of the raised sword in the Low Countries.

2 The term *orant* generally describes a figure represented in an attitude of prayer. It can be found in Early Christian art where the gesture consists of open arms with the palms of the hands turned outward. While this image remains in use in Christian iconography the meaning evolves. One may thus find it in romanesque sculpture, e.g. in a – possibly funerary – statue from the second half of the eleventh century in the treasury of Namur Cathedral representing a preaching saint who raises his hands with the palms outward. Other figures in Mosan art raise one hand in a similar way while holding in the other an object such as a book, a cross, or a phylactery. The continuation of this iconography persuades me to use the same term of *orant* for such figures.

3 Forest (Vorst) is nowadays a part of the urban sprawl of Brussels. The tomb of Ste-Alène was the object of a study by J.-Cl. Ghislain, 'Le cénotaphe de sainte Alène en l'église Saint-Denis, Forest', *Bulletin de la Commission royale des Monuments et Sites*, 9 (1980), pp. 7–29; the author dates the work as probably of 1193, this date being that of the elevation of the relics. The slab incised with the saint's effigy has frequently been published; the illustration reproduced here is from W.F. Greeny, *Illustrations of incised slabs on the Continent of Europe from rubbings and tracings* (Norwich, 1891), fig. 4.

4 F. Garnier, *Le langage de l'image médiévale* (Paris, 1982), 1, p. 223, where the examples cited do not relate precisely to this image but are more complex, with the arm close to the body and the hand with the palm face-on to the viewer.

5 Plectrude, wife of *maior domus* or Mayor of the Palace Pépin-de-Herstal, died in 714. She was buried in the middle of the chancel of the church of St Maria im Kapitol in Cologne, which she had founded. The monument was erected in her memory c.1180–90 according to A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort. Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva, 1975), p. 149, cat. no. 41, or alternatively around 1160 according to H. Körner, *Grabmonumente des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt, 1997), p. 57.

6 It has always been assumed that the abbey of Maria-Laach was founded in 1093 by Henry II, count palatine. It seems to have been dependent on the abbey of Affligem (Brabant) and not to have had its own abbot prior to Gilbert (r. c.1135–1152), himself a native of Affligem: see R. Kahnsitz, *Die Gründer von Laach und Sayn – Fürstenbildnisse des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Nuremberg, 1992), pp. 90–92. This is a rare example of an effigial tomb in mosaic.

7 See Bauch, *Grabbild*, p. 20, fig. 13.

8 Formerly at the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, p. 121, agrees that the secondary motif of the church model would have been abandoned in order to assert more clearly the theme of royal strength.

9 R. Chalon, *Notice sur les tombeaux des comtes de Hainaut inhumés dans l'église de Sainte-Waudru, à Mons* (Mons, 1836), pp. 24–27; L. Devillers, *Mémoire historique sur l'église de Sainte-Waudru à Mons* (Mons, 1857), pp. 79–80; F. Vercauteren, 'Gislebert de Mons, auteur des épithaphes des comtes de Hainaut Baudouin IV et Baudouin V', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, 125 (1960), pp. 379–403.

10 See V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578* (Brugge, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 17–23; J.-C. Ghislain, 'La production funéraire en pierre de Tournai à l'époque romane. Des dalles funéraires sans décor aux œuvres magistrales du 12e siècle', in A. Chatelet, J. Dumoulin et al., *Les grands siècles de Tournai (XIIe-XVe siècles). Recueil d'études publié à l'occasion du 20e anniversaire des guides de (la ville de) Tournai*, Art et Histoire, 7 (Tournai and Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 115–208; Bauch, *Grabbild*, pp. 38–39, figs 43–44. The tomb has been frequently recorded in antiquarian drawings; the best one, reproduced here, is by De Succa in M. Comblen and C. Van de Berghen (eds), *Les mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS II 1862* (Brussels, 1977), fol. 87r.

11 Tomb of Mélisinde de Hierges at Namèche, c.1225: see H. Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires en pays mosan – Arrondissement de Namur – Tombes et épithaphes 1000–1800* (Malonne, 2001), no. 10, with bibliography. Also the tomb of a lady of Bruges (possibly Marguerite of Constantinople) in the church of St Donat in Bruges, c.1220–30 (drawing of De Succa, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 88r); the slab of Péronne (d. 1248) at Lérines, now in the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in

Brussels (Greeny, *Slabs*, no. 6). A single, late monument proves an exception: the slab of Marie de St Servais, (d. 1282) at the Abbey of Vivegnis, Liège, where the deceased is represented as an *orant* holding a book: see H. Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires en pays mosan – Arrondissement de Liège – Tombes et épitaphes 1000–1800* (Malonne, 2004), no. 35. This exception merely reverts to using an already ageing motif, however.

