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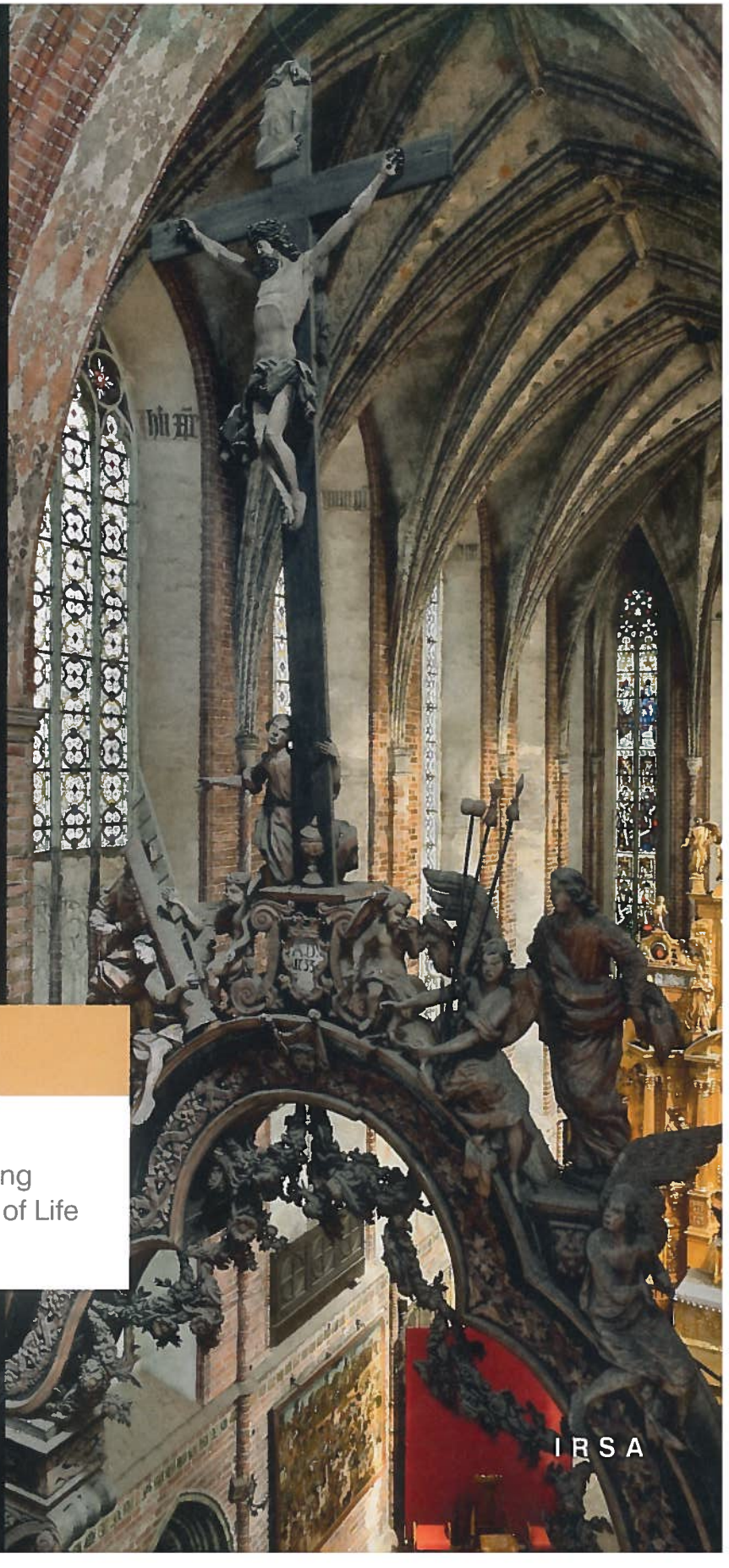

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Eros et Thanatos: The Tomb of King Pedro in Alcobaça and its Wheel of Life and Fortune (1358–1363)

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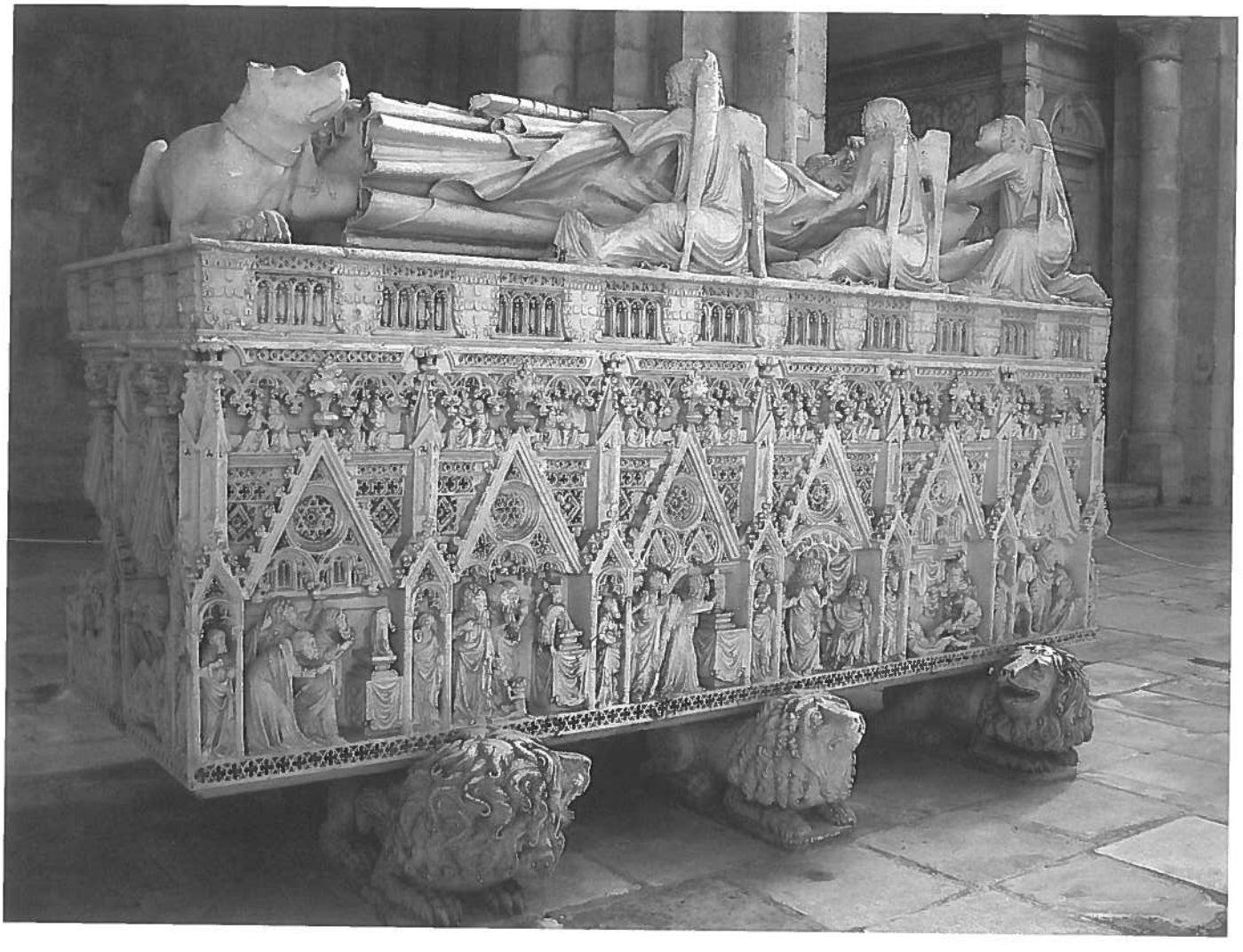
Luís Urbano Afonso

Eros et Thanatos: the Tomb of King Pedro in Alcobaça and its Wheel of Life and Fortune (1358–1363)

Love and death: the intense and violent mix of these two basic elements of the human condition is the perfect recipe for creating the most memorable of stories. If the love between Pyramus and Thisbe, Ariadne and Theseus, Dido and Aeneas or Troilus and Criseyde has nowadays largely been forgotten, the names of Tristan and Iseult or Romeo and Juliet are still very much alive in popular culture. The success of such stories is largely due to the fact that they deal with impossible loves: stories where a fragile and passionate couple is at odds with fate, the will of the gods or the social organization of the time. They are romanticised tales that usually end in tragedy and death, thus leaving them to linger long in the memory.

Traditionally, the tale of Prince Pedro of Portugal (1320–1367) and Inês de Castro (1320–1355) is considered to be distinct from these stories because it is based on real events. In the *Crónica de D. Pedro*[1], written in the late 1430s, reference is made to this differentiation in order to highlight the superiority of the romance between Pedro and Inês when compared to the stories of Ariadne (and Theseus) and of Dido (and Aeneas), two female lovers made popular in Ovid's *Heroides*[2]. The author of this chronicle, Fernão Lopes, considers such "composed loves" as merely the creations of talented writers, without the value of historical facts. Inevitably, however, this true story is also assembled with various *topoi* deriving from secular culture, including the tragic loves that occupied medieval court literature and imagery[3]. The presence of this im-

