Wolfhard's Face

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Introduction

It was the merit of Erwin Panofsky's much-read study from 1964, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, to have freed the bronze tomb plaque of Bishop Wolfhard von Roth, deceased in 1302, in Augsburg Cathedral for a short moment from its Sleeping Beauty slumber.[1] The book originated in a series of lectures, held in 1956 at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, and was immediately translated into several languages, including German.[2] Panofsky placed at the disposal of the Institute a legible but essentially unaltered transcript of the lectures" for publication, and provided the typescript with an apparatus of annotations that, by his standards, was rather poor, as he stated himself in the foreword.[3] A recent essay collection edited by the Courtauld Institute of Art, entitled *Revisiting the Monument: Fifty years since Panofsky's "Tomb Sculpture"* has described the book as "the most influential and comprehensive survey of funerary monuments to be published in the last fifty years", and provided a critical evaluation of its legacy.[4]

Panofsky, however, found his transcript very "superficial", even "misleading and horrible to look at", and considered the photographs, some of which were appearing for the first time, to be the central strength of the book.[5] Inasmuch as the text of Panofsky's lectures was almost unrevised when published, the layout of his brilliant reflections goes back to the mid-1950s. Thus, perhaps it is time to reconsider some of the pieces in his book from a contemporary perspective. Although it is beyond doubt that Panofsky's general dismissal of his book is unfounded, he seems to have made a somewhat hasty assessment in the case of the tomb of Bishop Wolfhard. This essay aims to add nuance to Panofsky's judgment of the bronze effigy and, in particular, of its face (pl. 1, 7, 8, 9, 10).

Panofsky assigned the bronze plaque to the sparse number of northern medieval tombs displaying the recumbent figure of the deceased as a corpse, a group of sepulchres that, in the middle of the last century, was much less studied than today. Hence, it is not surprising that he only touched upon it. In just half a paragraph, and with the help of two, admittedly extraordinary, photographic shots, he laconically addressed what he considered to be an intentional visual effect of the effigy's face, employed by the artists, as well as the drapery of the bishop, which he described as accurately conforming to the recumbent position. In addition, for the emaciated, ascetic features of the episcopal face, he suggested

a death mask had been used.[6] Never again since then has the bronze been the theme of a text longer than a few lines in a language other than German.

Panofsky regarded Wolfhard's tomb as exceptional in northern art because the artists had managed to conceive of the bishop as a figure whose falling drapery corresponds to the recumbent position and, furthermore, whose face and body concurrently represent the actual condition of being a corpse. Outside Italy and Spain, Panofsky believed, only very few monuments offered the artistic requirements for this. Within German sepulchral art, he only thought of the double tomb, datable to about 1240, of Henry the Lion and his wife Mathilda of England in Brunswick Cathedral as an early example for "explicit recumbency".[7] There, Panofsky describes the garments being "spread over, rather than worn, by the figures", and the model of the cathedral, newly built by the duke, seems rather to repose on his body than to be held by his right hand.[8] Thus, Panofsky regarded the monument in Brunswick as the very first German tomb to exhibit garments and attributes in a way suitable to the reclining position.

The tombs in Brunswick and Augsburg, Panofsky seemed to suggest, remained the only German statues clearly displaying the deceased's reclining position until the gisant of the pharmacist and mayor Ulrich Kastenmayer, who died in 1432, in the chapel of St. Bartholomew of the church of St. James at Straubing in Bavaria. Kastenmeyer, indeed, exhibits the physical traits of a corpse, in his face and aged hands, although his vestments droop as though he were standing.[9] In Italy, representations of "dead bodies, their eyes closed in eternal slumber", attest to a concept, frequently applied there since about 1268, showing the departed not with idealized bodies rejoicing in endless beatitude, but as corpses with the signs of physical decay.[10] In the German-speaking countries, however, this concept was not adopted. Thus, according to *Tomb Sculpture*, the bronze of Bishop Wolfhard continued to be an unequaled sepulchre until the second third of the fifteenth century. Nothing has changed since in the assessment of this tomb as a completely peerless work of art of the late Middle Ages, at least in the German-speaking countries.

Like a beloved season, attention to the tomb returned with regularity, only it never lasted long. Wolfhard's gisant was again invoked by Kurt Bauch and Hans Körner in their investigations of medieval sepultures. Both still accentuated its unrivaled status by identifying it as the first explicit representation of a corpse in German sepulchral art.[11] They did acknowledge French sculptures of the thirteenth century, whose arrangements of garments correspond to their recumbent position. Nevertheless for them, as for Panofsky and several other art historians, the bronze plaque in Augsburg was a completely isolated phenomenon in German art without any immediate pictorial predecessors and successors.[12] It remained not only the first, but also, until the end of the fourteenth century, the only one in the German-speaking countries, whose drapery, recumbent position and closed eyes clearly depict a corpse.[13]

In regard to Wolfhard's gisant, the studies of Bauch and Körner, unfortunately, had little scholarly impact. Even the tome dedicated to medieval art, from the three-fold scholarly publication on *History of German Art (Geschichte der deutschen Kunst)* published in 1998–2000, does not mention the outstanding monument in Augsburg Cathedral. At least, the recent *History of Fine Arts in Germany (Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland)*, an erudite series of books in eight volumes introducing art in the German-speaking area, includes the tomb plaque in an essay by Gerhard Lutz.[14] Thus, Wolfhard's tomb remains one of the most extraordinary, but least investigated northern sculptures ever, without being the subject of a thorough investigation.

Its outstanding, indeed unique, status seems unshakeable thanks to various exceptional qualities. The signature of the artists Otto and Conrad, at a prominent place on the tomb plaque, as well as the extraordinary technical achievement of the cast, in comparison with other contemporary works of art, suggest that the bronze was perceived as a masterpiece from the moment of its production.[15] Undoubtedly, the signature positioned on the underside of the plinth, on which the feet rest, conveys the self-confidence of the artists (pl. 13). This place is particularly emphasized on other tomb slabs and art works, for example by the so-called "Spinario" or "Boy with Thorn" on the effigy of the Archbishop Friedrich von Wettin († 1152) in Magdeburg Cathedral.[16] Furthermore, in the relief of the *Last Judgment*, sculpted above the West Door of the church of Saint Lazarus in Autun and datable to 1130, the artist's signature is incised in the stone immediately below the plinth supporting Christ's feet.[17] Therefore, this specific pictorial spot seems to have been imbued with particular significance in the Middle Ages, found later, for example, in the frames of paintings that sometimes bore artists' signatures. Finally, Wolfhard's tomb, with its display of a pillow supporting the head of the departed and a fringed shroud evoking the *lit de parade*, the bed of state, manifests a reference to the historical situation of the "lying in state" during the funeral ceremony. This reference to the lying in state has been described as unparalleled in the German-speaking area because, apparently, no previous tomb had addressed this matter nor had it evoked any echo in the funerary art of the fourteenth century.

The present essay deals with the question of how to interpret the particular aspect of the face of the departed Wolfhard and whether it was actually made using a death mask, as Panofsky suggested. For this, I will first analyze the distinctive features of the bishop's face in a threefold way. I will discuss the visual effect of foreshortening conceived by Panofsky, then dissect the displayed anatomy of the facial features, and present the late medieval artistic movement based on the practice of individualizing the faces of certain persons. In the second part, I will situate Wolfhard's effigy in a larger pictorial context of tombs representing the deceased in the German-speaking countries, a framework that

was critical for the specific design of Wolfhard's face. Here, I will discuss several recumbent figures and show that the sepulchral motif of exhibiting the corpse was not limited to the tomb plaque in Augsburg, but was, although rare, not as uncommon a feature as Panofsky imagined.

It is obvious that, in the Middle Ages, casting a bronze plaque necessitated specific technical requirements, which can only be compared with the carving of stone to a certain extent.[18] Yet cultural, historical and iconographic analogies, between both groups of crafted art, are significant across the different media and hence allow actual interpretations.