12 De Succa, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 43r (drawing of 1602); O. Vredius, *Sigilla comitum Flandriae et inscriptiones diplomatum* [...] (Bruges, 1639), p. 14. The engraving from De Succa is illustrated in Hurtig, *The armored gisant*, fig. 112. A drawing dated 1742 is reproduced by E. Wallet, *Description de l'ancienne abbaye de St Bertin à St Omer en Artois* (Douai, 1834), pp. 32–34 and pl. VIII, fig. 1. On the sculpture itself see Ghislain, 'La production funéraire', pp. 198–204.

13 O. Holder-Egger, 'Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium', *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, s.s. 13 (Hanover, 1881), quoted by G. Declercq, 'Entre mémoire dynastique et représentation politique. Les sépultures des comtes et comtesses de Flandre (879–1128)', in R. Margue (ed.), *Sépulture, mort et représentation du pouvoir au Moyen Âge – Tod, Grabmal und Herrschaftsrepräsentation im Mittelalter* (Luxemburg, 2006), pp. 321–72, at pp. 342–44.

14 Jean d'Ypres: see O. Holder-Egger, 'Iohannis Longi chronica S. Bertini', *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, s.s. 25 (1880), quoted by Declercq, 'Entre mémoire dynastique et représentation politique', p. 343.

15 The drawing by Julius Manotte, reproduced here, appeared in C.G. Roland, 'Histoire généalogique de la maison de Rumigny-Florennes', *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*, 19 (1891), p. 131. Another drawing is located in the library of the University of Liège, manuscript of J.J. Van den Berg, no. 1642. Its author sketched in the missing parts of the sculpture and corrected the error in the positioning of the hand in Lamotte's drawing. On the reliability of the drawings by Van den Berg, see H. Kockerols, 'Les dessins de pierres tombales de Joseph Van den Berg – patriotisme et imposture', *Bulletin de la Société royale Le Vieux-Liège*, 309 (2005), pp. 641–50. A photograph of the monument is held at the Centre des Monuments nationaux (France), ref. MH 119779, but the sculptural detail in the photograph is poor.

16 Roland, 'Histoire généalogique', *passim*.

17 R. Chalon, *Notice sur les tombeaux des comtes de Hainaut inhumés dans l'église de Sainte-Waudru, à Mons* (Mons, 1836), pp. 24–27; L. Devillers, *Mémoire historique sur l'église de Sainte-Waudru à Mons* (Mons, 1857), pp. 79–80; F. Vercauteren, 'Gislebert de Mons, auteur des épitaphes des comtes de Hainaut Baudouin IV et Baudouin V', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 125 (1960), pp. 379–403.

18 Devillers, *Mémoire historique*, p. 79.

19 On the tomb of the Lord of the Manor of Ghent, the authoritative study is H. Nowé, 'Le gisant de l'abbaye de Nieuwen Bossche à Heusden' *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 21:1 (1952), pp. 153–73. The sculpture is referenced and illustrated, among others, by Hurtig, *The armored gisant*, figs 108–10.

20 *Histoire chronologique des comtes et comtesses de Haynau, etc, etc, par Adrien-Joseph-Marie Du Mont dit de Holdre, escuier, seigneur d'Aumont* (1728), whereabouts unknown, mentioned in L. Devillers, *Mémoire historique*, p. 79. See also Chalon, *Notices sur les tombeaux*, p. 26.

21 On the tomb of Bruay-en-Artois, see Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, p. 113: the author considers the tomb of Bruay-sur-l'Escaut to be 'une œuvre isolée tant par forme que par son style. Il ne se rattache en rien à la sculpture du Nord et appartient moins qu'on ne l'a dit à celle de l'Île-de-France'; Bauch, *Grabbild*, pp. 37–38, has it as marking the beginning of a new plastic and monumental conception that he relates to the tomb of Marguerite d'Alsace.