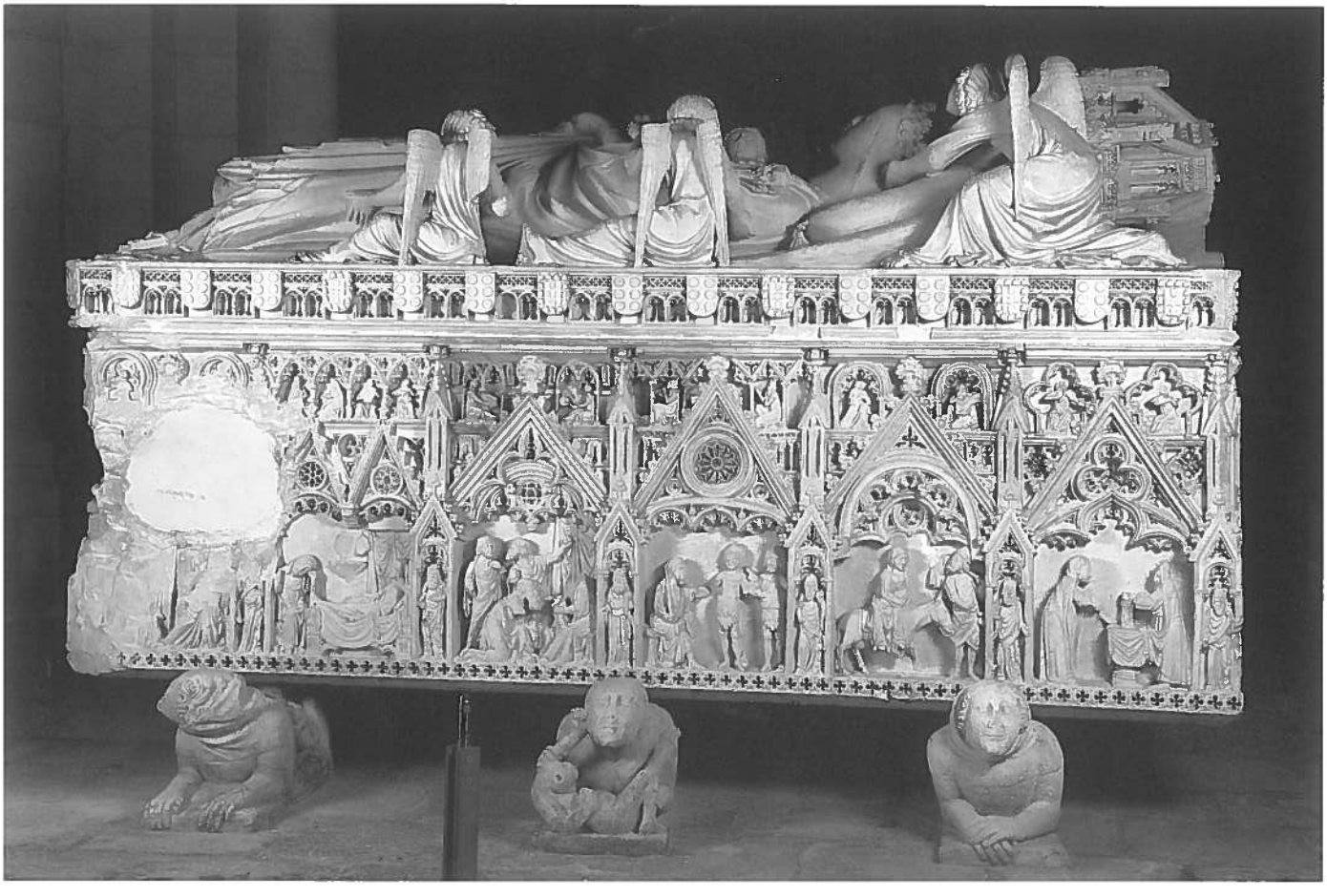


1. Tomb of Pedro I, *c.* 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: author

agery is quite evident in a variety of details of the funeral monuments that Pedro commissioned for himself and Inês at the Cistercian Abbey of Alcobaça between 1358 and 1363 [Figs. 1–2][4]. Their ornate sumptuousness and discursive complexity substantially contributed to feeding the legendary nature of the love story between Pedro and Inês, exemplifying, as we shall see, the ambiguous nature of the relationship between Art and Life[5].

Pedro and Inês: a Story of Love, Murder and Revenge

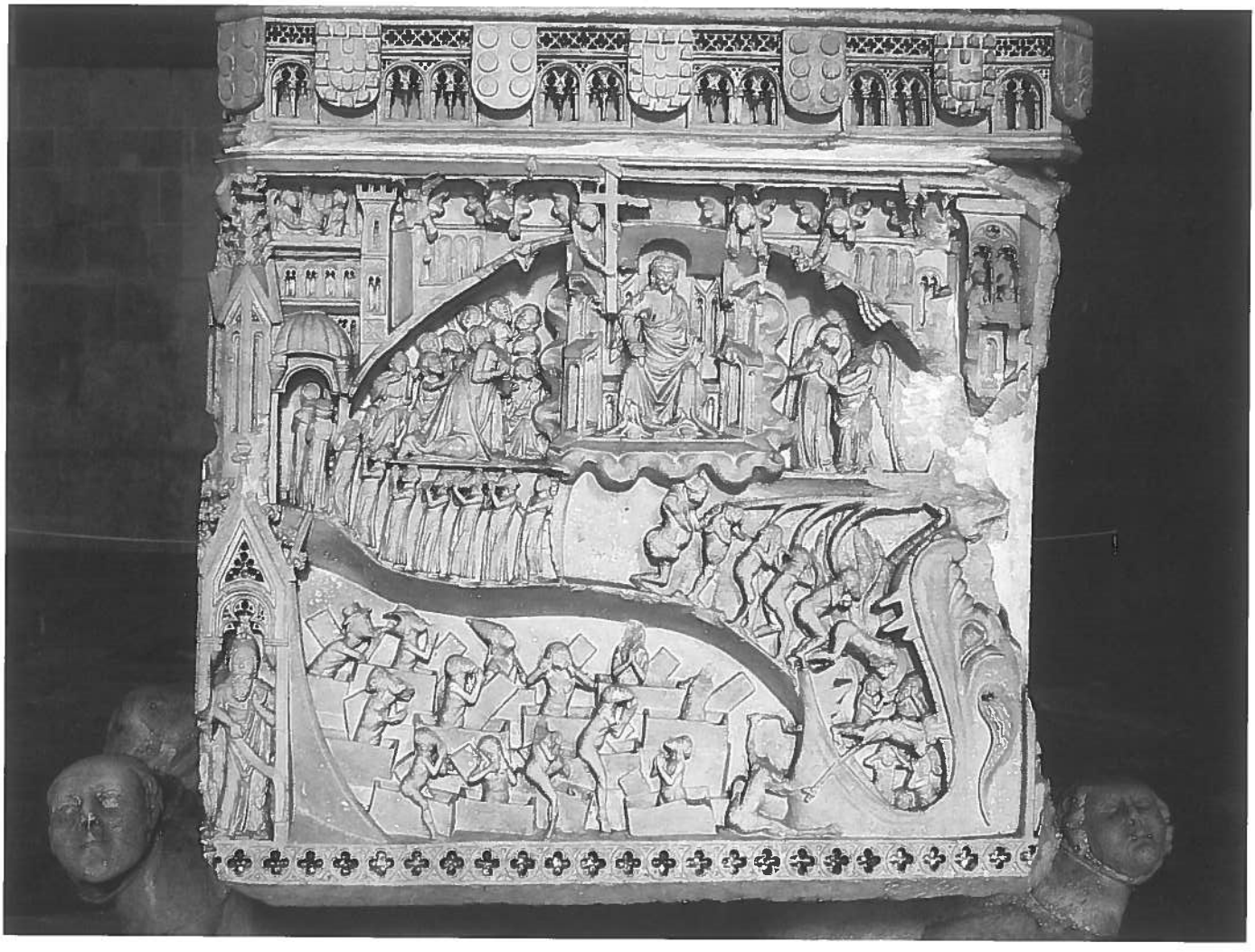
The fate of Pedro and Inês' relationship is utterly entwined with the politics of Portugal and Castile during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The first act of this story began in 1336 with King Alfonso XI of Castile's (1311–1350) affront to his Portuguese counterpart, which took the form of openly neglecting the Castilian queen, Maria of Portugal (1313–1357)[6]. In retaliation, the Portuguese king, Afonso IV (1290–1357), Maria's father, arranged for his only male heir to wed the daughter of Juan Manuel, one of the most important noblemen of Castile and the Castilian king's greatest domestic rival. Fearing the alliance between the Manuel lineage and the Portuguese throne, Alfonso XI kept Constança Manuel (1318/23–1349) in Castile for four years, which contributed to the outbreak of war between the two kingdoms. Hostilities would end in 1339 with the recognition of



2. Tomb of Inês de Castro, *c.* 1358–1360, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: António Carreira, Techlimits

the matrimonial ties prior to the conflict and with the marriage between Pedro and Constança, from which three children were born, including the Infante Fernando (1345–1383), King of Portugal between 1367 and 1383.

Married to Constança for purely political reasons, the young prince seems to have fallen madly in love with Inês de Castro, a noblewoman who had arrived in Portugal as Constança Manuel's lady in waiting. Despite extra-marital relations being quite common among royalty, the love between Pedro and Inês made the Portuguese king particularly uneasy due to the influence that the restless and powerful Castro family wielded over the young heir to the throne[7]. Therefore, in 1344, Afonso IV banished Inês to Castile, where she remained until the death of Constança Manuel in 1349. After Constança's death, Pedro and Inês began living together as man and wife and had four children. Yet the influence of the Castro family over Prince Pedro still caused much envy among rival groups at the Portuguese court and threatened Portugal's neutral stance regarding the civil war in Castile. In addition, this situation caused unnecessary problems of legitimacy for the king's grandson, the Infante Fernando, whose young half-brothers could also claim the right to inherit the throne. Finally, there were signals of growing political tensions associated with the difficult transition of power between father and son. Afonso IV's longevity – he died at sixty-six – left the prince and his respective *entourage*, which included the prominent Castro clan, increasingly anxious and restless. For these reasons, Afonso IV ordered the murder of Inês de Castro, which took place on 7 January 1355, in the city of Coimbra[8]. This assassination provoked an armed rebellion led by Prince Pedro against his father, forcing Afonso IV to sign a peace agreement mediated by the queen, which preceded the *de facto* transition of power from father to son. In this peace agreement Pedro jus-



3. «Last Judgement», Tomb of Inês de Castro, *c.* 1358–1360, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: author

tifies his actions by saying that "his honour and service were not defended" when his father killed Inês. This rather dry and objective sentence is in sharp contrast to the Romantic love legend, which usually depicts Pedro as a devastated and deranged lover. As Maria de Sousa concludes, the murder of Inês might have been more a pretext for Pedro's rebellion than its fundamental reason[9].