The Tomb of Wolfhard von Roth

No contemporary sources concerned with Wolfhard's tomb exist and posterior sources are not precise enough to allow a clear understanding of its original location and design. However, if we follow an inscription in the lid of the zinc casket, in which Wolfhard's remains were laid at their translocation in 1610, we may apprehend better its first positioning. According to the inscription, the tomb was initially situated "ad gradus", "at the steps", which most probably meant a placement near the steps leading from the church's naves to the eastern choir.[19] A spatial arrangement similar to the eastern choir of Naumburg Cathedral, where an episcopal tomb occupies precisely a part of the transitional zone from the steps to the choir, seems plausible. From this first location, it was moved, for a certain time, to a new place at the same choir steps and, subsequently, to the eastern end of the choir. At the occasion of this latter transfer of the remains, the above-mentioned inscription was drawn up, literally stating that the first change of emplacement took place "in chorum hunc post multos annos ad eosdem gradus", "in this choir after many years at the same steps".[20]

Since the eastern choir of Augsburg Cathedral was rebuilt in the period from 1356 to 1413, the original location of Wolfhard's tomb, near the steps of the choir, must plausibly be supposed before the latter's renovation.[21] Hence, the first relocation of the tomb seems to have been a consequence of the choir's reconstruction and the redesign of the eastern part of the church. It cannot be completely excluded that the tomb slab was part of an *enfeu*, i. e. a funeral niche recessed into the wall, at that time very popular in France, Spain and most of all Italy. This, however, is not likely to have been the case, since the border of the pall, on which Wolfhard rests, comprises a circumferential inscription, indicating an initial free-standing position of the tomb.[22] By the way, Panofsky states that free-standing tombs, most of the time placed in the choir, were common in the German-speaking countries.[23]

The Lengthening and Supposed Foreshortening of Wolfhard's Face

In his brief discussion of the recumbent figure, Panofsky advocated understanding the lengthening of Wolfhard's face and neck as the consequence of an optical device, employed by the artists to disclose the bishop's "serene beauty only to a beholder standing at the foot of the tomb, and thus observing it in perspective foreshortening" (fig. 1, right).[24] Panofsky conjectured that this artistic approach anticipated the "methods of such Quattrocento sculptors" as Donatello and Pollaiuolo, although Panofsky himself acknowledged the complete absence of such sculptural means before the fifteenth century.[25]

Soon after the publication of Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*, the art historian Jan Białostocki seemed sceptical about this interpretation in his book review.[26] Later, in a study of Donatello's optical corrections, Robert Munman captured it well, when he noticed that the elongation of Wolfhard's face only corresponds to a certain foreshortening in perspective when the beholder takes his stand at the feet of the sculpture; however, simultaneously, other parts of the effigy do not produce this effect.[27] For instance, the lengthened hands before the abdomen have no optical distortion when seen from the foot of the tomb and the same applies to the elongated feet, whose soles are only visible from this particular standpoint (pl. 1, 5, 13). Furthermore, there does not seem to have been any specific reason that the beholder had to assume this position, since the tomb was free-standing.

Rather, the lengthening applies to the entire body of the bishop and should therefore be understood as an element of style. Hans Weigert compared this element with the elongation of the prophet figures, dating from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, on the façade of Strasbourg Cathedral.[28] We may add that these stylistic qualities were also common in areas geographically closer to Augsburg, as is attested by the bronze plaque of Bishop Friedrich von Wettin († 1152) in Magdeburg Cathedral, originating from the middle of the thirteenth century, the free-standing bronze candelabrum in Erfurt Cathedral, commissioned by a certain Wolfram around 1157, but also the stone sculptures of the façade of Bamberg Cathedral, e. g. the personification of the synagogue dating from about 1235, and especially the slightly earlier stone slab of Emperor Rudolf von Habsburg († 1291) in Speyer Cathedral.[29]

Fig. 1: The face of Bishop Wolfhard von Roth, seen from above and from foot of tomb, published in Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture. Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, New York 1964, figs. 224, 225

Wolfhard's Face, Its Anatomy, and the Presumed Death Mask

It was the beginning of the twentieth century when, for the first time, early art historiography associated Wolfhard's tomb with the idea of a cast death mask used for the bronze effigy. Walter Josephi concluded in 1903 from the unvarnished depiction of the facial features that a facial casting, taken directly after death, had been used.[30] Six years later, Max Kemmerich also expressed this opinion and attempted a minute analysis of the employment of a death mask. However, his investigation was unsatisfactory, insofar as he was primarily looking for a portrait-like similarity between the effigy's face and images of the bishop printed on seals. In the absence of any suitable result, he finally took the drastic expression of the physiognomy as evidence for the use of a cast.[31]

Admittedly, the artists' signature affixed to the tomb, in this formulation extremely rare in the Middle Ages, may lead to the assumption of a facial cast. Accordingly, Otto created the wax model that Conrad used for the bronze casting.[32] From the mention of wax, the postulation of a facial cast is only one step away. As already mentioned, Panofsky adopted the same line of reasoning (see fig. 1). Obviously, like his predecessors, Panofsky presumed that the artists reworked the cast, otherwise his argument of a foreshortening device would not be comprehensible. Panofsky's view has often been repeated, even recently.[33]

However, Harald Keller raised first doubts in the 1930s. Rather than as the result of a mask, he understood the impressive countenance to be the fusion of different Gothic ornamental forms. They seemed to him, on the one hand, to be based on sharp observation of reality. Yet, on the other, they were far too symmetrical to represent the organic structure of a natural face. The severe regularity of the features, Keller reasoned, could almost make them stand alone as an ornament.[34] Later studies did not explicitly discuss the use of a facial imprint, but emphasized the stylization and quasi-symmetry of the gaunt face, marked by age and death.[35] This is indeed the point where any discussion of the use of a death mask must necessarily start. Besides the strong elongation of the face, which, as we have seen, characterizes the entire figure, the face especially stands out in its angular quality, also characteristic of the neck, as well as in its near-symmetrical treatment. Hence, the physiognomy seems frozen, hard, and stiff. Furthermore, some facial features, e. g. the ears, nostrils, and corners of the mouth, are clearly stereotypical.

The analysis of Wolfhard's facial morphology shows a number of discrepancies in contrast to the natural anatomy of the human skull, with which a casting would have been in accordance (pl. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9). For instance, the sharp edges of the brows are unnatural and look like they are mirrored around the axial line of the nose. Both brows are formed by one single line, swinging down at the root of the nose. On the abnormally high forehead, the horizontal folds are worked in relief

and emerge just below the hairline covered by the miter. In the same vein, the nasolabial folds and corners of the mouth barely break out from symmetry.

When viewed in profile, an anatomically incorrect enlargement of the eye sockets, extending almost to the base of the ears, becomes evident. Compared to the drawing of an anatomy atlas and to the face of St. James of the Marches († 1476), whose body is preserved as a dried mummy, big differences stand out (figs. 2, 3). The sides of the faces of both clerics display a curved nose and pointed chin, deep eye sockets and sunken cheeks and are therefore quite comparable. On the face of the Italian preacher, the zygomatic arch, which on each human face looks like a bar linking the eye cavity with the ear, is clearly visible. Its anterior part ends

Fig. 2: Head of St. James of the Marches († 1476), dried mummy, Monteprandone, church of the Franciscans