22 On the tomb, see D. Haigueré, 'Le tombeau de Matthieu Ier comte de Boulogne', *Bulletin de la Commission des Antiquités Départementales du Pas-de-Calais*, 5 (1880), pp. 178–85; reprinted in *Recueil Historique du Boulonnais*, 2 (1898), pp. 499–504.

23 F.A. Greenhill, *Incised effigial slabs: a study of engraved stone memorials in Latin Christendom, c.1100 to c.1700*, 2 vols (London, 1976), 1, p. 132. However, according to C. Blair, *European armour, circa 1066 to circa 1700* (Batsford, 1958), p. 28, the gown first appeared in the middle years of the twelfth century, although illustrations are rare before c.1210 when the garment was universally adopted.

24 R. Laurent, *Les sceaux des princes territoriaux belges du Xe siècle à 1482* (Brussels, 1993), introduction, p. 69.

25 For the grand seal of Philippe d'Alsace, see Laurent, *Les sceaux*, Flanders, nos 17–18, a large equestrian seal 'with sword'; second type and reverse equestrian seal 'with lance' (1163–90), p. 157, pl. 17; Vredius, *Sigilla*, p. 19; De Succa, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 80v; G. Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Flandre recueillis dans les dépôts d'archives, musées et collections particulières du département du Nord* (Paris, 1873), no. 138, Philippe d'Alsace, count of Flanders and of Vermandois, charter of 1170.

26 Laurent, *Les sceaux*, pp. 68 and 67, respectively.

27 See the colour illustration in *Rhin-Meuse. Art et civilisation 800–1400*, exhibition catalogue (Cologne/Brussels, 1972), facing p. 229, with an accompanying text by D. Kötsche on p. 242.

28 An alternative image 'in majesty' presents the commemorated brandishing his sword at his side. It appears on the seal of Baudouin IV of Flanders – although this is a disputed attribution (Laurent, *Les sceaux*, p. 149, no. 2 and pl. 2). The importance of this image is not in the position of the sword but the pose of the person who holds it: he is seated, in a posture reserved for emperors and kings. The sword here is interchangeable with the sceptre. See the seal of Baudouin IX, of 1205, where he is seated with the sceptre in the right hand, but on the reverse he adopts an equestrian role, with the sword brandished vigorously (Laurent, *Les sceaux*, p. 161, nos 28–29 and pl. 25).

29 Bauch, *Grabbild*, p. 34, fig. 34; E. Panofsky, *Tomb sculpture. From Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London, 1992), pl. 190; Hurtig, *The armored gisant*, fig. 107.

30 Cathedral of Ringsted, Denmark. It was first published by W.F. Greeny, *A book of facsimiles of monumental brasses on the Continent of Europe* (Norwich, 1884), no. 3; from which are taken the illustrations in M. Norris, *Brass rubbing*

(London, 1968), fig. 12; also M. Norris, *Monumental brasses – the craft* (London, 1978), fig. 135; see also K. Holm, 'The brass of King Eric Menved and Queen Ingeborg: restoration and examination', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 15 (1996), pp. 2–18; H. Kockerols, 'Lames funéraires de laiton', in J. Toussaint (ed.), *Art du laiton – dinanderie* (Namur, 2005), illustrated on p. 139.

31 The monument is now located in the Museum of Silesia, Breslau (Wrocław), Silesia (Poland). See Bauch, *Grabbild*, fig. 217; Hurtig, *The armored gisant*, fig. 137.

32 Kockerols, *Liège*, no. 16. A drawing of this tomb can be found in the 'del Rey' manuscript dated 1615 (Liège, Museum Curtius, fol. 50v); a poor copy of the drawing is in Liège, University Library, MS 672, fol. 172v.

33 E. Van Nispen tot Sevenaar, 'Maastrichtse grafstenen', *Publications de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire dans le Limbourg*, 65 (1929), p. 99, fig. 13. The slab probably dates to around 1280–90.

34 University of Liège, manuscript library, MS Henrotte, vol. 49. The drawing figures in a printed copy for which Canon Henrotte does not give a source. It presents a number of features that suggest that it must be interpreted cautiously, however.

35 De Succa, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 25v.

36 Liège, Archives de l'État à Liège (hereafter A.E.L.), fonds Le Fort, IV, 23. Le Fort reports that the tomb was located at the chapter door, in front of that presumed to be the tomb of Godefroid, count of Louvain, brother of the duke of Brabant, Henry II. The shield is that of Marbais, an important family in the region of the Brabant and Namur; however, a Pierre de Marbais is not accounted for in the pedigree.