There is no doubt, however, that Pedro is the person mainly responsible for the creation of their love legend. As soon as he took the throne, in 1357, Pedro began building the two tombs that would place him side by side with Inês as king and queen. After three years, Pedro had his personal revenge by achieving the extradition to Portugal of Álvaro Gonçalves, former undersheriff (*meirinho-mor*) of the kingdom, and Pêro Coelho, two of the three men who had assassinated Inês and taken refuge in Castile. The summary trial and execution of these two figures in March 1360 became famous and contributed to Pedro's reputation as the "Righteous", according to some, or the "Cruel", according to others[10]. Asking for onion and vinegar to prepare the "Coelho" (the Portuguese word for "rabbit"), Pedro watched the torture and execution of the two assassins, ordering that their hearts be removed whilst they were still alive, one "through the chest" and one "through the back". After this, according to the chronicler, he had them burnt while he himself enjoyed a meal[11].

4. «Wheel of Life and Fortune», Tomb of Pedro I, *c.* 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: author

In June 1360, some months after the assassination of Pêro Coelho, Pedro publicly declared that he had secretly married Inês de Castro in the city of Bragança, around seven years earlier. Although, according to Fernão Lopes' account[12], the truth of this account was doubted by those present, in this way Pedro guaranteed alternative secure successions in the case of the Infante Fernando, his son from his marriage to Constança Manuel, died before he left a rightful heir. It is not surprising then, that the legitimate heir to the Portuguese throne, the future King Fernando I, never recognised the marriage of his father and Inês de Castro. Had he done so, he would have been legitimising his half-siblings. Quite the contrary, in the will he drew up in 1378, King Fernando I explicitly states that Pedro and Inês' children (João, Dinis and Beatriz) are not his legitimate siblings. He also states that Pedro and Inês never married, invoking Inês' public reputation as Pedro's "barregã" (mistress), which meant that their children could never be heirs to the throne[13].

The Tombs of Pedro and Inês

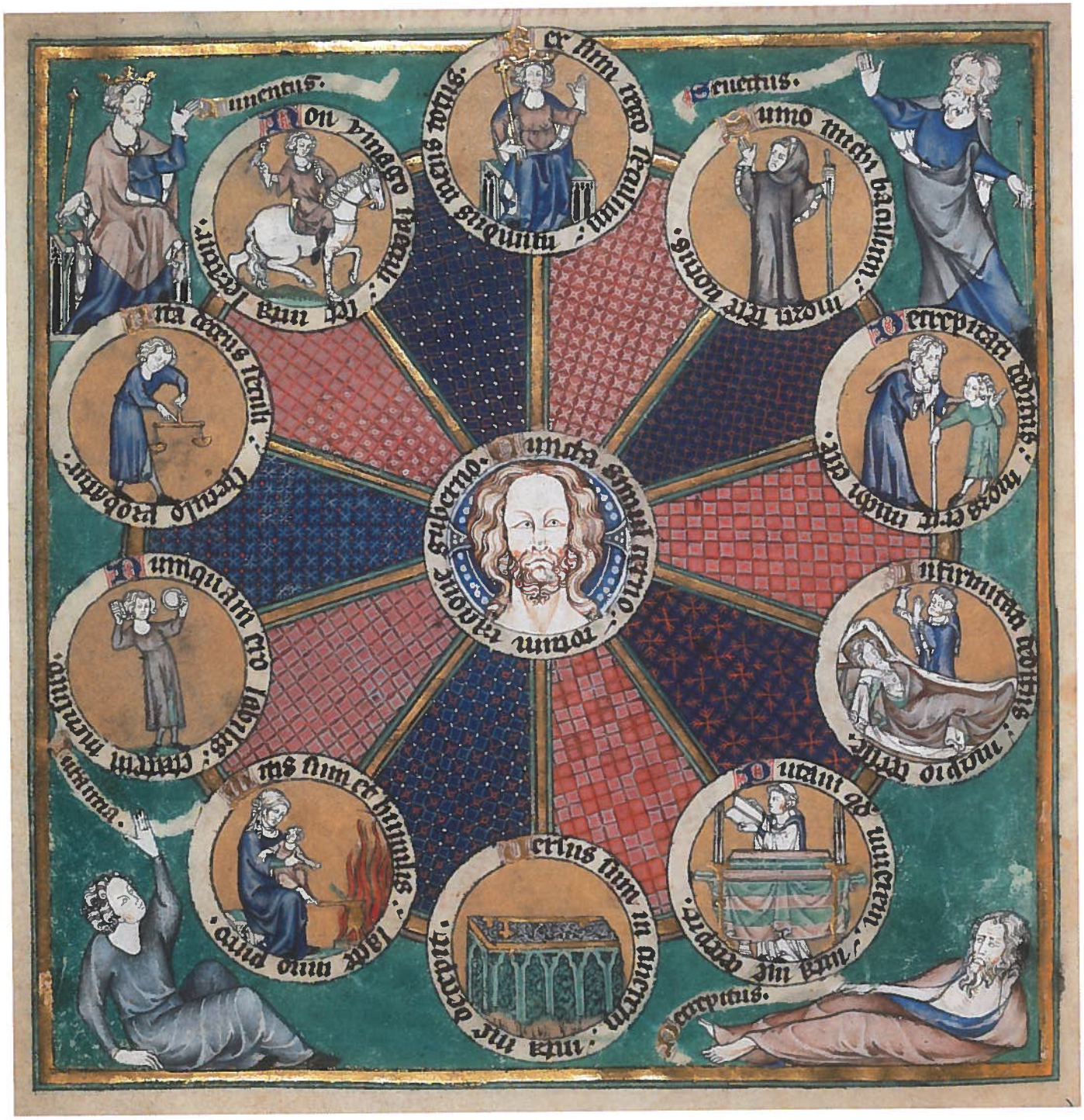
On the tombs of Pedro and Inês we find various references to the remarkable story of love, hate, revenge and death that we have just recounted. It is represented via a complex web of symbols and ideas taken from various iconographical, al-

5.

6. «Infantia», Tomb of Pedro I, *c.* 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: author

5. «Wheel of Fortune» from a Psalter illuminated by William de Brailes, *c.* 1240, illumination on parchment. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 330. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum

legorical and literary traditions, which include the tragic loves we mentioned at the beginning of this article, as well as the Ages of Man and the Wheel of Life and Fortune. Originally, the two tombs were set side by side in the southern part of the transept of Alcobaça Church, with the lady to the king's right, both facing east[14]. Both tombs are roughly the same length (*c.* 325 cm), width (*c.* 120 cm) and height (*c.* 120 cm), and are alike in terms of structure and composition. Each tomb rests on six supports; lions in the case of Pedro and hybrid figures in the case of Inês de Castro. The chests are sculpted on all four sides. The long sides are divided into two registers. The main register displays six narrative niches separated by tabernacles with Prophets, Kings and Patriarchs. The second register is occupied by smaller figures, such as musicians and Apostles on the tomb of Inês and pairs of lovers or small groups of people talking, seated or standing, on the tomb of Pedro. The tomb lids carry the heraldry of the deceased. Inês' has the Castro coats of arms together with the Portuguese coat of arms; Pedro's has only Portuguese coats of arms. Above this lie the effigies, each one surrounded by six angels. At Pedro's feet are



7. «Wheel of Life» from Robert de Lisle Psalter, *c.* 1310–1330, illumination on parchment. British Library, MS Arundel 83, f. 126^{v}. Photo: © British Library Board

an enormous mastiff and a small dog, and at the feet of Inês the remains of three small lapdogs.

The chest of Inês de Castro narrates episodes from the life of Christ. On one of the longer sides there are six scenes of Christ's childhood [Fig. 2] and on the opposing side there is the Passion of Christ in six episodes. On the shorter sides are representations of the Calvary, at the head of the monument, and the Last Judgement [Fig. 3] at the foot.

On the longer sides of Pedro's chest are twelve episodes from the childhood, life and passion of Saint Bartholomew [Fig. 1]. The foot of the chest illustrates the king's Good Death, with Extreme Unction and the Viaticum. The head of the chest is the most original part, made up of a rose-window design [Fig. 4][15]. Flanked by representations of Adam and Eve, it is designed in two concentric circles, one with twelve niches and the other with six. The Wheel of Life is represented in the larger circle and the Wheel of Fortune in the smaller one. With the exception of stained glass, double-wheeled narrative programmes are very rare in medieval art. The most similar example to this composition can be found in an illumination of an English Psalter by William de Brailes from the mid-thirteenth century, representing the Wheel of Fortune [Fig. 5]. As in Alcobaça, William de Brailes' illumination represents the Ages of Man in twelve niches in the outer circle. However, the cardinal points of the English wheel are occupied by four supplementary niches that characterise the four states of changes of Fortune: ascension, apogee, fall and disgrace[16].

Formal study of the two monuments and the sparse historical evidence remaining indicate that Inês' tomb was built before Pedro's, between 1358 and 1360. Indeed, the first known proof of Pedro's intention to bury Inês in Alcobaça can be found in a royal document of 8 September 1358. In this document, which confirmed the monastery's privileges and jurisdiction, the king indicates his wish to be buried in this place alongside Inês de Castro and with his children[17]. The second date, 1360, refers to the year that Pedro announced his secret marriage to Inês, which supposedly had occurred about seven years earlier. With regard to Pedro's tomb, we can see greater sculptural depth in the chest niches, more ornamental details, more elaborate compositions, and greater ambition in terms of foreshortening. Pedro's tomb therefore would have been made after Inês' tomb and it is reasonable to assume that it may have taken the same time to be completed, which points to a period between 1361 and 1363, precisely the year when the body of Inês was moved from Santa Clara de Coimbra to the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça[18]. Thus, the delay between the posthumous, and unexpected, public announcement of their secret marriage, in 1360[19], and the removal of Inês' body to Alcobaça, in 1363, can be explained as the time needed to have both tombs completed and in place[20].