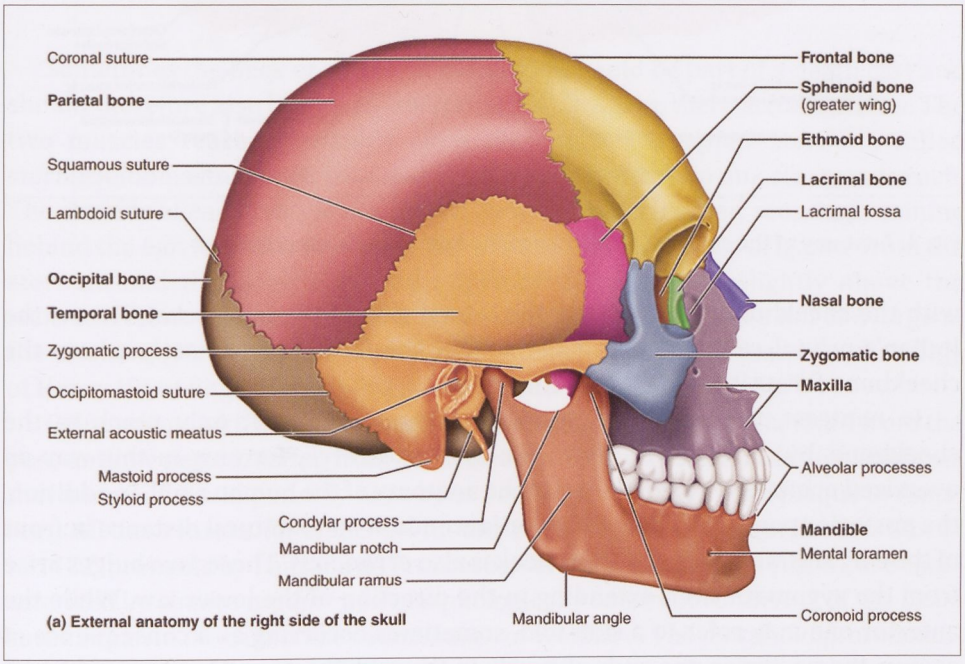

Fig. 3: Anatomy of the human skull, lateral view

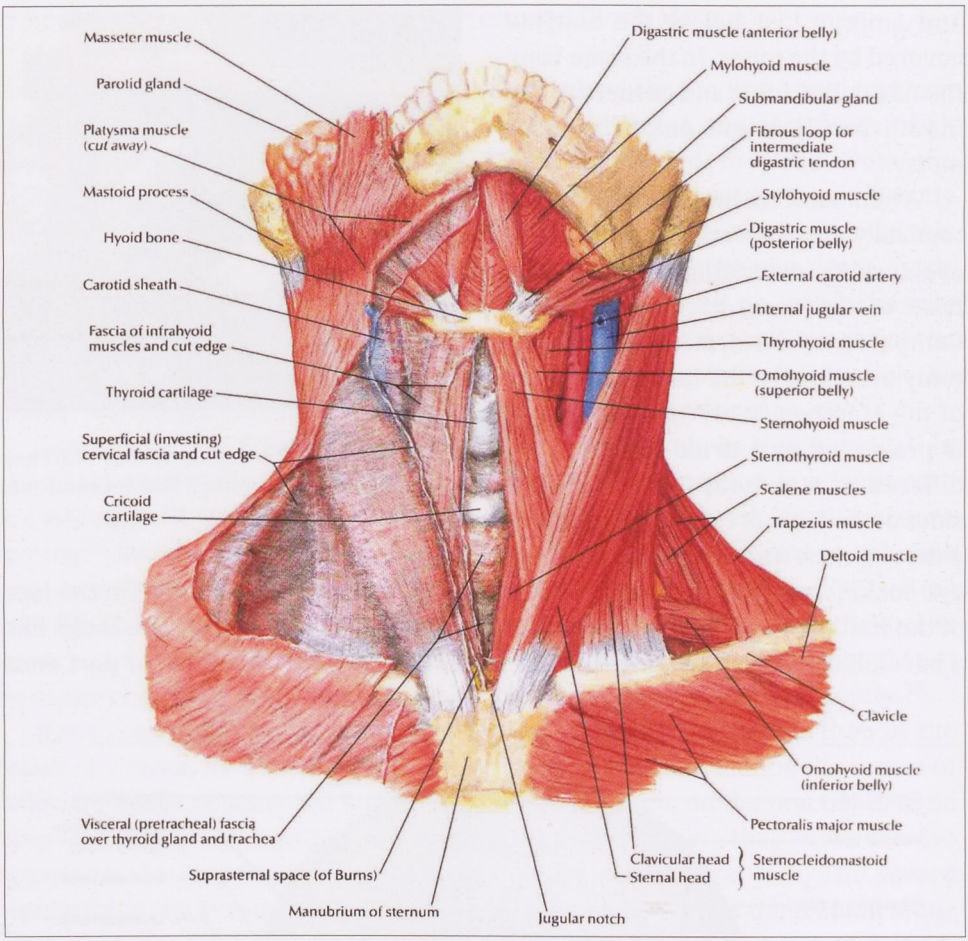

Fig. 4: Anatomy of the superficial muscles of the human neck, anterior view

with the cheekbone, which forms the lateral side of the eye socket. Hence, the Italian's orbital cavities end on the side of the face approximately where the cheekbone forms its pronounced cheek ball.

In contrast, the eye cavities of the bishop's face not only reach to the cheekbone, but stretch out above the zygomatic arch, forming in this way an oversized orbital cavity, unknown to the anatomy of the human skull. In addition, the posterior part of Wolfhard's lower jaw ends at an unnatural distance in front of the ear. The morphology of the cheek is also erroneous. There, two bulges arise from the zygomatic arch extending in the direction of the lower jaw. While the anterior one may refer to a skin fold, sometimes occurring as a consequence of ageing, the posterior one ends abruptly in the mid-cheek and has no equivalent in reality.[36]

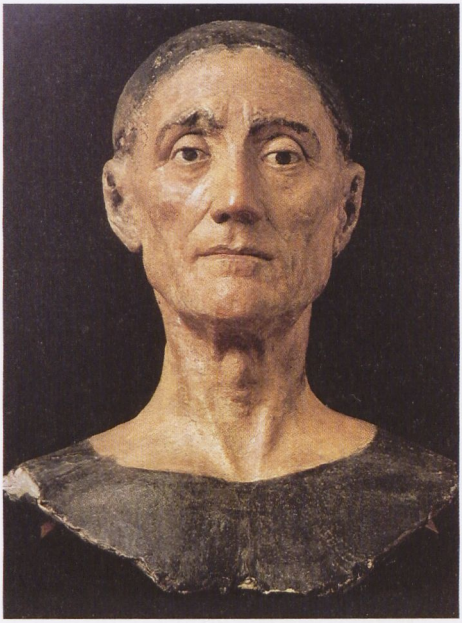

Fig. 5: Pietro Torrigiano, Head of the effigy of Henry VII of England, death cast integrated, 1509, London, Westminster Abbey

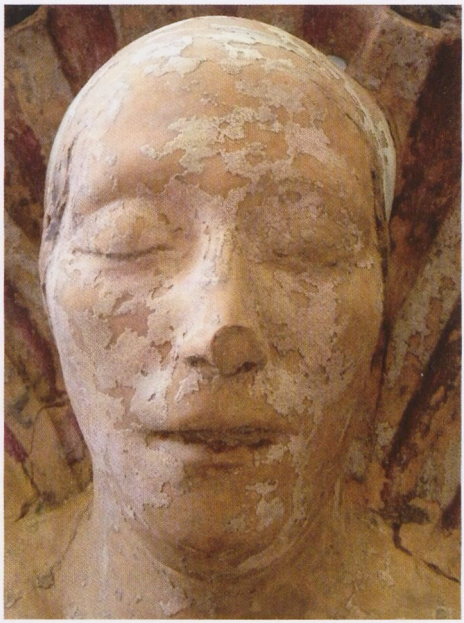

Fig. 6: Laurana da Francesco (attributed), Death cast of Battista Sforza, 1472, Paris, Musée du Louvre

Sometimes the neck of deceased individuals could be part of a death cast and should therefore also be examined here (pl. 8).[37] Again, there are anomalies. The two muscles reaching roughly from the ear to the upper sternum, called sternocleidomastoid muscles, are correctly shown with two muscle strands each. The strands of each muscle are shown apart from each other, seemingly joining behind the ear. In reality however, the strands of each muscle originate from the sternum and the clavicle and can only be distinguished slightly above the sternum. Viewed from above, it is obvious that both muscles do not converge at the sternum (pl. 8, fig. 4). A comparison with the death mask made for the effigy of Henry VII of England († 1509) illustrates the difference (fig. 5).[38]

Comparison with some of the oldest death masks that have survived from the post-antique period, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, confirms that no mould could possibly have been employed for the bronze plaque in Augsburg. All these masks, for which the mould taken from the corpse of Battista Sforza in 1472, probably by Laurana da Francesco, serves as a paradigm (fig. 6), are characterized by a more organic and morphologically coherent rendering of the facial surface than in the case of the countenance of Wolfhard. The morphological anomalies discussed are incompatible with a death cast and, furthermore, cannot be explained by elements of style alone. I shall return to this aspect further on.

But in spite of the morphological mistakes, certain facial areas reflect a good knowledge of their natural appearance. In particular, the area around the inner corner of the eyes and the skin folds emanating from there, as well as the voluminous protrusion of the cheekbones, the deep hollows of the cheeks, the fold between the lower lip and chin, and the pointed chin itself display the artists' understanding of the problems of representing particular physiognomic features.

Hence, on closer inspection of the modelling of Wolfhard's face, we may assume that it represents an amalgamation of ornamental elements with morphological forms, tending toward the naturalistic. The tension between ornamental and natural forms leads, on the one hand, to an unbalanced relation between them, i. e. to a lack of overall organization conjoining them into an organic entity. On the other hand, the combination of these forms in tension generates a specific effect on the beholder, providing an impression of "natural decay". This is ultimately the reason why Wolfhard's face has frequently been associated with a death mask.

Individualized Faces in the Sepulchral Art of the German-Speaking Countries

The end of the thirteenth century was the period when individualized faces were introduced into German sepulchral art.[39] In Italy, the effigy of the departed Clement IV took a pioneering position in this area by displaying a lifelike representation of the pope's corpse.[40] In the German-speaking areas, the funerary statue of Emperor Rudolf von Habsburg († 1291) in Speyer Cathedral seems to have paved the way for the display of individualized physiognomies. Rudolf's face is not a portrait, in the sense of a true-to-life image, but the considerable signs of ageing and his particular facial expression registered in the stone are impressive and have no precursors.[41] As with the countenance of Wolfhard von Roth, these are morphological patterns, modifying generic facial features into an individual looking visage. It is indeed essential that the artists endeavoured to particularize the appearance of both effigies. Schematic and fictional physiognomic formulas articulate a specific ego and personality and develop a facial topography that seems to be shaped by an individual past. Obviously, both countenances corresponded to the already tangible intention of characterizing a physiognomy. This is evident, for example, from an anecdote in a Styrian chronicle about the effigy of Rudolf von Habsburg, circulating around 1310 at the latest. It praised the likeness of the sculpture's face and reported that the artist had counted all the furrows in the emperor's face in order to record them in the figure.[42] When the stonemason heard of an additional wrinkle in the face, caused by ageing and illness, he visited the king himself, examined the wrinkle, and finally readjusted the sculpture to the emperor's appearance. Thus, the chronicle

acknowledged that various aspects of verisimilitude had become relevant by then: the examination of the depicted person *qua* personal inspection, the significance of characteristic facial features for a personalized representation, and finally the fact that signs of age and illnesses had become appropriate for the description of a high-ranking individual.