37 The typology of the tombs of the English knights has been closely studied by H.A. Tummers, *Early secular effigies in England: the thirteenth century* (Leiden, 1980), esp. pp. 81–99. There are further examples in Hurtig, *The armored gisant*, p. 112, esp. figs 178, 191, 195, 208.

38 Slab of Baudouin de Vandy (d. 1275), at the church of Saint-Maurille in Vouziers (France, département des Ardennes). The slab, which measures 256 × 118cm, is in Meuse stone (communication Ph. Moyen of Sedan).

39 Laon, church of Saint-Martin, tomb in high relief in blue limestone, probably of Mosan origin. See Bauch, *Grabbild*, p. 120, fig. 186, or the much better picture from R. Bazin, 'La sculpture funéraire du XIII^e au XVIII^e siècle', reproduced in M. Plouvier (ed), *Laon – une acropole à la française* (Amiens, 1995), p. 298.

40 A banner is a rectangular piece of material bearing heraldry, taller than its width and tied to the top of the lance. A *gonfalon* is a banner that ends in a series of *fanons* (streamers).

41 Of the latter type is a monument now in the Musée Barrois at Bar-le-Duc (France, département de la Meuse), posthumously erected to Guy of Joinville who founded the abbey of Ecurey in 1144. The large hauberk without a surcoat suggests a date at the very start of the thirteenth century, hence c.1200.

42 See Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux*. When Guillaume Cliton's tomb was produced, the lords already used equestrian seals: Simon of Oisy, lord of Cambrai, 1163; Hugues of Oisy, lord of Cambrai, 1170; Baudouin, lord of Arras, 1196; John of Nesle, lord of Bruges, 1196. As to Rumigny, a charter of Nicolas IV of Rumigny dated 1203 carries an equestrian seal: see Roland, *Rumigny*, p. 177.

43 The definitive study of this tomb is by H. Nowé, 'Le gisant de l'abbaye de Nieuwen Bossche à Heusden', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 21:1 (1952), pp. 153–73. The sculpture is mentioned and illustrated, among others, by Hurtig, *The armored gisant*, figs 108–9.

44 Baron Béthune, *Épithèses et monuments des églises de la Flandre au XVI^e siècle d'après les manuscrits de Corneille Gaillard et d'autres auteurs* (Bruges, 1900), p. 44. The slab lies on a low platform. The sword is upright in the right hand; a handwritten note adds 'like an Emperor'.

45 Béthune, *Épithèses*, p. 296.

46 Clairmarais, near Saint-Omer (France, département du Pas de Calais); see De Succa, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 52r.

47 De Succa, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 25v.

48 This monument, now lost, was probably a painted relief and particularly noteworthy because it incorporated a funeral eulogy in four hexameters. The coloured drawing here reproduced is from a manuscript source, Rochefort, Abbaye de Notre-Dame de Saint-Remy, manuscript noted by Langius (cited hereafter as Rochefort, Langius) fol. 234. Another drawing is located in Liège, Archives de l'État à Liège, fonds Le Fort (hereafter A.E.L. MS Le Fort), IV, 20. Louis II de Looz died in 1218. The tomb is also mentioned by Kockerols, *Liège*, no. 12.

49 The slab of Alard of Chimay survives, now erected against a wall in the old Collegiate Church of Molhain (Vireux-Molhain, Ardennes, France). A cast of the slab is located in the Musée départemental des Ardennes, at Charleville. Several rubbings of this slab are located in public collections, viz. in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and in the Société archéologique de Namur in Namur. It is illustrated by A. Béquet, 'Les tombes plates de l'ancien comté de Namur', *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur*, 14 (Namur, 1877), pp.143–64; A. Antoine, *Molhain, le hameau et la collégiale dans la vallée de la Meuse* (Givet, 1895), pp. 161–62; Greenhill, *Incised effigial slabs*, 2, p. 112, pl. 45b; P. Moyen, 'Les chevaliers de pierre. Étude des lames funéraires à effigie chevaleresque de Belgique XII–XVe siècles', *Revue Historique Ardennaise*, (1998), pp. 97–121.