The pomp and ceremony surrounding the removal of Inês' body to Alcobaça was a major event and caused great stir at the time. The funeral procession was permanently lit by torchbearers over the route between Coimbra and Alcobaça (*c.* 70 miles as the crow flies). This procession included, among others, the bishops of Porto, Lisbon and Viseu, as well as the abbot of Alcobaça[21]. The importance of this event was magnified by a number of regal acts, which included the building of Pedro and Inês' tombs and the fact that theirs were the first ones to be placed inside Alcobaça's church[22]. The scale of the monuments and their elaborate nature were unusual in Portuguese funerary sculpture. However, the most controversial aspect of the tombs' imagery was the representation of Inês wearing a crown, thus denoting her as queen and Pedro's legitimate spouse. Such a bold image naturally slighted the memory of King Afonso IV, as well as the legitimacy of Prince Fernando, fruit of the marriage between Pedro and Constança Manuel, something we will return to at the end of this article.

The Wheel of Life and Fortune

The four shorter sides of the chests, which represent the Calvary, the Wheel of Life and Fortune flanked by Adam and Eve [Fig. 4], the king's Good Death and the Last Judgement [Fig. 3], form a complementary and sequential discourse in relation to the ideas of the Fall, Death and Redemption particularly fitted to the aftermath of the Black Death. In other words, these four panels epitomize a teleological creed that summarises the general history of Christianity in its past, present and future. They are retrospective and prospective at the same time by indicating the place of the individual, who is subject to the vicissitudes of time and the caprice of Fortune, within the broad framework of the History of Salvation[23].

This metanarrative only contextualises the more original and personal discourse. Indeed, the two concentric wheels at the head of Pedro's chest constitute one of the most creative and fascinating (auto)biographical testimonies of fourteenth-century European art[24]. Both the Wheel of Life and the Wheel of Fortune of Alcobaça ingeniously explore the hybridism resulting from the fusion of the illustration of an individual's specific biography and the use of generic models that either express the different phases of human life or underline, in abstract terms, the fickleness of Fortune. The Wheel of Life sculpted on Pedro's tomb does not merely express a contemplative discourse regarding the brevity of life and the fragility of the human condition; it is Pedro's Wheel of Life, "written" using generic iconographic, allegorical and literary formulas, certainly, but adapted to include specific references to his own biography. Similarly, the iconography of the Wheel of Fortune of the inner circle is also personalised to portray the various episodes of Pedro's fortune in love. Naturally, there are also references to Inês de Castro, a fundamental part of his life. These wheels represent two simultaneous situations, that of Man, generically, and that of Pedro specifically. This ambiguity, which occurs also in certain literature of the same period,

8. «Pueritia», Tomb of Pedro I, *c.* 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church.
Photo: author

forces us, as receptors, to shuttle back and forth between a generalist and an (auto)biographical interpretation. Fact and fiction, history and convention are forced to work together, constructing an (auto)biography based on visual patterns and narrative models that create life as much as they reflect it[25].

Bearing this in mind, let us analyse the external circle in relation to the Wheel of Life or Wheel of the Ages of Man. The first niche shows us a woman nursing an infant next to a cauldron on a fire [Fig. 6]. This image has been interpreted as a representation of Infancy, both in the general sense, as an allegory, and in a more limited and empirical sense, as referring to Pedro and Inês' life, or as a combination of the two[26]. The most decisive contribution regarding this issue was made by S. Moralejo, who highlighted the similarities between this image and one in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle, dated *c.* 1310–1330[27]. In this incomplete illuminated manuscript there is a representation of the Wheel of Life in ten medallions with scenes that illustrate the path of life from Cradle to Grave. Of these images, the one that interests us most is the first medallion, which illustrates the first phase of life [Fig. 7]. In terms of composition, this image of *infantia* has the same elements we find on Pedro's tomb[28]. The similarities between the two are so clear that they could have only come from the same iconographic model[29]; therefore, this image has no specific connection with Pedro's (or Inês') biography. It is an image that very simply illustrates the early phase of a human being's life, distinguished by the influence of the moon, and one that is part of the generic iconography of the Ages of Man[30].

The second niche [Fig. 8] shows us an image of the second of life's phases, called childhood, *pueritia*, which according to Isidore of Seville lasts between the ages of seven and fourteen. This phase of life, which is governed by Mercury, is illustrated with a school scene of three children and two teachers. One of the masters is holding a stick in his left hand and with his right hand he seems to be pulling one of the pupil's ears, while the other teacher seems to be holding what is left of an open book[31].

The third niche [Fig. 9] represents a scene where two youths face each other with what may be a chess board on their laps, a game that favoured the establishing of intimacy[32]. Attraction and budding sexuality are the specific characteristics of the third stage in life, *adolescentia*, ruled by the planet Venus. Understood to be an allegory of love and desire, the rules of this game also recall the rigidity of courtly love[33].

In the fourth niche [Fig. 10] there is a young man and woman locked in an embrace. Judging by their garb and similar positions, they are the same young people playing chess in the previous niche. However, the relationship between the two seems more intimate and the masculine figure has more gravitas, with one leg crossed over the other. According to Isidore, adolescence lasts from fourteen to twenty-eight years of age, which means twice the time of the previous ages. Moralejo suggested, then, that the fourth niche of the Wheel of Life is an extension of the illustration of Adolescence, which would be divided into two scenes[34]. Therefore, this division is the first sign that the existing iconographic models could be adapted and moulded to the intentions of the tombs' creators.

According to Isidore, the age that follows Adolescence is Youth. *Iuventus* lasts from the age of twenty-eight to fifty, which is three times the length of *infantia* and *pueritia*. For this reason, Isidore believes it to be the most vigorous and enduring of all. According to this way of thinking, the fifth niche must represent the first phase of *iuventus*. This niche has a male figure on all fours with his left hand outstretched, trying to reach the edge of the Wheel with the help of a female figure[35]. Taking into account the considerable length of this age, it is natural that the fourth age is divided up into various niches, much like what happens with *adolescentia*. Therefore, this image is the first part of a new stage in the life of Man, ruled by the influence of the Sun.

The sixth niche, which is positioned at the top of the wheel, has a king on a throne, a traditional presence in Wheels of Fortune and Wheels of Life. To a certain degree, however, this image is also a *Christomimesis*, since it echoes the figure of Christ in the Last Judgement on the tomb of Inês de Castro[36]. It is interesting to see that the compositional similarity between the two images is confirmed in Pedro's political and judicial acts[37]. The Portuguese king took on the role of Christ's representative on Earth, particularly in relation to his obsession in applying justice[38]. The ratification of the law of "royal consent" (*beneplácito régio*), which meant that all papal edicts were only made law in Portugal after consent was previously given by the monarch, is the best example of this[39].

The image of the monarch on the throne is the last in the first half of the Wheel of Life, and that which represents ascendant and auspicious moments. After this, the wheel begins its downward spiral punctuated by the inexorable nature of decadence and death. The biographical aspect, which until this point was entirely within the generic models of the Ages of Man, frees itself of the iconographical conventions associated with these phases in life in order to give a detailed account of the final moments of the tragic love story of Pedro and Inês. In fact, of the remaining six niches, only the last one corresponds to the common model of the Ages of Man. That image [Fig. 11], which represents the end of life by means of a corpse of an old man wrapped in a shroud, is a natural corollary of all of the cycles that illustrate the Ages of Man. Nevertheless, this is a particularly rich image in the sense that it is self-referential, corresponding to the trend in fourteenth-century European funereal art of multiplying the image of the deceased[40]. On the coffin of the deceased there is an inscription, written upside down, with the following letters and symbols: "A :E :AFIN :DO MUDO"[41]. We believe that the extension of the inscription corresponds to the expression "A(té) :E(n) :AFIN :DO MU(n)DO", which is, "Até ao fim do mundo"

9. «Adolescentia I», Tomb of Pedro I, *c.* 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church.
Photo: author

10. «Adolescentia II», Tomb of Pedro I, *c.* 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church.
Photo: author

11. «Deceased over Coffin», Tomb of Pedro I, *c.* 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: author

(Portuguese for "Until the End of the World"). This expression is not only in keeping with the literary tradition of Alcobaça's *scriptorium* regarding the Ages of the World, where the sixth age of the Earth is stated as the one that extends "from Christ *until the end of the world*"[42], but also allows a parallel to be made between the schemata of the Ages of Man and the schemata of the Ages of the World[43].

The remaining niches that lie between the figure on the throne and the corpse in the coffin represent a clear break from the iconography of the Wheel of Life. Despite the interpretation of these five niches being much debated, there is relative consensus in identifying the first four scenes as illustrations of Inês' murder, with the fifth being an illustration of Pedro's revenge upon his loved one's assassins[44].

In the first of these "factual" images we see a woman lying on the ground, clinging to the base of a column and being violently stamped on by a man. The second image [Fig. 12] shows us the opposite of the previous scene. Now it is the woman who is stamping on a male figure, wearing the man's boots, while at the same time pulling his head back so his face can be seen. In the third image a female figure is manhandled by an attacker

12. «Woman Revealing her Attacker», Tomb of Pedro I, *c.* 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: author

12.

who pulls her hair. In the following niche [Fig. 13] there is a woman kneeling, hands clasped together, with her head separated from her body, replicating Inês' own execution[45]. Thus, Inês' assassination is on the same footing as other innocent heroines beheaded for the collective good, as in the case of the Trojan princess Polyxena, sacrificed on Achilles' tomb[46]. This cycle ends with an image [Fig. 14] showing a bearded man with long hair, hands tied, flanked by two men plunging daggers into his heart. This scene is evocative of the way the assassins Pêro Coelho and Álvaro Gonçalves were tortured and executed on Pedro's orders, which means that this image is most likely portraying precisely those historic events.