There are, indeed, other tomb figures dating from the first half of the fourteenth century in Southern Germany, not far from Augsburg, displaying in their faces particularized signs of ageing. In the faces of Bishop Mangold de Neuchâtel († 1303) and Bishop Otto von Wolfskehl († 1345) on their stone effigies in Würzburg Cathedral, as well as in the countenance of Bishop Friedrich von Hohenlohe († 1352) on his stone epitaph in Bamberg Cathedral, the sculptors went so far beyond stylization that we seem to, or perhaps do indeed, see naturalistic portraits.[43] These latter faces address a topic not related, in the narrower sense, to the treatment of Wolfhard's face, which combines stereotypical with naturalistic forms, and will therefore not be discussed here. However, it is possible to point out that, as far as sepulchral art in Southern Germany is concerned, there was a particular interest in individualizing facial features at the time when Wolfhard's bronze plaque was cast.

This interest in particularized faces is evoked in the so-called Lentulus Letter, mentioned only briefly here. It contains one of the most extensive descriptions of the physiognomy of Christ in the Middle Ages.[44] A falsification dating from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, it pretends to be an eyewitness account, contemporary with Christ's actions, by the Roman official Publius Lentulus. The earliest versions are written in the German language and have survived only in the German-speaking countries.[45] Although the text does not refer to a funerary context, it nevertheless seems to document a necessity in the German-speaking areas of the fourteenth century to associate specific persons with an individual face. Wolfhard's countenance is to be understood as part of this movement to individualize faces and thus suggests age, decrepitude, and a personal character through physiognomic formulas.

Fig. 7: Corpus Christi, originally from Arnstadt (?), Thuringia, ca. 1380, Eisenach, Thüringer Museum Eisenach, Predigerkirche

At this point, it should be noted that artists of the fourteenth century were familiar with pictorial formulas of

physiognomic decay. Numerous depictions of the martyred and dead Christ on the cross or upon the Holy Sepulcher recall that not only the artists, but also the theologians were concerned with the physical signs of death. In this very context, the powerful realism of the forked crucifix (1304) in the church of St. Maria im Kapitol at Cologne, which thematizes the "gruesome corpse" of the Son of God, as well as that of the cadaverous body laid down on the Holy Sepulcher (ca. 1330) in Freiburg Minster have been evoked.[46] Even greater similarities with Wolfhard's face are exhibited by the stereotypical forms in Thuringian crucifixes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, where oversized orbital cavities, sunken cheeks, drooping corners of the mouth, and pronounced nasolabial folds regularly characterize the face of Christ (fig. 7).[47]

Sepulchral Representations of Corpses in Northern Countries

Up to now, the effigy of deceased Wolfhard has mainly been interpreted in terms of its supposedly isolated position among German and even northern medieval tombs. In Italy, representations of the corpse on tombs had been common since the sepulchral monument of pope Clement IV († 1268) in the church of San Francesco in Viterbo, but in the northern Europe they were scarce and predominantly in use in France, where they appear for the very first time.[48] Panofsky mentioned the marble effigy of the Parisian bishop Guillaume de Chanac, deceased in 1348, now preserved in the Louvre.[49] In this context, Bauch called attention to the seventeenth-century drawing of the now lost tomb of the bishop of Poitiers Pierre de Châtellerault († 1135), created in the thirteenth century.[50] However, an important group of tombs displaying corpses, maybe Europe's earliest known, were created at the beginning of the thirteenth century for members of the ruling dynasty of the Plantagenet at Fontevraud Abbey in western France, which they had chosen as a burial place.[51] Here, each body is shown lying in state on a draped *lit de parade*. Since the tomb of Pierre de Châtellerault was erected in the very same Abbey of Fontevraud, this town belonging to the Diocese of Poitiers, it may not be a coincidence that the display of the bishop's corpse is in several aspects analogous to the Plantagenet monuments.

But there were more representations of corpses in early French sepulchral art. The marble statue of the Parisian bishop Matifas de Bucy († 1304) in the choir of Notre Dame at Paris, was created at the beginning of the second quarter of the fourteenth century and originally placed in the chapel of Nicasius of Reims, directly south of the cathedral's main chapel in the choir (fig. 8).[52] It depicts Matifas as a corpse laid out in elaborate episcopal vestments, whose gems are highlighted through coloured glass insertions. Both the sculptures of Matifas and of Pierre have highly individualized faces, so it may be plausible to assume they

Fig. 8: Effigy of Matifas de Bucy († 1304), Paris, Notre Dame de Paris, ambulatory of the choir

are naturalistic portraits. At any rate, the fact that the bishops are shown as corpses with individualized faces is a clear reference to the fleshliness and decay of the human body, but also to its individual physical peculiarity. These bodily qualities were accentuated in Matifas' tomb by a now-lost wall painting above the effigy, which at the top showed the soul of Matifas led to God in a shroud, while in a lower register the Madonna enthroned with the Christ child was placed between a bishop and St. Nicasius of Reims, the patron of the chapel (fig. 9). Hence, the soul and the dead body were clearly separated in the tomb by the gisant and the wall painting, but *via* this separation each one of them was particularly emphasized.

Similar systems of visual messages are to be found in the tomb of Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta at Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome, which dates from the end of the thirteenth century. The tomb of Juan de Aragón y Anjou in the Cathedral of Tarragona, created around 1334, also highlights the

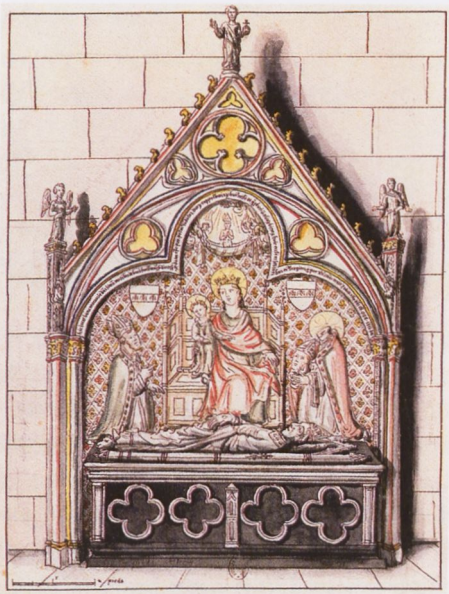

Fig. 9: François Roger de Gaignières, *Enfeu* of Simon Matifas de Bucy in Notre-Dame, before 1711, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Estampes Rés. Pe 11 Coll. Gaignières, fol. 258

dualism of body and soul of the deceased, here through marble sculptures both of the laid-out corpse and the soul ascending to the Creator.[53] In France, however, the tomb of Matifas was the first, or at least a very early example, of such tombs that showed the corpse and the soul at the same time.[54]

Sepulchral Representations of Corpses in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in German-Speaking Countries

A First Representation of the Corpse in Naumburg Cathedral

It is tempting to suspect influence from the tombs in Fontevraud on Wolfhard's monument. They share the pictorial theme of a body laid out on a *lit de parade*, covered by a drape. However, sufficient evidence for a direct reception could not yet be provided, and the examination of this aspect is not the subject of this essay. It should be noted, however, that the French motif was adopted as early as the second third of the thirteenth century, in the tomb slab of a still unidentified bishop situated in the eastern choir of Naumburg Cathedral (figs. 10, 11).[55]

The body lies on a stone slab, which is separated by a surrounding concave groove from an underlying, slightly broader plinth.[56] The head rests on a small pillow, the feet lean against a sloping footplate. Already Körner contradicted Bauch, in that the figure represents a standing person. The head is "as inclined as the lying position on the pillow obliges it to be" and thus clearly expresses the horizontal posture.[57] Furthermore, we may add that the way the head is inclined forward is reminiscent of sepulchral effigies showing corpses, such as the somewhat later sculpture of Guillaume de Bray († 1282) in Orvieto. The stone effigy in Naumburg shows the bishop open-eyed, but the pallium sinks in between the folds of the chasuble like it does for a recumbent body.[58]