50 Kockerols, *Liège*, no. 15, with bibliography.

51 A.E.L. MS Le Fort, IV, 23.

52 These two slabs, with a third one of 1271, are referred to in A.E.L. MS Le Fort, IV, 23, folder 4, Hainaut.

53 Béquet, 'Les tombes plates de l'ancien comté de Namur', pl. 2; Creeny, *Slabs*, no. 12; C.G. Roland, 'Georges de Nivelle', *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur*, 29 (1910); H. Rousseau, *Frottis de tombes plates – catalogue descriptif* (Brussels, 1912), no. 2; M. Clayton, *Catalogue of rubbings of brasses and incised slabs*, Victoria and Albert Museum

(London, 1968), pl. 66; Hurtig, *The armored gisant*, figs 110 and 109 (the latter erroneously identified as the slab of Alard of Chimai in Molhain); H. Kockerols, 'La collection de frotts de tombes plates de la Société archéologique de Namur', *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur* (2000), no. 3; De Succa, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 25v; Kockerols, *Liège*, no. 28, with bibliography.

54 A.E.L. MS Le Fort, IV, 22; L. Naveau, 'Analyse du recueil d'épithaphes de Jean-Gilles et de Jacques-Henri Le Fort, hérauts d'armes de la principauté de Liège', *Bulletin de la Société des Bibliophiles Liégeois*, 3 (1886–87), pp. 209–383, and 5 (1892–95), pp. 177–463, no. 1202; University of Liège, manuscript library, MS Henrotte, vol. 49; Rochefort, Langius, fol. 468; Rochefort, Langius, fol. 238.

55 R. Chalon, *Notice sur les tombeaux des comtes de Hainaut inhumés dans l'église de Sainte-Waudru, à Mons* (Mons, 1836), pp. 24–27; L. Devillers, *Mémoire historique sur l'église de Sainte-Waudru à Mons* (Mons, 1857), pp. 79–80; F. Vercauteren, 'Gislebert de Mons, auteur des épithaphes des comtes de Hainaut Baudouin IV et Baudouin V', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 125 (Brussels, 1960), pp. 379–403; C. Butkens, *Trophées tant sacrés que profanes de la duché de Brabant* (The Hague, 1724), pp. 180–81; C. Monnier, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Cambron', *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, 17 (1884), p. 56.

56 Oignies, township Aiseau-Presles, province of Hainaut. A.E.L. MS Le Fort, IV, 23; Naveau, Le Fort, no. 1384.

57 Kockerols, *Namur*, no. 12, with bibliography.

58 A.E.L. MS Le Fort, IV, 23.

59 The slab of Wauthier de Houtain is located in the cloister of the ruins of the abbey of Villers-la-Ville, province of Wallonian Brabant. It is broken in two pieces and only poorly protected. It has been frequently reproduced, for example by Rousseau, *Frotts de tombes plates*, no. 3, p. 13. A photograph of a rubbing is at the Institut royal du patrimoine artistique in Brussels, indexed as no. 10599. The best rubbing of this slab is in Greenhill, *Incised effigial slabs*, 2, pl. 48a. The inscription does not give any date of death, but the style of arms and the canopy suggest a period at the end of the thirteenth century.

60 E. Van Caster and R. Op de Beeck, *Grafkunst in Belgisch Limburg*, Maaslandse monographiën, 20 (Assen, 1981), no. 2, p. 46.

61 See A.E.L. MS Le Fort, IV, 22; Naveau, Le Fort, nos 1167 and 1169, and MS Henrotte, vol. 49.

62 J. Béthune de Villers, 'Musée lapidaire des ruines de Saint-Bavon. Dalles funéraires retrouvées à l'écluse des Braemgaten', *Messenger des Sciences Historiques*, 65 (1891), pl. III (facing p. 262).

63 J. Adhémar, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières. Dessins d'archéologie du XVII^e siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e pér., 84 (1974), pp. 1–192; 88 (1976), pp. 1–88; 90 (1977), pp. 1–76.

64 Adhémar, 'Les tombeaux, part 1', no. 161 (located in Poissy, near Paris).

65 Adhémar, 'Les tombeaux, part 1', nos 317, 364 and 439.

66 Adhémar, 'Les tombeaux, part 1', nos 302, 465bis, 466, 467, 468, 547, 593 and 746.

67 Adhémar, 'Les tombeaux, part 1', nos 69, 70, 71, 72.

68 Adhémar, 'Les tombeaux, part 1', nos 128–32.

69 Adhémar, 'Les tombeaux, part 1', introduction, p. 7.

70 The slab of Godefroid de Morialmer is one of ten medieval slabs in Tournai stone, discovered at Compiègne (France, département de l'Oise) in 1993. See P. Racinet, 'Inventaire et étude d'une série de dalles funéraires médiévales et modernes à Compiègne, Oise', *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, 1/2 (1996), pp. 153–78. The slab, measuring 265 × 110cm, is published on p. 164, no. 20B, and illustrated by a drawing on p. 165, fig. 22, as well as on the journal's cover. This effigy strongly resembles the anonymous knight of Ghent (see above) although it should be noted that the canopies of these two slabs are different in style.