These "factual" representations of Inês' murder are particularly violent and justify Pedro's cruel revenge. But it is in the peculiar Wheel of Fortune [Fig. 15] that the tragic love story between Pedro and Inês is represented with greatest clarity[47]. Wheels of Fortune usually represent only one figure in each of the four positions on the wheel, representing the ascension, the zenith, the fall, and the nadir. In the case of Alcobaça, on the contrary, there is always a couple in the different positions on the wheel, transforming it into a veritable Wheel of Love. The first image, in the bottom left-hand corner, shows Pedro and Inês in the first throes of their romantic relationship, following typical models of courtly love. The image in the second niche is more illustrative of the relationship that binds them. The two are sitting very comfortably, in the Moorish fashion, with Inês to the right of Pedro. The two young people hold hands at chest height, as if they were making an alliance or swearing an oath, which may mean the celebration of matrimonial ties[48]. The following image shows us the pair seated on a bench, in ceremonial pose, with Pedro crossing his legs. From the patent romance of the first niche, to the moment of the secret union of the second niche, we now see the fulfilment of these successive "steps of love" and the construction of a public image which was designed to convey the legitimacy of their union. In the following niche the couple fall, knocked off balance by the sudden movement of the wheel. Inês, now to Pedro's left, is the first to fall. Pedro, now older and bearded, points at Inês. The fifth niche shows us Pedro in free fall with his head in his hands. Behind him, we can see the figure of Inês with arms flailing and doubled up. The final niche ends with the two lovers literally being crushed under the claws of Fortune, which is represented by a hybrid, monstrous creature with two heads joined by a deformed spine. The upper half of Fortuna's body is a beautiful woman but the lower half, from the hips downward, is a dreadful being with the semblance of a demoniacal beast.

Moralejo has suggested that the unique composition of this Wheel of Fortune and some of its scenes could have been influenced by circular ivory mirror cases with carvings of the *gradus amoris*[49]. The "steps of love" were a common subject in secular ivories during the fourteenth century, consisting of the representation of courtship between young couples in a varied number of steps. For instance, in the three-step variant, the first scene usually represents the approaches of the young male, whose advances are politely discouraged by the lady. The next step consists in the acceptance of conversations, and the lady's capitulation is usually represented by chin-chucking or kissing. Examples of such *gradus amoris* can be seen in several art works in ivory, such as mirror cases, box covers, wax tablet covers, caskets or even combs, which were mainly given as marriage gifts or lovers' presents[50]. An example of such objects is the mirror case now in the Louvre Museum, dating from 1310–1320, that depicts four stages of the amorous relationship between a young couple[51].

In November 2007, in Paris, Sotheby's auctioned a mirror case dating from 1350–1375 that offers even more similarities with Pedro's Wheel of Fortune than the one at the Louvre[52]. This piece, which probably formed a set with another one depicting a falconing party at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York[53], belonged to the former Dormeuil Collection and was inventoried by R. Koechlin under the number 1014[54]. Similarly to the Louvre's piece, the quadripartite composition of this case is also defined by the trunk of a tree and its two horizontal branches. These foliate quadrants present a couple illustrating four steps of love, culminating with the young male offering his heart to the lady. In addition to this, and contrasting with the Louvre's case, the entire composition is set in eight-lobed frames whose design resembles the overall structure of Pedro's Wheel[55]. Naturally, Pedro's Wheel of Fortune is not a copy of this object. However, they have unequivocal similarities, both in subject matter and composition, which are further emphasised by their matching chronology. Therefore, this type of mirror case, along with other images that we will refer to in the next section, must be taken into consideration when discussing the creative process of Pedro's Wheel of Fortune.

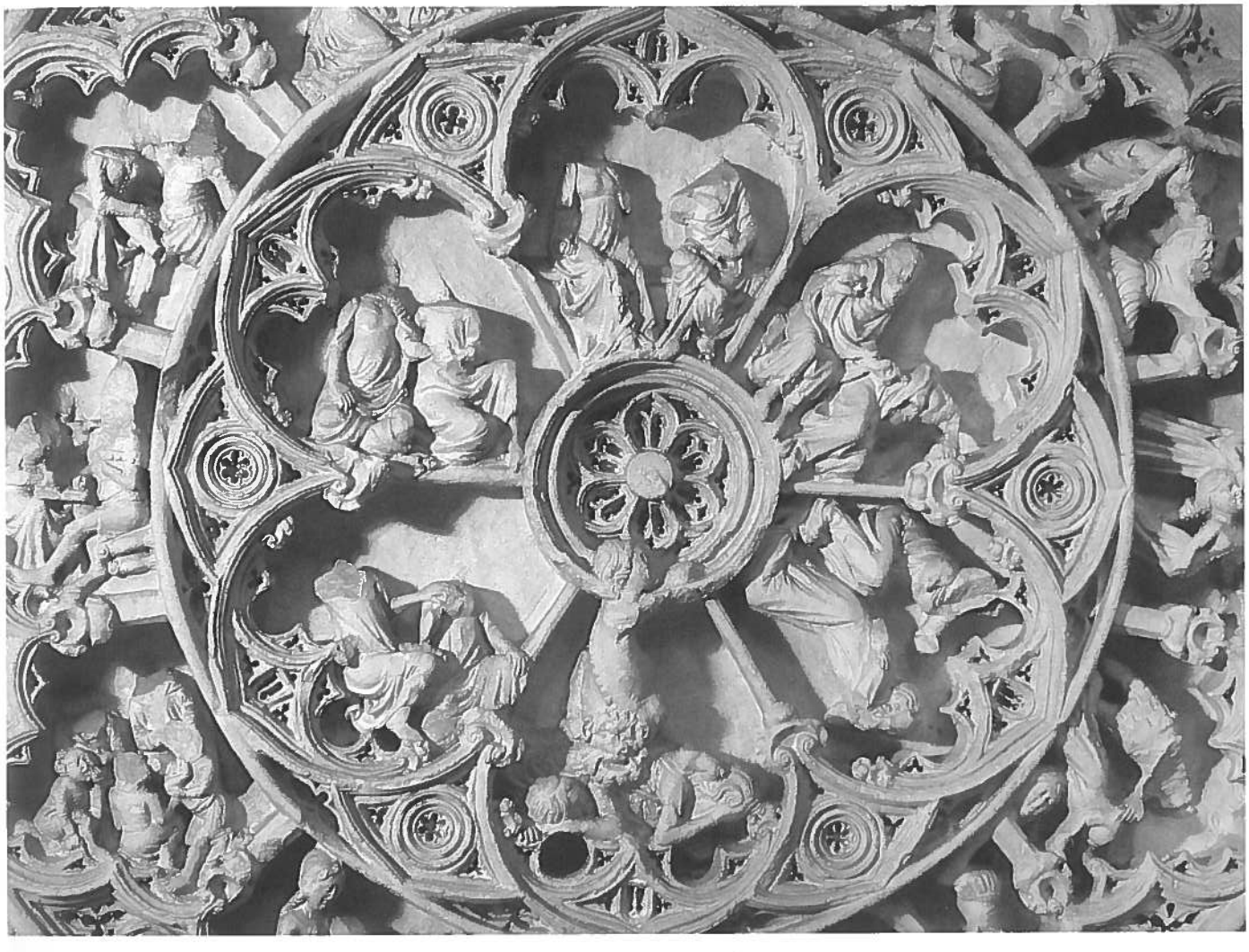
The Artistic and Cultural Contexts

Within the context of Portuguese Gothic tomb sculpture, the second quarter of the fourteenth century marks the beginning of a new phase in typological and iconographical terms. The person most responsible for this transformation was Master Pêro, a Catalan working in the city of Coimbra during this period[56]. Until then, the most common form of funeral monument showed the heraldry of the deceased carved on one of the sides of the chest. In most cases, the tombs were placed against a wall or in an arched recess (*arcosolium*). However, from this time on, most of the tombs became free-standing and carved on four sides with figures in niches. There are various tombs worth

13. «Woman Beheaded», Tomb of Pedro I, *c.* 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: author

13.

14.



15. «Wheel of Fortune», detail, Tomb of Pedro I, c. 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: author

highlighting in this evolutionary process, such as that of Pedro's grandfather, King Dinis I (†1325), buried in Odivelas, his wife Queen Saint Isabel (†1336), buried in Coimbra, Fernão Sanches (†1335), originally buried in Santarém, João Anes Gordo (1335–1336), buried in Porto, and Archbishop Gonçalo Pereira (†1348), buried in Braga[57]. The abundant examples of fourteenth-century Portuguese funeral sculpture allow us to conclude that, despite their originality and complexity, the Alcobaça tombs are part of a series. Although we do not know the identity of the craftsmen who made them, as is the case in the overwhelming majority of Portuguese Gothic tombs[58], the similarity between other works of the same era is obvious, particularly in terms of the effigies and the artistic style of the small figures that occupy the niches of the chests.

14. «Man Being Attacked at his Heart», Tomb of Pedro I, c. 1361–1363, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: author

However, the original nature of the various iconographic elements, how the narrative is organised, the use of secular subject matter, the large number of figures in each composition and the elaborate ornamentation found in the tombs of Pedro and Inês are without parallel in other works. In this respect, the craftsmen seem to have used models that are quite different from the ones normally used in Portuguese funerary art. The considerable ar-