Some aspects of scholarly research are stressed at particular times, others neglected. So it happened with the motif of "recumbency". Generally speaking, research of sepulchral art subsequent to Körner's monograph has not focused any more on the motif of "standing" or "lying" in tomb sculpture.[59] We may, therefore, add some details of the bishop's tomb in Naumburg which manifestly emphasizes the aspect of recumbency, and even of weight. The bishop wears on his left forearm a maniple that, when worn during mass, hangs down. However, on the tomb it is drooping down over the edge of the bishop's slab to the plinth (fig. 10). Its main fabric and fringes literally sink into the concave groove between the slab and plinth and thus clearly mark the recumbent position of the effigy and the weight of the body and its garments. This detail is accentuated on the gisant by being worked out in the immediate vicinity of the left hand of the bishop, which curves in a conspicuous manner around the *pedum*, the crosier. In fact, it seems

Figs. 10 and 11: Naumburg Master or his circle, Episcopal tomb, Naumburg, about second third of thirteenth century, Cathedral St. Peter and St. Paul, eastern choir, seen from the feet and from above

inaccurate to say that the bishop grasps the crosier "gently and delicately" with two fingers.[60] Rather, the index and middle finger rest on the staff, and the ring finger and little finger are bent inwards and spread out at the same time, as if the staff had been positioned between the lifeless members. This impression is reinforced when beholding the forearm and the torso, where the crosier rests heavily on the robe. Here the staff sinks with its entire diameter into a puff of the chasuble, which rears up to the right and left of it.

Incidentally, the folds of the chasuble also conform to the horizontal position and Wolfhard's gisant also represents them. They mean to express that the long chasuble was pulled up to reveal the hands of the bishop underneath. The

garments sink in between the legs and, furthermore, the feet do not rest firmly on the footplate, but rather lean against it, as do the feet of the deceased Plantagenets in Fontevraud.

It is essential for the interpretation of the Naumburg effigy to highlight that, except for the open eyes, nothing else speaks in favour of the representation of a living person.[61] Rather, the effigy expressly emphasizes the moments of inertness, heaviness and lifelessness. It is remarkable how much the artist has stressed these points in the episcopal figure. Thus, the chasuble covers the lower part of the crosier and, under the staff itself, it lies smoothly on the stone. The strap of the book is bent upwards over the body, as if it had been placed as an attribute in the person's right. The body weighs heavy on the slab, so that the elbows protrude laterally beyond it. The head and the miter press deeply on the pillow, the hood, which has been spread under the head, reaches partially over the ears.

In the context of the sculptural work of the so-called Naumburg master, Jean Wirth has, significantly, spoken of a "rhetoric of drapery" which supports the "psychological characterization of the represented persons".[62] Following this interpretation, the folds of the drapery of the Naumburg bishop, as well as his posture, represent his lying in state. The bishop's slab was deliberately highlighted by its original white colour and the surrounding concave groove and may thus be understood as an allusion to the mattress of a catafalque.[63] The figure expresses recumbency and heaviness so much that the sensation is only logical, "everything, even the book cover, the crosier and drapery seem to drop down to the base".[64] In any case, the metaphorical signification of the stone slab is enhanced and modified by the maniple dropping down to the plinth so that, together with the recumbent position and the expressed heaviness, it hints at the historical circumstance of the lying in state.[65] This connotation must have been evident to contemporary clerics, since the effigy referred directly to a corpse. There have been for some time doubts in research as to whether the Naumburg tomb really contained a body. However, as has recently been shown, under the tomb slab there is indeed a buried bishop's corpse that has never been translocated.[66] In the Naumburg bishop's tomb, the antinomic situations of "lying" and "standing", as described by the literature on the tombs of the thirteenth century, has been consistently modified into the antinomy of "dead" and "alive", with the accent being placed on the representation of the corpse.[67]

These remarks do not seek to force a direct reception of the French motif in the tomb of the Naumburg bishop, but rather intend to illustrate that Wolfhard's effigy, unlike previously suggested, inscribes itself into a larger artistic context, albeit seldom represented in the sepulchral art of German-speaking countries, in which the laying out of the corpse played a central role. The reason for the neglect of this sepulchral framework by art historical research so far may be linked to the completely unique position that has been attributed to it.[68]

Corpse and elevatio animae

There are other German tombs of the fourteenth century dealing with the lying in state of the dead body. To this thematic framework belongs the tomb slab of the bishop of Cologne, Engelbert II von Falkenburg, made shortly after his death in 1274 (fig. 12).[69] While the vestments obviously refer to a standing position here, the bishop's head rests on a pillow, eyes closed, and his crossed hands evidently refer to the laying out of the corpse.[70]

This interpretation is all the more evident, as Engelbert's tomb was obviously influenced by French *enfeu* tombs, such as the monument for Matifas. The slab was originally placed upon a *tumba* and attached to the wall with one of its long sides, which is the only one carrying no inscription. Whether the *tumba* was enframed by an archivolt and accompanied by a wall depiction above it, as in Matifas' sepulcher, can no longer be ascertained. However, the inscription on the tomb slab lacks common specifications such as the date of death, the name of the burial place and an intercessory formula, suggesting that they were initially above the *tumba*, similar to the superscription integrated in the canopy of Matifas' tomb.[71]

The *elevatio animae*, the elevation of the soul, in a shroud held by two angels, incorporated here into the horizontal tomb slab, is a theme embraced directly

Fig. 12: Tomb slab of Archbishop Engelbert II von Falkenburg († 1274), last quarter of the fourteenth century, Bonn, Minster St. Martin, western choir

from French sepulchral art. There it was most commonly shown above representations of the laid-out body, as in Matifas' monument, where it was painted on the wall above the effigy. Similarly, the now-lost *enfeu* tomb of abbot Arnoult de Saint-Père in Chartres Abbey, created around 1220 to 1225, incorporated the rise of the soul into the apex of the canopy's arch.[72] Finally, to give one more example, the brass plaque of Abbot Matthieu de Vendôme († 1286), formerly in the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis, showed the clergyman horizontally, his eyes closed, his head resting on a pillow but, as his vestments specify, standing under a gothic canopy.[73] The soul of the deceased, elevated by two angels, could be seen in the open trefoil of the canopy, so that the iconography of this plaque was very similar to the one used for Engelbert II von Falkenburg.

In conclusion, although Engelbert's dress shows him as standing, a number of other pictorial elements, such as the closed eyes, the head resting on a pillow and crossed hands, refer to the bishop's laid out corpse. Hence, in Engelbert's tomb as well, the dualism of "dead" and "alive" is addressed by the motif of the public lying in state.

Carrying the Bier of State

Equally clearly, albeit in a different way, the *tumba* of Gunther XXV von Schwarzburg († 1368) and his spouse Elisabeth von Honstein (ca. † 1381), made for the Liebfrauenkirche in Arnstadt in the early eighties of the fourteenth century, represents the motif of the exposition of the corpse on the *lit de parade* (fig. 13).[74] Both individuals are shown as reclining bodies upon a *tumba*. Their heads rest on pillows, their faces smile, and their dresses represent standing figures. However, right below the upper slab and on each long side of the tomb, three pall-bearers from the entourage of the court of the Schwarzburg, knights and squires, are shown in relief on the wall of the *tumba*, all looking ahead and, judging by the position of their legs, walking slowly and solemnly.[75] They wear costly costumes and support the stone slab with both their hands and shoulders. The beholder witnesses the grief in the grimaces of their faces, which turns them into *pleurants*, mourning figures, sorrowing for the deceased aristocrats who are lying in state on the bier.[76] To my knowledge, they are the only pall-bearers of the fourteenth century created in German-speaking countries. But their appearance is hardly surprising. On the walls of the *tumba* of Henry IV of Silesia, Krakow and Sandomir († 1290), formerly in the Church of the Holy Cross at Wrocław, clerics perform the funeral rites on one long side and on the other long side mourners attend them, while at the corners of the *tumba* four angels support the slab with their arms stretched upward.[77] The latter signify Henry's destination, first of his soul and subsequently of his body, in the realm of God, but they simultaneously

Fig. 13: Tumba of Count Gunther XXV von Schwarzburg-Blankenburg († 1368) and his spouse Elisabeth von Honstein († ca. 1381), about 1370–1380, Arnstadt, Liebfrauenkirche, western choir, side view

reference the funeral procession. In Arnstadt, however, the carrying of the bier during the funeral procession has become, itself, a subject of the picture, an anticipation of the well-known funerary monument that Philippe Pot had later produced, before 1493, by Antoine Le Moiturier in the abbey church at Cîteaux.