71 Hurtig, *The armored gisant*, p. 72, mentions two tombs of knights, the one to Goslar, the other to Hain.

72 I am grateful to Miss Sally Badham for the information contained in this paragraph.

73 Bauch, *Grabbild*, p. 106 and fig. 164, who suggests that this is the earliest monument portraying a couple; also Körner, *Grabmonumente*, p. 138. See also H. Tummers, 'Medieval effigial monuments in the Netherlands', *Church Monuments*, 7 (1992), pp. 19–33, at pp. 21–22 and fig. 2. Although there is still some dispute, according to the most recent scholarship it is indeed the original structure which in a later period must have undergone some radical restoration. For a more recent study, see H. Tummers (ed.), A. Truyen and G. Venner, *Het praalgraf van Gerard van Gelre en Margaretha van Brabant in de Munsterkerk te Roermond. Geschiedenis en restauratie van een uitzonderlijk monument* (Roermond, 2008). Somewhat different views are presented in D. Schulz and B. van Bommel, *Het grafmonument Gerard II van Gelre en Margaretha van Brabant in de Munsterkerk te Roermond en de jongste restauratie ervan*, Praktijkreeks Cultureel Erfgoed, 1 (The Hague, 2007).

74 Panofsky, *Tomb sculpture*, p. 57 and fig. 222. The author dates the tomb c.1240 and suggests that the effigy of the Duchess Mathilde is the oldest example to demonstrate hands joined together in prayer, being apparently unaware of the figure of Marguerite d'Alsace. Bauch, *Grabbild*, p. 107, and fig. 165, dates them c.1245; Körner, *Grabmonumente*, p. 139, gives a date of 1220–30.

75 Duke Henry I died in 1235. The current monument is a reconstruction based on antiquarian drawings, but the slab carrying the effigy is the original Tournai stone. The relevant sources include, De Succa, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 71r (drawing of 1602); Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, MS 02483C (Van Riedwijck), fols 56–57; A. De Valkeneer, 'Inventaire des tombeaux et dalles à gisants en relief Belgique, époque romane et gothique', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale des Monuments et Sites*, 14, pp. 169–74, fig. 33–34; Bauch, *Grabbild*, pp. 89–90, fig. 133.

76 The lost monument of Duke Henry II is known from two seventeenth-century drawings: Van Riedwijck, fols 60v–

61r, and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, MS 7776–7781, ‘Chronicon Villariense’, fols. 135r.

77 The tomb of Duke Henry III still exists but is very damaged; it is better known from two early-seventeenth-century drawings: see Van Riedwijck, fols 64v–65r and fol. 172; De Sucça, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 67v (the effigies only).

78 Bellingen, township of Pepingen, province of the Flemish Brabant. The monument is without any inscription, the identification of the deceased made possible only by virtue of the wealth of information on the family of Enghien. The particular form of the shield suggests a date of c.1260. The slab is discussed by Bauch, *Grabbild*, p. 111 and fig. 171.

79 Dimechaux, close to Maubeuge (France, département du Nord). The slab of Dimechaux was studied by R. Van Belle, ‘De grafzerk van Jehans de Courtrai’, *De Leiegouw*, 21 (1999), pp. 65–72.

80 The origins of the first slab are unknown. See Béthune de Villers, ‘Musée lapidaire’, no. XI, pp. 265–68; Creeny, *Slabs*, no. 117; A. Van den Kerkhove and J. Baldewijns, *Stad Gent. Museum voor Stenen Voorwerpen (Ruïnes van de Sint-Baafsabdij). Gids voor de bezoeker* (Ghent, 1993), no. 56; Bauch, *Grabbild*, n. 239. For the slab at Seilles (township of Andenne, province of Namur), see Kockerols, *Namur*, no. 16. Greenhill, *Incised effigial slabs*, 1, p. 53, dates the slab at Seilles to about 1300.