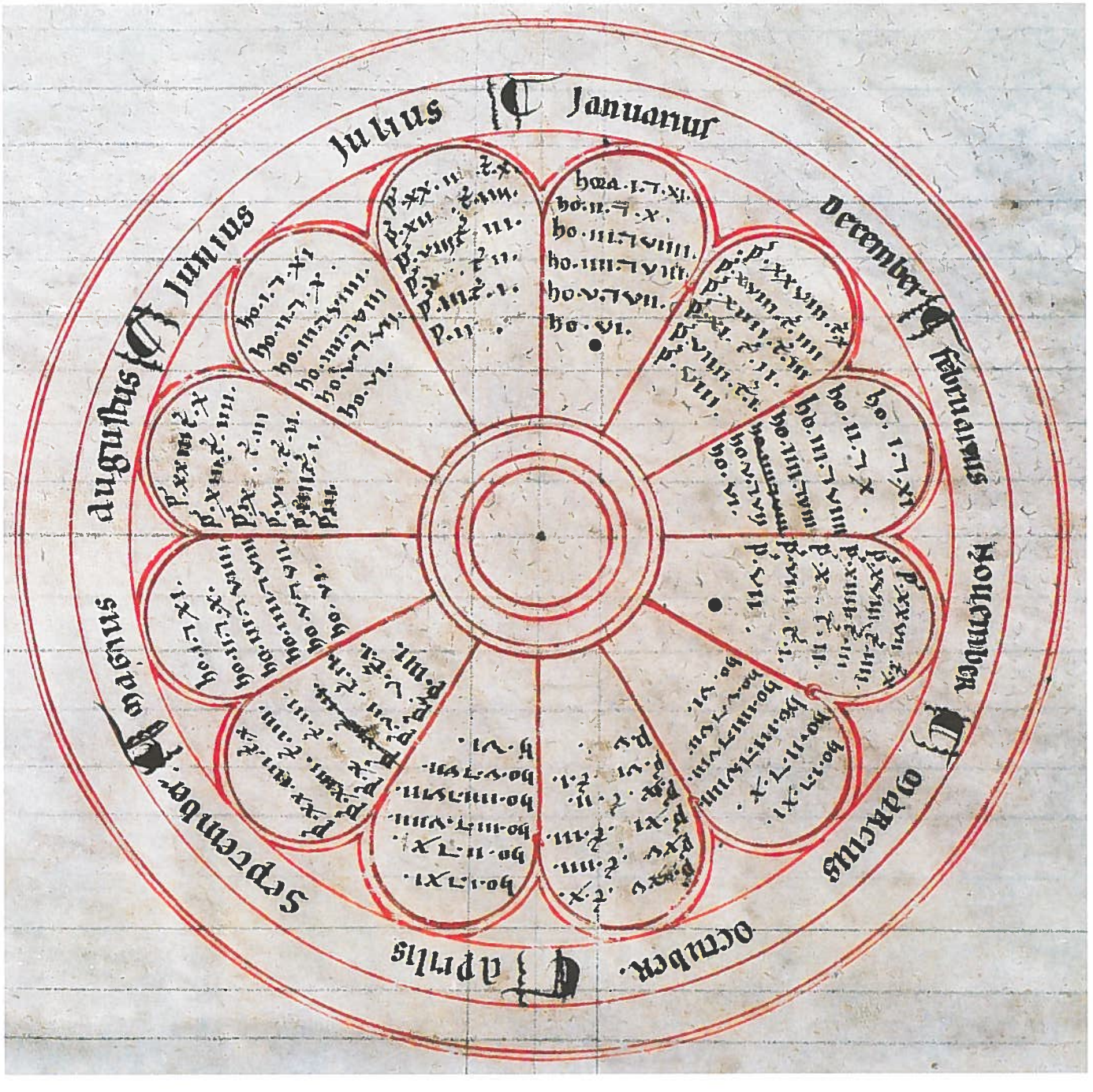
16. Casket with scenes from *Romance of the Chastelaine de Vergi*, front, French, mid-14th century, ivory, British Museum, Dalton 367. Photo: © The Trustees of the The British Museum

tistic ambition of the tombs suggests reliance on various sources of inspiration and iconographical models. An obvious example of the impressive range of sources and models used is the fact that the first niche in the Alcobaça Wheel of Life [Fig. 6] copies the model used in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle [Fig. 7]. The similarity between them is so striking that these two works seem to have a common visual source. Another example is the previously mentioned mirror back with the *gradus amoris*. In fact, in relation to the profane imagery carved on these tombs, it would have been particularly useful for the sculptors of Alcobaça to have had access to secular ivories[59]. These objects presented scenes of courtly love, scenes drawn from Trojan and Arthurian romances and simpler scenes with anonymous lovers that were particularly suited to some compositions represented on the two tombs[60]. For instance, the chess game scene sculpted on Pedro's Wheel of Life [Fig. 9] resembles the common imagery of lovers playing chess on ivory caskets, boxes and mirror cases[61].

Another example is that of ivory caskets illustrating the anonymous mid-thirteenth-century Burgundian romance of *La Chastelaine de Vergi*, like the one that is currently at the British Museum [Fig. 16][62]. The tragic love story between the married Chastelaine and the young knight would have been appealing to the creators of Alcobaça's tombs because it offered several analogies with the love of Pedro and Inês. Moreover, this romance was very popular during Pedro's epoch. There is a large number of surviving fourteenth-century manuscripts and, what is more important here, there are six complete ivory caskets illustrating this story that were carved between *c.* 1320 and *c.* 1360[63].

The two heroes of this anonymous Burgundian romance could not have died in a more different way when compared to Pedro and Inês: the Chastelaine dies of grief thinking that her lover has betrayed her for another woman; and the young knight kills himself when he realizes that he has unwittingly caused the death of his lover by breaking their secret vow. However, the two stories have much in common. Firstly, both involved a secret love between a married person and a single person. Similarly to Pedro and Inês, this love story has a tragic outcome due to treacherous figures at the court, who have a malevolent influence on the ruler. In the Burgundian romance, this role is played by the jealous and vindictive Duchess, whose advances were rebuffed by the loyal knight, echoing the biblical episode of Joseph and Potiphar's wife[64]. In this romance there is also a decollated woman and a man who wreaks a cruel revenge in the name of justice. However, in this case, the perpetrator of the punishment is the Duke, not the lover, and the lady who is decollated is the Duchess, who is ultimately responsible for the tragic death of the two lovers. Echoing the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, the everlasting union of the Burgundian lovers is achieved by having them buried in a common tomb, stressing the importance of the physical union of their corpses in order to create an immortal love.

Regardless of the differences in the roles played by the various characters in this romance, the main features of the plot and the copious representation of this story in ivory caskets, usually in eighteen separate scenes, provided both a literary archetype for the Portuguese love story and a rich visual resource from



17. «Wheel of the Months», *c.* 1200, drawing on parchment, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa, ALC 446, fol. 221r.
Photo: © Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal

Como el Troyano
los vasallos por auer
su consejo cõmo

Cora dize el cuento que
despues que el Troyano
auia bien sus obras y muy bien poblada.
y mal que no temia ninguna cosa .ante dezia el
por ella seer mucho. pensso que era tpo y lugar
de prender vengança dela deslonra que auia rece
bido delos griegos dessu padre quele mataron y
dela su caualleria de Troya. y por ende tenia puesto
su himana anfiona que sele non partia ninguna
hora. Y embio por todos los sus vasallos por que ouies
sen su consejo. Y todos los sus hijos y hijas.
salvo ector que el auia embiado a penona que
era muy grande por las tierras de aql
la su quele auian a pagar. Y pues q ellos
y fueron ayuntados. segund fallamos escripto
por dizes comenco los el Troyano en tal
manera. Señores tiempo desastres my bien y
tiempo en los mios coraçones leal mente me tu
uieron amor. Vos sabedes la cabsion por o fue
el desbaratamiento del my buen linage. Yo como los
griegos mataron mio padre y como leuaron my

18.

which the sculptors could take models and inspiration for certain compositions dealing with love, secrecy, envy, betrayal, revenge and death. Unfortunately, it is difficult to assess to what extent these ivory objects contributed to the building of the tombs, as virtually none of these secular items is referred to in Portuguese medieval documentation and none has remained in Portuguese collections of medieval art[65].

Another possible source of inspiration for these sculptors would have been the collection of manuscripts from the old Alcobaça library[66]. Indeed, certain works from the monastery's *armarium* may have been used in the creation of the tombs' iconography and in the design of certain parts of the composition. The most revealing example is related to an early thirteenth-century manuscript with texts by Isidore of Seville, including the *Etymologies* and the *Liber de Natura Rerum*. Currently in the archives of the Portuguese National Library[67], this manuscript is one of the most impressive of the Alcobaça *armarium*. More than the text on the Ages of Man, which is found on fols. 114 to 115^{v} of the *Etymologies*, dividing them into *infantia*, *pueritia*, *adolescentia*, *iuventus*, *gravitas* and *senectus*[68], it is worth focusing on certain circular diagrams on the *Liber de Natura Rerum*. On the last *folium* of the manuscript (fol. 221^{r}), for example, there is a diagram with the months of the year [Fig. 17], whose general organisation is very similar to the design of the rose window on Pedro's tomb [Fig. 4]. One of the areas of greatest similarity is how the diagram is divided internally, which is virtually identical to how the lobes of the rose window on Pedro's tomb are organised. Other similarities are visible in the decoration of the inner circle of the Wheel of Fortune and in a detail from the Wheel of the Earth Zones (fol. 209^{r}). The interstices between the outer circle of the Wheel of Life and the straight lines framing the head of Pedro's tomb also seem to copy parts of the same *rota*[69].

In short, it can scarcely be coincidental that in the same manuscript where there is detailed encyclopaedic information on the Ages of Man and the Ages of the World, we also find a set of diagrams that might have been used to create the circular composition sculpted on the head of Pedro's tomb. Therefore, it is possible to draw two conclusions: the visual information contained on this parchment, combined with secular ivories similar to the ones mentioned earlier [Fig. 16], seems to have contributed to the general composition of the rose window on Pedro's tomb, which implies that the sculptors had had access to that manuscript; and among those involved with the creation of the tombs there was certainly at least one monk with access to the Alcobaça *armarium*. This means that the tombs of Pedro and Inês were more probably made by sculptors in close collaboration with the Alcobaça monks. We can also say, although somewhat more cautiously, that the uniqueness of the work, as a whole, is such that its design must have been influenced by the king himself or by someone very close to him, particularly in relation to the effigies and the (auto)biographical nature of the head of the chest[70].

It is also interesting to find certain affinities between details of these tombs and Castilian secular manuscripts with chivalric illuminations. Of the remaining manuscripts, those that bear greater similarities with the tombs are the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, ordered by Alfonso X or Sancho IV *c.* 1295[71], and the *Crónica Troyana*, ordered by Alfonso XI and concluded in 1350[72]. As we have seen, Moralejo has suggested that the fifth niche of Pedro's Wheel of Life might have been inspired by the figure at the top of the wheel in King Priam's Wheel of Fortune in the *Crónica Troyana*. Moralejo also considered that the architectural structure of the gallery in the Last Judgement panel of Inês' tomb, as well as the pumpkin dome that covers the Gate of Heaven, could have been based on the Trojan palaces depicted in the *Crónica Troyana*[73]. These similarities also include the representation of young couples talking, playing chess or embracing in both works of art, some of them seated in the Moorish way [Fig. 19].[74] Due to the range of these similarities, it is possible that the king or some of his powerful brothers-in-law could have made this illuminated manuscript or a similar copy available to the sculptors[75].