Influence of Wolfhard's Tomb: Lying in State

In connection with the interpretation of Wolfhard's effigy, the tomb slab of stone of the Augsburger Bishop Frederick Spät von Faimingen, Wolfhard's second successor, must be mentioned (fig. 14). His *tumba* was originally placed in the middle of the choir in front of the high altar of Augsburg Cathedral and was certainly made shortly after his death in 1331.[78] It confirms that freestanding tombs inside the choir were common in Augsburg and, by this, corroborates the original position of Wolfhard's *tumba* next to the choir steps. The tomb slab was discovered in 1983 during construction work and is heavily abraded, thus leaving little room for any precise conclusion about the details of the figure. However, it is noticeable that certain parts of the gisant show analogies to Wolfhard's figure. For instance, both heads rest next to the crosier's top on a large pillow, the hands are placed

Fig. 14: Tomb slab of Bishop Frederick Spät von Faimingen († 1331), about 1331, Augsburg, Augsburg Cathedral, northern transept

before the abdomen in the same, mirror-inverted way, both maniples have a similar, thin shape, and the lower border of the dress is piled up on the feet in similar folds. Because of the abraded condition of the face, it is not possible to judge whether the eyes were originally closed or not. However, several details of the slab demonstrate that Frederick's effigy represents a recumbent body. The tassels at the edges of the pillow drop down to the surface of the *tumba* on which the effigy is placed as they do in Wolfhard's monument, too. The lappets of the miter lie on the pillow and sink in between the pillow and Frederick's shoulder. Furthermore, the maniple sinks down on the abdomen of the bishop. Finally, in spite of the bad condition of the effigy's surface, it is possible to say that the entire drapery conforms to the recumbent position. Thus, we may suggest that the analogies to Wolfhard's figure, exposed in the same choir, were understood by the contemporary beholder as a reference to Engelbert's corpse lying in state, regardless of whether Frederick's eyes were open or not.

Conclusion

The face of a decaying corpse, as in Wolfhard's effigy, had never before been depicted in German tomb sculpture with such drastic effect. In this regard, Wolfhard's face actually remained unique throughout the fourteenth century. No other sepulchral sculpture epitomised with such emphasis the physiognomic deterioration, not even the representation of the corpse of Engelbert II von Falkenburg. In this, Wolfhard's effigy is reminiscent of recumbent figures from Italy, although any evidence for this kind of influence has not been provided so far.

However, if the rhetoric of Wolfhard's dead features remained unparalleled in the German-speaking area until the fifteenth century, this certainly does not apply to the representation of the lying in state of the corpse. On the contrary, Wolfhard's effigy is anchored in a contemporary artistic discourse about the representation of corpses on tombs, which helps to decipher and better understand his physiognomy.[79] The tomb slabs discussed here document a continuous consideration of this motif in German sepulchral art since the second third of the thirteenth century at the latest, if only in a limited number of monuments. Investigating its transfer from Italy and France to the bishop's effigy at Naumburg and to the representations of the lying in state in the German-speaking area would be a worthy enhancement of art historical investigations related to late medieval sepulchers.[80]

In late medieval German tombs, the reference to the exposition of the corpse on the *lit de parade* mostly seems to have been conceived with the implicit reference to the state of the afterlife of the departed, maybe thought to counterbalance the bitterness of the representation: the open eyes and the standing posture are its emphatic characteristics. Wolfhard's effigy, nevertheless, eludes this compensatory principle. It does not manifest any visible metaphor for "being alive", and, in this sense, it figures as a single phenomenon, an isolated episode of German late medieval art. Only the artists' signature attached to a prominent place on the tomb, with its reference to the two poles of wax and ore, seems to be on a meta-level an allusion to the transient (wax, human flesh) and eternal (ore, human soul). Its association with the technical process of bronze casting, during which the wax of the tomb model had to be brought, by employment of fire, to liquefaction in order to be substituted by liquid bronze that would take the shape of the wax and finally solidify, seems to have alluded to both the ephemerality of the earthly and the persistence of heavenly life.[81]

With the distinctive face and effigy of Bishop Wolfhard von Roth, Otto and Conrad were early in creating a new chapter within a larger theme in sepulchral art, concerned with individual persons, their corpses, and their afterlife. Within this artistic undertaking, the Augsburg representation was not an isolated case, but an austere variation, and more faithful to the funeral rite, of a subject that had already been treated in the episcopal tomb in Naumburg. There, but more evidently in Augsburg, the body seems to shrink together. The surprisingly flat relief of Wolfhard's corpse, and the concave curvature of its bed of state, yielding under the load of the body, express the heaviness of the inanimate flesh. Only the gravity and determination in the episcopal visage, according to the ideal image of a bishop and perhaps to the bishop's own character, still seem to defy this lifelessness.

1 Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture. Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, New York 1964.
2 Susie Nash, Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*: Creating the Monument, in: *Revisiting the Monument. Fifty Years since Panofsky's* Tomb sculpture, ed. by Jessica Barker and Ann Adams, London 2016, p. 16–28, here p. 20s and n. 21. See also Martin Warnke, Vorbemerkung, in: Erwin Panofsky, *Grabplastik. Vom alten Ägypten bis Bernini*, Cologne ^{2}1992, p. 6.
3 Panofsky 1964 (see n. 1), p. 7. See also Nash 2016 (see n. 2), p. 17–21.
4 Jessica Barker, Introduction, in: Barker and Adams 2016 (see n. 2), p. 11–15, here p. 11.
5 Nash 2016 (see n. 2), p. 17.
6 Panofsky 1964 (see n. 1), p. 58.
7 Ibid., p. 57. Panofsky also discussed the tomb slab of Presbyter Bruno († 1194) in Hildesheim Cathedral, shown as an enshrouded corpse ready for burial. However, the face and drapery of this effigy do not correspond to a dead body and to a recumbent position.
8 Panofsky calls it cathedral, although it was a collegiate church.
9 Panofsky 1964 (see n. 1), p. 58. However, Kurt Bauch recalled that the effigy of Albert II, Duke of Bavaria († 1397), in the Carmelite Church at Straubing shows him as a corpse as early as the end of the fourteenth century. Yet, the draperies of Albert and Ulrich conform to a standing position. The stonemason Hans Haider carved both tomb slabs. Kurt Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild*, Berlin 1976, p. 273–275.
10 Panofsky 1964 (see n. 1), p. 51. For late medieval sepulchral portraiture in effigies imitating the laid-out corpse, see Dominic Olariu, *Genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIII^{e} siècle*, Bern 2014.
11 Bauch 1976 (see n. 9), p. 98; Hans Körner, *Grabmonumente des Mittelalters*, Darmstadt 1997, p. 112, p. 157.
12 Max Kemmerich, Das Grabmal des Bischofs Wolfhard von Augsburg, in: *Archiv für die Geschichte des Hochstifts Augsburg* 2, 1909, p. 23–42, here p. 31–32; Panofksy 1964 (see n. 1), p. 58; Bauch 1976 (see n. 9), p. 98; Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 112, p. 157.
13 Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 157. For this point of view, see already Kemmerich 1909 (see n. 12), p. 31.
14 Heinrich Klotz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst. Mittelalter 600–1400. Erster Band*, Munich 1998; Gerhard Lutz, Repräsentation und Affekt. Skulptur von 1250 bis 1430, in: *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland, vol. 3 Gotik*), ed. by Bruno Klein, Munich 2007, p. 327–397, here p. 343s.
15 For the signature and the quality of the cast, see the essays by Rebecca Müller and by Martin Mach and Björn Seewald in the present volume. See also Horst Bredekamp, *Image Acts. A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency*, Berlin 2010, p. 53.
16 For the "Boy with Thorn" on the tomb plaque of Friedrich von Wettin, see Bruno Reudenbach, *Geschichte der Kunst, vol. 5: Die Kunst des Mittelalters. 1. 800–1200*), Munich 2008, p. 111–112.
17 Bredekamp 2010 (see n. 15), p. 45–46. See also Marthiel Mathews, Gislebertus hoc fecit, in: *Gesta* 1/2, 1964, p. 22–28; Linda Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun*, Chicago 1999, esp. p. 1–32.
18 For the making of the bronze plaque, see the essay by Joanna Olchawa in the present volume.
19 Placidus Braun, *Geschichte der Bischöfe von Augsburg*, 2 vols., Augsburg 1814, vol. 2, p. 388; Kemmerich 1909 (see n. 12), p. 32, interpreted the words "ad *gradus*" as a reference to the exterior steps leading to the entry of the cathedral and suggested that the first emplacement of the tomb was inside a supposedly now-lost atrium of the cathedral. For the transliteration of the inscription and its detailed discussion, see the essay in the present volume

by Dorothea Diemer. The crucial passus reads: "*defunctus canonicorum, ut coniectura est, conditorio ad gradus nuncupato, est tumulatus*". As Diemer shows, the inscription has been published several times in slightly different wordings and lead to different interpretations of its meaning. – However, as I understand the Latin passage, all newer translations of the inscription do not seem to have considered that it is rather to be translated as "the departed has been buried in the consecrated sepulture, as is the presumption, for the canons, located at the steps" than by "the departed has been buried, as is the presumption, in the sepulture for the canons called ad gradus". The Latin word "*nuncupare*" is used in the inscription to denote "to award something to a deity". For this latter meaning, see Karl Ernst Georges, *Handwörterbuch Lateinisch-Deutsch*, reprint, 2 vols., Hannover 1988, vol. 2, col. 1223–1224. For the predominant use of "*nuncupare*" in sacral contexts, see Alois Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1906, [2]1910, p. 872–873 For the consecration of sepultures, see the entry by Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, Grab, in: *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, 16 vols., in 32 sub-volumes, Leipzig 1854–1961, vol. 8, col. 1477–1530, here col. 1494. Also see e. g. the specifications related to the grave of Vasta Rinaldo, who in 1633 was buried in a "*sepulcro nuncupato*", "consecrated grave", in the church Santissima Trinità at Naples: Antonio Jossa Fasano, *Melito nella storia di Napoli. Uno studio, una ricerca,* Naples 1978, p. 127. Diemer also deduces from the inscription that the first emplacement of the tomb was in the choir.