81 From a drawing by the herald Le Fort; the original location of this slab is unknown but the surname suggests that it was probably in the duchy of Limbourg. The slab commemorates Godefroid de Soheit (d. 1310) and his wife Mathilde of Reisenberghe (d. 1297).

82 De Valkeneer, *Inventaire*, pp. 154–55, fig. 28; J. De Borchgrave, *Le gisant de Thierry de Houffalize* (Bruxelles, 1968).

83 Van Riedwijck, fols 62v–63r. The tomb of Godefroid de Perwez is not influenced by French iconography as demonstrated by the tomb of Duke Henry III, which itself dates after 1260. See A. Bergmans, ‘Le mémorial dynastique du duc Henri III de Brabant et d’Alix de Bourgogne dans l’église des Dominicains à Louvain’, in *Actes du 12e congrès international d’études sur les danses macabres* (Meslay-le-Grenet, 2005), pp. 13–30. However, the first but much later ‘Parisian effigy’ to be presented in armour is that of Robert d’Artois (d. 1317), produced 1317–20 by a Mosan sculptor, Jean Pepin de Huy. Could Mahaut d’Artois, who commissioned the monument, have introduced the iconography of the armed effigy to Paris, as it was already well established in the region that the French called Flanders? According to F. Baron, however, the imagery was introduced from the west of France. See F. Baron, *L’enfant oublié. Le gisant de Jean de Bourgogne et le mécénat de Mahaut d’Artois en Franche-Comté au XVIe siècle* (Besançon, 1998), pp. 62–63.

84 Bauch, *Grabbild*, appendix, ‘Flachbilder’, p. 282.

85 Van Caster and Op de Beeck, *Grafkunst*, no. 1, pp. 44–45.

86 Van Caster and Op de Beeck, *Grafkunst*, no. 5; Kockerols, *Liège*, no. 46, with bibliography.

87 A.E.L. MS Le Fort, IV, 23; Rochefort, Langius fol. 238, drawing; Adhémar, ‘Les tombeaux, part 1’, nos 128–32; Van Caster and Op de Beeck, *Grafkunst*, 20, no. 2, p. 46.

88 Located at Auchy-lez-Hesdin (France, département du Pas-de-Calais). The slab has been re-assembled from many fragments and is now erected against a wall in an annexe of the church of Saint-Silvain. The monument is posthumous; it commemorates Enguerrand de Hesdin who in 1072 rebuilt the church of Auchy, which had been destroyed by two Norman lords in the ninth century. The slab is illustrated in J. Ghesquière, *Acta sanctorum belgii* (Brussels, 1783–94), vol. 6, p. 463. Other examples are Jean d’Aubigny (d. 1305) at Brouchy (France, département de la Somme) and Raoul des Fontaines, abbey of Lachalade (France, département de la Meuse). I am grateful to P. Moyen of Sedan for bringing these three slabs to my attention. The slab at Dimechaux, already discussed, also belongs to this type: see Adhémar, ‘Les tombeaux, part 1’, nos 302, 465bis, 466, 467, 468, 547, 593 and 746.

89 Mention should here be made of the engraved brass to Willem Wenemaer in Ghent (now Bijloke Museum), even though it is quarter of a century later in date. The figure of Wenemaer holding a sword in his fist is well known, yet it does not fall into the iconographical category of effigy described in this article. Wenemaer was not a knight but wears the full armour that every citizen would have worn to defend his city. Wenemaer died defending the city of Ghent, not as a *defensor fidei* but as a *defensor civitatis gandensis*.

90 The slab of Baudouin, son of Abraham, which is preserved in the musée lapidaire situated in the former abbey of St Bavo in Ghent, dates back to the first decades of the thirteenth century. He was an important individual in the commercial world of Ghent. The slab is illustrated in Béthune de Villers, ‘Musée lapidaire’, pp. 392–93. It is only a small slab at 150 × 91 cm, like the former slab of a bourgeois of Liège: see Kockerols, *Liège*, no. 17.

91 The earliest known example is the slab of Robert de Hemricourt (d. 1241) at Remicourt (near Waremmes, province of Liège). There are nearly twenty of them, dating from the mid thirteenth century, almost all in the region of Liège. The Gaignières drawings illustrate only two examples in France, however: see Adhémar, ‘Les tombeaux, part 1’, nos 33 and 199.