At the beginning of this study we mentioned the relation of these tombs with fourteenth-century secular culture. However, in relation to works of art with profane subject matter, most of the information we have is indirect[76]. Apart from isolated cases, such as the representation of Alexander's Celestial Journey sculpted *c.* 1330–1340 in a capital of the cloister of the Cistercian Monastery of Celas, near Coimbra, we are entirely dependent on documental information[77]. A good example is the post-mortem inventory of Vataça Lascaris de Vintemiglia (1268–1336)[78]. In this inventory there are mentions of books in Portuguese, Leonese, Latin, Greek and Castilian, one of them dealing with the legend of the Cid. Cameos of probable classical origin are mentioned alongside Moorish fabrics and artefacts, as well as objects from Genoa, Venice and Amalfi. The inventory also refers to a wall fabric (*destalho*) representing Alexander, and another fabric with figures of Troy that covered her canopy bed (*çeo de cama*)[79]. It is also through another document, this time the will of Queen Beatriz (†1358), that we are aware of an exquisite goblet crowned with a representation of the Knight of the Swan, a character that belongs both to the Arthurian cycle and to the French *chansons de geste* of the Crusade cycle[80].

In comparison to works of art, the panorama of Portuguese secular medieval literature provides more information. For example, there are some sparse references to Arthurian heroes in Portuguese thirteenth-century courtly troubadour poetry (*cantigas*), particularly during the reign of King Dinis I[81]. Two fragments of

18. «Troy in Priam's Times» from *Crónica Troyana* de Alfonso XI, *c.* 1350, Escorial, h. 6. 1, fol. 13^{v}. Photo: © Patrimonio Nacional de España

an early fourteenth-century Portuguese translation of the *Merlim* still survive, and the colophon of a sixteenth-century manuscript of the *José de Arimateia* confirms the translation of this book as early as 1314. Finally, there is serious evidence supporting an earlier Galician-Portuguese translation of the entire Post-Vulgate cycle in the middle of the thirteenth century[82].

Portuguese genealogical books and chronicles also present extensive accounts taken from the Trojan and Arthurian cycles, where they were transformed by a process of Iberization[83]. Most of these texts reveal a direct knowledge of the main Iberian chronicles produced during the thirteenth century, namely Alfonso X's *General Estoria* and *Primera Cronica General de España*[84]. For example, the *Livro de Linhagens* of Count Pedro Afonso of Barcelos, compiled *c.* 1340 and revised in 1360–1365 and 1380–1383, dedicates several folia to enumerate the extensive genealogy of the descendants of King Priam, Aeneas and Arthur, to name only a few[85]. These references included short mentions of famous love stories narrated in these cycles, such as those of Paris and Helen and Dido and Aeneas. However, these references are simpler and shorter when compared to the extensive use of Ovid's *Heroides* in the *General Estoria*, which reproduces the love letters exchanged between Ariadne and Theseus, Dejanira and Hercules, Hypsipyle and Jason, Medea and Jason, Oenone and Paris, Phyllis and Demophon or Dido and Aeneas[86]. The most ambitious chronicle produced in Portugal during the fourteenth century, the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, which is much indebted to the *General Estoria*, includes several episodes of Hercules' deeds in Iberia along with extensive references to the military achievements of the Cid[87]. It can be concluded that both secular works of art and chivalric romances, including their tragic love legends, were more widespread among the Portuguese aristocracy than their residual literary and visual materializations would indicate[88].

Biographies Carved in Stone

With the exception of the characters that people the fabulous and creative world of hagiography, there are practically no medieval biographical representations in works of art[89]. It is rare to find concrete biographical examples in the funerary art of the time that go beyond the standard mourning images, scenes that show the *elevatio animae* of the deceased or scenes of charity[90]. However, being rare is not the same as being non-existent, particularly from the early fourteenth century, as certain examples of European funerary sculpture testify.

It is in fourteenth-century Italian funeral sculpture that the *cursus vitae* of the deceased is represented in the greatest number of monuments, often posthumously. The tomb of Cangrande della Scala (1291–1329) in S. Maria Antica (Verona), commissioned by his nephew and political successor Mastino II, is a good example of this practice. Built between 1330 and 1340 in Verona, the tomb represents some of the military deeds of this hero in bas-relief, such as the battle of Vicenza, the surrender of the city of Feltre, his triumphant entrance into Padua and the surrender of the vicarage of Verona and Vicenza by Emperor Henry VII himself[91]. Another tomb of this type is that of Bishop Guido Tarlatti (*c.* 1270–1327) in the Cathedral of Arezzo, also built posthumously, around 1330. This piece is covered with sixteen bas-reliefs, narrating the territorial conquests and military achievements of this warrior/bishop, as well as some of the most important moments in this prelate's political life, such as his crowning of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria at S. Ambrogio in Milan in 1327[92]. Even in more open political regimes, such as Pisa and Bologna, the cult of memory of the deceased existed by using biographical details. The most interesting cases are those of the sarcophagi of academics placed in public places, in squares and churches in particular. In such cases, the tombs were covered with monumental images of the deceased teaching groups of university students. Such examples include the tombs of Egidio Foscherari (*c.* 1289), Rolandino de'Passeggeri (*c.* 1305), Cino da Pistoia (†1336) and Ligo Ammannati (†1359)[93]. Although these are not monuments with biographical narratives, these teaching scenes illustrate the range of iconographical possibilities that fourteenth-century funerary sculpture introduced to personalise tombs.

We can also find a remarkable example of biographical characteristics in funerary art in England, in the tomb of prelate and scholar Giles de Bridport, in Salisbury Cathedral, the city where he was bishop between 1256 and 1262. Although he was not involved in the renovation of the church, Giles de Bridport founded an important college associated with the cathedral. The tomb of this prelate is a kind of rectangular shrine housed behind arcades that allow the visitor to see the bishop's chest and effigy[94]. One of the most original aspects of this monument is the eight sculptures in high-relief that occupy the spandrels of the arcades and which illustrate the bishop's *cursus vitae*. According to M. Roberts these sculptures were inserted *a posteriori*, although at a time relatively soon after the tomb's completion, probably between 1270 and 1280[95]. On the south face of the shrine there is a nativity scene, a school scene with a child, another school scene with youths and a scene of two men conversing. On the north side there is a scene with a bishop and various people kneeling down, a scene with four bishops, a scene with a bishop lying on a rectangular surface and, finally, the *elevatio animae*. Roberts interpreted these different images as a biographical illustration of Bishop Giles' life[96], from the moment of his birth to the ascension of his soul to Heaven. According to the same author, the high-relief sculptures situated between these two moments represent stages in the bishop's education, his nomination as archdeacon and then as bishop, and end with the preparation of his funeral rites. As far as is known, Giles de Bridport was never a candidate for canonisation or popularly sanctified. As such, excluding the hagiographical possibility, Roberts

suggests that this biographical aspect was commissioned *a posteriori* to highlight Giles de Bridport's exemplary life as a man of the cloth and scholar. This meant that it was a way for his successors at the college to highlight the image of the founder and the excellence of the education provided to the students.

In Castile there are also some examples of Gothic tombs with biographical imagery[97]. Two of the most interesting monuments of this type are the tombs of Dia Sánchez de Rojas (†1349) and Sancho Sánchez de Rojas (†1367), two brothers originally buried at the Cistercian nunnery of Vileña, a few miles north of Burgos[98]. These tombs belong to a small group of funerary monuments carved out entirely of wood that were produced around Burgos in the mid-fourteenth century. Both tombs present scenes of mourning and military combats. Dia's chest represents two battles between Christian and Muslim knights, one of them taking place by the shore. According to R. Maldonado, the combat scenes must refer to Dia's participation in the siege and taking of Algeciras in 1342–1344[99]. Sancho's tomb represents a battle between two Christian armies before a fortified city, and the other niches represent his death and exequies. In two of these scenes a king is present. According to Maldonado, the engagement before the city refers to the Battle of Nájera in 1367, in which Sancho lost his life[100]. This battle was an important episode of the civil war between Pedro I of Castile and his half brother, Enrique II, in whose service Sancho spent the last years of his career. Therefore, not only did these tombs stress the fame, loyalty and military bravery of the members of the Rojas lineage, but they also emphasised how deeply they were committed to the new Trastámara dynasty.

Despite being few in number, cases such as these show that biographical details in sepulchral art were not exclusively related to hagiography. In addition, what the abovementioned examples have in common is the fact that they are eminently political constructions, often executed after the death of the individual to safeguard the interests of lineage, institutions or models of governance. In short, what these examples ultimately teach us is the need to make a political analysis of biographical discourse sculpted in sepulchral art.

Art, Love and Politics

To a great extent, the Alcobaça tombs were politically motivated. Through these tombs, "aided" or not by the Castro family, Pedro re-wrote recent Portuguese history and his own personal history, establishing the elements of a successful love legend. He encouraged the public recognition that he wanted for his relationship with Inês de Castro, leaving monumental and memorable living proof of his love and marriage for posterity. Pedro dared to represent as queen a woman who was assassinated by order of the king himself, placing his tomb and hers side-by-side, as husband and wife, elevating their relationship to the realm of immortal loves. Finally, Pedro did all this in the church that best personifies the role of the Portuguese royal pantheon[101].

The political dimension of these tombs and of the story of love and death that they mythologize are very obvious in the eloquent funeral eulogy that the Archbishop of Braga, João Cardaillac, gave for Inês de Castro[102]. The main point of the prelate's argument, which was made during the impressive ceremonies that accompanied the removal of Inês' coffin to Alcobaça, consisted in the comparison between Pedro and his bride, on the one hand, and Abraham and Sarah on the other. This funeral eulogy exalts the beauty of the two women and compares the conjugal love that bound Pedro and Inês with that of Abraham and Sarah. The monumental nature of the exequies of the two wives is on a par, while underlining Sarah's costly burial. In the case of Abraham, his fear of the consequences of Sarah's beauty led him to hide the fact that they were married by pretending they were merely brother and sister while abroad. The humility with which Sarah accepted this secrecy is compared to Inês' humility in accepting that her status as legitimate spouse to the crown prince be kept a secret. What Inês de Castro kept from King Afonso IV, Sarah hid from the Pharaoh of Egypt (Genesis 12) and Abimelech, King of Gerar (Genesis 20). Thus, the biblical story is skilfully geared towards the legitimisation and sacralisation of Pedro and Inês' secret marriage, while functioning as a kind of biblical prefiguration of their union.