20 Although the inscription states 1300, and thus the wrong year of the bishop's death, this seems to be a comprehensible error, considering the long time interval that had passed. From this mistake, it should not be concluded that the details about the first emplacements of the tomb are inaccurate as well, since the tomb stayed for many years in the same place before its translocation.

21 For the preceding church, see Georg Dehio and Gustav von Bezold, *Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart 1892, pl. 50, fig. 5. For the reconstruction of the eastern choir, see the references in *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte (vol. III.2, Geschichte Schwabens bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts)*, new ed. by Andreas Kraus, Munich 2001, p. 758, fn. 3.

22 The circumferential inscription states: HAC . SVNT . IN . FOSSA . / VVOLFHARDI . PRESVLIS . OSSA . YDIBVS . A . MVNDO . / IANI . MIG[R]AT . ILLE . / SECVNDO . ANNO . MILLENO . CENTENO . TER . NVMERATO .; see Franz-Albrecht Bornschlegel in the present volume. The wording corresponded to a topos, see Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 157–158. Examples for contemporary *enfeu*-tombs in France are the sepulcher of Matifas de Bucy († 1304, see below), in Italy the sepulcher of Matteo d'Acquasparta († 1302), in Santa Maria in Aracoeli at Rome, and in Spain the sepulcher for Juan de Aragón y Anjou in Tarragona Cathedral from ca. 1334 (see below).

23 Panofsky 1964 (see n. 1), p. 53.

24 Ibid., p. 58. These photographs reproduced by Panofsky were labelled as "photographs specially made for the author".

25 Ibid.

26 Jan Białostocki, Book Review of Erwin Panofsky: Tomb Sculpture, in: *The Art Bulletin* 49, 3, 1967, p. 258–261, here p. 260.

27 Robert Munman, Optical Corrections in the Sculpture of Donatello, in: *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 75.2, 1985, p. 1–96, here p. 6.

28 Hans Weigert, Die Stilstufen der Deutschen Plastik von 1250 bis 1350, in: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 3, 1927, p. 147–265, p. 267–271, LXIV–C, here p. 178–179, p. 234–235.

29 For the bronze plaque, see Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 107–108; for the candelabrum of Wolfram, see Klotz 1998 (see n. 14), p. 177–178; for the Bamberg sculptures, see ibid., p. 264, 276–277; for the tomb slab of Rudolf von Habsburg, see Bauch 1976 (see n. 9),

p. 96–98; Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 128–130; Martin Büchsel, Nur der Tyrann hat sein eigenes Gesicht. Königsbilder im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert in Frankreich und Deutschland, in: *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, ed. by Martin Büchsel and Peter Schmidt, Mainz 2003, p. 123–140, here 123–125; Gerhard Lutz, Grabmal Rudolfs I. von Habsburg, in: *Gotik* (see n. 14), p. 356s. (with references). For the somewhat earlier bronze plaque of Rudolf von Swabia († 1080) in Merseburg cathedral, see Thomas Dale, The Individual, the Resurrected Body, and Romanesque Portraiture: The Tomb of Rudolf von Schwaben in Merseburg, in: *Speculum* 77, no. 3, Jul., 2002, p. 707–743. For later bronze plaques, see Laura Goldenbaum, *In testimonium veritatis. Der Bronzegisant als Totenabbild im italienischen Quattrocento*, Berlin 2018.

30 Walter Josephi, Die mittelalterliche Metallplastik in Augsburg, in: *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben* 29, 1903, p. 79–92, here 88–89.

31 Kemmerich 1909 (see n. 12), p. 33–34, 40.

32 . OTTO . ME . CERA . FECIT . CVONRATQ(VE) . PER . E[RA], see Franz-Albrecht Bornschlegel in the present volume.

33 Moritz Siebert, *Totenmaske und Porträt. Der Gesichtsabguss in der Kunst der Florentiner Renaissance*, Baden-Baden 2017, p. 100–101; Goldenbaum 2018 (see n. 29), p. 49.

34 Harald Keller, Die Entstehung des Bildnisses am Ende des Hochmittelalters, in: *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 3, 1939, p. 227–365, here 282.

35 Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 157.

36 The skin fold mentioned can be observed on the face of the effigy of Cardinal Guillaume de Bray († 1282), San Domenico, Orvieto.

37 To name just two examples, for the death masks of Battista Sforza (1472, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures, inv. RF 1171) and Filippo Brunelleschi (1446, Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo) the neck has also been cast.

38 Anthony Harvey and Richard Mortimer, *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, Woodbridge 1994, ^{2}2003.

39 For recent studies of the late medieval portrait, see, in addition to the references in the present essay, the following publications and their references: *Porträt vor der Erfindung* 2003 (see n. 29); Martin Büchsel, *Die Entstehung des Christusporträts*, Mainz 2003; Valentin Groebner, *Who are you? Identification, Deception and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*, New York 2007 (1st German ed. 2004); *Contemporary Approaches to the Medieval Face*, ed. by Clark Maines (special issue, *Gesta*, 46.2), New York 2007; *Set in stone. The Face in Medieval Culture*, ed. by Charles Little and Willibald Sauerländer, New Haven 2006; *Le portrait. La représentation de l'individu* (Micrologus' library 17), ed. by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Florenz 2007; Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King*, Chicago 2009; *Le portrait individuel. Réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation, XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle*, ed. by Dominic Olariu, Bern 2009; Noa Turel, Living pictures: Rereading "au vif", 1350–1550, in: *Gesta* 50.2, 2011, p. 163–182; *Similitudo*, ed. by Martin Gaier, Jeanette Kohl, and Alberto Saviello, Munich 2012; Hans Belting, *Face and Mask. A Double History*, Princeton 2017 (1st German ed. 2013); Élisabeth Gaucher-Rémond, *Autoportrait et représentation de l'individu*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2016.

40 For Pope Clement IV, see Olariu 2014 (see n. 10), p. 198–209.

41 See the detailed discussion and the references in Büchsel 2003 (see n. 29), p. 123–125.

42 The anecdote is summed up and discussed in ibid., p. 123, and printed in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken (scriptorum qui vernacula lingua usi sunt)*, 6 vol., Munich 1877–1909, vol. 5, 1st part, ed. by Joseph Seemüller, 1890, p. 509.

43 See the still interesting analysis in Weigert 1927 (see n. 28), particularly p. 207–214, and *passim*. See also Bauch 1976 (see n. 9), p. 241, 244, who incorrectly locates the tomb of Friedrich von Hohenlohe in Würzburg Cathedral. Körner 1996 (see n. 11), p. 158–159.

44 For the Lentulus Letter, see Perkinson 2009 (see n. 39), p. 30–32; Kurt Ruh, Der sog. ‚Lentulus-Brief' über Christi Gestalt, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon,* ed. by Kurt Ruh, 13 vol., Berlin 1978, ^{2}2007, vol. 5 (1985), col. 705–709 and vol. 11 (2004), col. 918; Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende (Texte und Untersuchungn zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 18).* Leipzig 1899, p. 308**–330**; see also, with references to the different manuscript copies of the letter, Der sog. ‚Lentulus-Brief über Christi Gestalt', in: *Handschriftencensus* http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/2913 (seen on 5 May, 2019).

45 Ibid., in the respective description of each manuscript; Dobschütz 1899 (see n. 44), p. 308**; Cora Lutz, The Letter of Lentulus Describing Christ, in: *Yale University Library Gazette* 50, 1975, p. 91–97, here 91.

46 For the forked crucifix, see Weigert 1927 (see n. 28), p. 178–179, 244; Klotz 1998 (see n. 14), p. 332–335, here 333; Gerhard Lutz, Crucifixus dolorosus, in: *Gotik* (see n. 14), p. 362–362 (with references); for the Holy Sepulcher in Freiburg, see Klotz (see n. 14), p. 331; Gerhard Lutz, Heiliges Grab, in: *Gotik* (see n. 14), p. 370–371 (with references).

47 See e. g. the following crucifixes in the Predigerkirche in Eisenach, Thuringia (no inventory numbers): *Corpus Christi*, Osthausen near Arnstadt, Thuringia, ca. 1220, lime wood; *Corpus Christi*, Kleinhettstedt near Stadtilm, Thuringia, ca. 1330–40, lime wood; *Corpus Christi*, Arnstadt (?), ca. 1380, lime wood.

48 For the earliest tombs showing representations of corpses in Italy, see Olariu 2014 (see n. 10); Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 120–128; see also the very interesting remarks by Gerhard Schmidt, Typen und Bildmotive des spätmittelalterlichen Monumentalgrabes, in: *Skulptur und Grabmal des Spätmittelalters in Rom und Italien*, ed. by Jörg Garms and Angiola Maria Romanini, Vienna 1990, p. 13–105, p. 60–80.

49 Panofsky 1964 (see n. 1), p. 51, fn. 1. The effigy is kept today in the Louvre, Département des sculptures, L.P. 439, and was initially part of the tomb in the chapel of the hospital of the canons regular abbey St. Victor at Paris. Panofsky refers to the Collection Gaignières, which, he writes, contains several drawings of tombs with effigies representing corpses. Bauch 1976 (see n. 9), p. 51–58, discusses three drawings: Matifas de Bucy, Pierre de Châtellerault, and Arnold of Chartres. Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 125, discusses Pierre de Châtellerault. For the Collection Gaignières, see below n. 80.

50 The drawing is Gaignières I 697. Bauch 1976 (see n. 9), p. 56–58; Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 125–126.

51 Panofsky 1964 (see n. 1), p. 57, 61; Bauch 1976 (see n. 9), p. 54–56; Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 110–111. However, Bauch 1976 (see n. 9), p. 45–54, called attention to other tombs that he attributes to the twelfth century, where the effigies display corpses. One is a lost tomb, formerly in Reims Cathedral, whose remains have been re-used in the northern façade of the same cathedral, the so-called Porte Romane. Bauch suggests an attribution to Archbishop Henri de France († 1170), a brother of King Louis VII, and dates the tomb to about 1180. Another one belonged to a bishop in Rouen Cathedral, attributed to Rotrocus of Warwick, dated to the end of the twelfth century. Bauch also mentions the tombs of St. Hilary in Poitiers, of an abbot in the city Irache in Navarra, and of St. Isarnus in Marseille. However, the dating Bauch proposes has to be verified.

52 For the tomb of Matifas, see Jean-Marie Guillouët and Guillaume Kazerouni, Une nouvelle peinture médiévale à Notre-Dame de Paris: le tombeau de Simon Matifas de Bucy, in: *Revue de l'art* 158, 2008, 1, p. 35–44; Charlotte Stanford, The Body at the Funeral: Imagery and Commemoration at Notre-Dame, Paris, about 1304–18, in: *The Art Bulletin*, 89, 4, 2007, p. 657–673. For the historical person Matifas de Bucy, see the references ibid., n. 13, and also: H. Gd., II. Variétés, in: *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France Paris* 17, 1842, p. 264–275, here p. 268s; Felix Brun, Notes sur les Simons de Bucy et le vieux château de

Bucy-le-Long, in: *Bulletin de la société historique de Soissons* 14, 1907, p. 359–405.

53 For the tomb in Tarragona Cathedral, see Dominic Olariu, Das andere Porträt. Die Ursprünge des spätmittelalterlichen Bildnisses, in: *Kanon Kunstgeschichte. Einführungen in Werke, Methoden und Epochen*, ed. by Kristin Marek and Martin Schulz, 4 vol., Paderborn 2015, vol. 1, p. 361–377.

54 Guillouët and Kazerouni 2008 (see n. 52), p. 8.

55 Whether the bishop represented is the bishop of Zeitz-Naumburg, Hildeward, who officiated from 1002 until his death in 1030, or the bishop of Naumburg, Dietrich II of Naumburg († 1272), is still a subject of discussion. See Mathias Ludwig, Das Bischofsgrabmal im Ostchor des Naumburger Domes. Eine kritische Zwischenbilanz, in: *Der Naumburger Meister. Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen*, exh.-cat. Naumburg, Dom, Schlösschen und Stadtmuseum Hohe Lilie, ed. by Hartmut Krohm and Holger Kunde, 3 vols., Petersberg 2011–2012, vol. 2, 2011, p. 1169–1179. For the tomb slab, see the references in the catalogue entry by Philipp Kuroczik, XIII.1 Bischofsgrabmal, in: ibid., p. 1188–1190; Johannes Tripps, Das Kenotaph des Bischofs Hildeward im Rahmen der Inszenierung von Stiftergrabmälern im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert, in: ibid., vol. 3, 2012, p. 98–111, as well as the newest study: Anke Neugebauer and Heiko Brandl, 5.1.1 Bischofsgrab, in: *Der Dom zu Naumburg. Band 2: Ausstattung*, ed. by Heiko Brandl, Matthias Ludwig and Oliver Ritter, Regensburg 2018, p. 923–932, who suggest Bishop Dietrich II as occupant of the tomb.

56 See the description of the different layers of the tomb base in Kuroczik 2011 (see n. 55).

57 Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 111.

58 Ibid.

59 One recent exception is the essay by Robert Marcoux, Memory, Presence, and the Medieval Tomb, in: Barker and Adams 2016 (see n. 2), p. 49–67.

60 Kuroczik 2011 (see n. 55), p. 1188. Ludwig 2011 (see n. 55) p. 1175, and Neugebauer and Brandl 2018 (see n. 55), p. 927, also describe the hand as "holding" the staff.

61 Helga Wäß, *Form und Wahrnehmung mitteldeutscher Gedächtnisskulptur im 14. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols., Berlin 2006, vol. 1, p. 470, also understands the posture of the bishop as conforming to a recumbent body.

62 Jean Wirth, Die Rhetorik des Faltenwurfs am Beispiel der Naumburger Stifterfiguren, in: *Naumburger Meister* 2011 (see n. 55), vol. 2, p. 1254–1262, here 1262.

63 For the original colouration, see Tino Simon, Kunsttechnologische Untersuchung des Bischofsgrabmals im Ostchor des Naumburger Doms, in: *Naumburger Meister* 2012, vol. 3, (see n. 55), p. 1370–1373, here p. 1372.

64 Kuroczik 2011 (see n. 55), p. 1190.

65 Kuroczik, ibid., shares the interpretation of the effigy as a "a dead man laid in peace and dignity to the final rest".

66 See the results of the scientific inspection of the burial chamber with a mini-camera in Neugebauer and Brandl 2018 (see n. 55), p. 928–929.

67 For the antinomy, see e. g. Panofsky 1964 (see n. 1), p. 55.

68 Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 112, considers that the sepulchral art of the fourteenth century after Wolfhard's figure no longer combined the motifs of "lying" and "deceased" in a tomb image.

69 The most detailed study is Helga Giersiepen no. 39, in: *Deutsche Inschriften Online* 50, no. 39, 2000, http://www.inschriften.net/bonn/inschrift/nr/di050-0039.html#content (seen on 26 January 2019).

70 For these and other typical characteristics of effigies representing the lying in state, see Schmidt 1990 (see n. 48), p. 60s.

71 Giersiepen 2000 (see n. 69).

72 Marcoux 2016 (see n. 59), p. 54–58, with an illustration.
73 Ibid., p. 60, with an illustration.
74 Magdalene Magirius, *Figürliche Grabmäler in Sachsen und Thüringen von 1080 bis um 1400*, Esens 2002, p. 229–235.
75 Between the pall-bearers, the coats of arms of the dynasty of the House of Schwarzburg are displayed.
76 *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler. Thüringen*, revised ed. by Stephanie Eißing, Franz Jäger et al., ed. by Thüringisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, München 1998, ^{2}2003, p. 51.
77 Bauch 1976 (see n. 9), p. 135–136; Körner 1997 (see n. 11), p. 33–35.
78 Braun 1814 (see n. 19), vol. 2, p. 437.
79 See above, n. 51.
80 One way to do this would be e. g. a thorough examination of the tombs displayed in the Gaignières Collection for possible iconographic or structural parallels with the German tombs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Digitization of the collection is currently operated by the Collecta Project: www.collecta.fr/index.php
81 See also the artist's signature on the door handles of the bronze doors of Trier Cathedral, which addresses the same technical process. For other examples, see Bredekamp 2010 (see n. 15), p. 53, n. 49. We can therefore assume that the allusion to the different steps of bronze casting in the Augsburg signature was understood by the contemporaries.