Taking these facts into consideration, along with the clear discourse on the two tombs, it is possible to identify the desired aims. Firstly, there was the objective of legitimising Pedro and Inês' "secret" marriage, only announced by the king in June 1360, equating it to a public and official wedding[103]. Secondly, there was the goal of emphasising the depth of love between the two, by equating their relationship to that of other famous lovers, making it impossible to interpret their relation as merely lustful. Finally, the rites associated with the transfer of Inês' body, her funeral eulogy and the Christological discourse of her tomb concur to create an apologetic memory of her life as a *beata vita*[104]. However, this commitment and plighting of troth placed in doubt the legitimacy of the crown prince, the Infante Fernando, whose mother, Constança Manuel, was quite simply ignored by Pedro. Perhaps for this reason, from the moment Fernando I came to the throne, in 1367, the king would always refer to Inês de Castro in official documentation as "our father's mistress" (*barregã*). By doing so, Fernando intended to deny Inês' status as Pedro's legitimate wife and imbue their relationship with a lascivious tone. Fernando I would have taken this stance more out of a concern regarding his half-siblings, Inês' children, than the moral imperative of safeguarding his mother's memory[105]. By selecting a different place of entombment for himself and his mother, in Santarém, by selecting a different religious order to receive their royal bodies, the Franciscans, and by ordering a magnificent tomb for his mother, King Fernando I was trying to undermine

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the political relevance of Alcobaça as a royal pantheon and to limit the legitimisation of his half-siblings borne of his father's liaison with Inês de Castro[106].

Closing the Circle: Life Imitates Art and Art Imitates Life

In the short dialogue *The Decay of Lying*, published in 1889, Oscar Wilde presents three doctrines of a new aesthetic. The first doctrine is that "Art never expresses anything but itself", contradicting the idea of art as a reflection of the times. The second doctrine is that "all bad art comes from returning to Life and Nature, and elevating them into ideals", thus defending the divorce of artists in relation to reality and nature. Finally, in the third, he suggests that "Life imitates Art far more than Art imitates Life"[107]. Wilde develops this idea by stating that Art offers Life "certain beautiful forms" with which it can identify and through which it can express itself, something which we have seen, in practice, regarding the homology of the couples Abraham/Sarah and Pedro/Inês.

This appropriation of models can also be seen in the sculpture of the Alcobaça tombs, particularly in the rose window. In reality, these monuments demonstrate how biographical details, which by definition are specific and real, were adapted to iconographical, allegorical and literary conventions, which are by definition general and abstract. But unlike Wilde's doctrine, on certain parts of Pedro and Inês' tombs it is unclear where artistic convention ends and real life begins; and vice-versa. This ambiguity makes the Wheel of Life and Fortune on Pedro's tomb a unique piece of work within the context of European art in the mid-fourteenth century.

If there were not a certain degree of discursive redundancy, the interpretation that we propose for the second half of Pedro's Wheel of Life would be difficult to sustain. This redundancy is guaranteed by the discourse of the Wheel of Fortune, another unique creation, which is closely connected to the outer section of the wheel, like the two moving hands on a clock. Together, these two semantic circles tell a tragic story of love and death, reshaping and moulding a series of artistic and literary models that were very popular in court culture at the time to a specific pair of lovers.

The twelve letters and four symbols that make up the short inscription "A :E :AFIN :DO MUDO" is the only "alphabetical" text carved on the two tombs of Alcobaça. For this simple fact, its meaning would be of the utmost importance for the creators of these monuments. In this case, we believe that the use of such an expression – particular to statements regarding the stages of world history – in a cycle of images that refer to the stages of the life of a human being aimed to establish a symbolic association between the scheme of the Ages of Man and the scheme of the Ages of the World. This association was somewhat commonplace in the cultured circles of the time and, as is already known, was based on the exploration of analogies between the micro-cosmos (Man) and the macro-cosmos (the World). In both schemes, of Man and of the World, the passage of time is inevitable, as is the decay that comes with it. This process occurs in stages until the final moment in which the two levels become one in the Last Judgement. Thus, the text of the inscription allows the discourse in the double wheel of the "rose window", namely the transitory nature of Life and Fortune, to relate to the teleological discourse regarding the History of Salvation expressed by the sculptures of the two tombs, in the representation of Adam and Eve, the cycles of Christ's Infancy and Passion and the Last Judgement[108].

It is within this metanarrative that the detail sculpted on the panel at the foot of Inês de Castro's tomb fits. We refer to the representation of a couple witnessing the Last Judgement from a balcony [Fig. 19]. Once again, considering the fusion between convention and biography that these tombs exemplify, we believe that this couple should be interpreted as representing Pedro and Inês[109]. It is an image which testifies to the belief in the resurrection and salvation of both, and which fulfils its function as a form of conjugal *elevatio animae* achieved at the end of the history. After the tragic fashion in which the couple was separated on earth, their presence in Heaven constitutes the best possible answer to all those who had opposed their union. Although unable to alter the historical facts, Pedro made these two monuments the foundation of a fertile love story that would become legendary; surpassing the fame of the immortal loves of his own days.

19. «Couple Attending the Last Judgement on a Balcony», detail of the «Last Judgement», Tomb of Inês de Castro, *c.* 1358–1360, Alcobaça Abbey Church. Photo: author

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1 The *Crónica de D. Pedro* by Fernão Lopes (1380?–1460) is the first historical work that encompasses the entire reign of Pedro, from 1357 to 1367, and it will be cited often in this study. All mentions of this chronicle refer to the revised edition by G. Macchi, T. Amado, Lisbon, 2007.

2 Fernão Lopes' knowledge of the (apocryphal) epistles of these and other heroines of the ancient world must have been indirect, probably via Medieval Iberian chronicles. On the influence of Ovid on Fernão Lopes, see M. Martins, "Fernão Lopes e as cartas de Ariadna e Dido", in *Estudos de Cultura Medieval*, 2 vols., Braga, 1972, II, pp. 11–16; T. Amado, *O Passado e o Presente: Ler Fernão Lopes*, Lisbon, 2007, pp. 17, 68–69. The story of Dido and Aeneas was also included in a chapter of the *Livro de Linhagens*, a manuscript originally written between 1340 and 1344 by the half-brother of the Portuguese king, Afonso IV. See J. Mattoso, ed., *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, 2 vols., Lisbon, 1980, II, pp. 73–74.

3 Late-medieval literature owes much to the tragic love stories of antiquity. Explicitly cited, paraphrased, taken as literary "models" or even parodies, these love stories are evident in the prolific chivalric romances and works dedicated to courtly love, encompassing very different authors such as Benoit de Sainte-Maure, Chrétien de Troyes, Andreas Capellanus, Dante, Boccaccio, Chaucer or Gower. On this topic see C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: a Study in Medieval Tradition*, London, 1971, pp. 4–10. For an original analysis of the depiction (and construction) of love and desire in medieval secular images see M. Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire*, London, 1998.

4 The tombs are heavily mutilated after having been vandalised in 1810, when the Napoleonic army looted the chests. The destruction of the heads of a large number of figures, particularly at the head of Pedro's tomb, results from the delicateness of these sculpted elements, often done in high-relief or independently of the stone block of the chests. Regarding the vicissitudes of the Alcobaça tombs and the state of research on these works of art, see L. U. Afonso, *O Ser e o Tempo: as Idades do Homem no Gótico Português*, Casal de Cambra, 2003, pp. 18–20. In international publications devoted to Portuguese art there are only general remarks on the tombs of Alcobaça and on Portuguese Gothic funeral sculpture in general. A few exceptions are: L. A. Fonseca, ed. *Aux Confins du Moyen-Age: Art Portugais XII–XVe siècle*, Gent, 1992; G. Gentili, ed., *Ai Confini della Terra: Scultura e Arte in Portogallo 1300–1500*, Milan, 2000; F. Macedo, M. Goulão, "Les tombeaux de Pedro et Inês: la mémoire sacralisée d'un amour clandestin", in W. Reinink, J. Stumpel, ed., *Memory and Oblivion. Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art*, Dordrecht, 1999, pp. 491–498. On the church of Alcobaça, which was built between 1178 and 1252, see A. N. de Gusmão, *A Real Abadia de Alcobaça: estudo histórico-arqueológico*, Lisbon, 1992, pp. 45–49.

5 On the projection of this love story in European literature, from the Middle Ages to the present day, see M. M. de Sousa, *Inês de Castro: Um Tema Português na Europa*, Lisbon, 1997.

6 Alfonso XI relegated his legitimate wife to residence in Seville, preferring to have his mistress with him at court. His wife bore him one son, while his mistress Leonor de Guzman provided him with ten descendants. On this subject see M. Mendonça, "Inês de Castro, uma vítima da política ibérica do século XIV?", in M. M. de Sousa, ed., *Inês de Castro: 1355–2005. Exposição bibliográfica*, Lisbon, 2005, pp. 21–32.

7 Inês Pires de Castro was the illegitimate child of the Galician count Pedro Fernández de Castro, majordomo to King Alfonso XI of Castile and one of those who most have benefited from the abolition of the Knights Templar in Galicia. The legitimate daughter of this nobleman, Joana de Castro, became queen by marrying Pedro I of Castile (1334–1369) in 1354. However, Alfonso XI's successor disavowed this spouse after a few days, which led the indignant Castro clan to support Enrique of Trastámara in the struggle for the throne. The legitimate son of Pedro Fernández de Castro, Fernando Ruiz de Castro, was the ensign (*alferes-mor*) of Castile, and the illegitimate son, Álvaro Pérez de Castro, Inês' brother, would become count of Arraiolos, during the reign of Fernando I of Portugal. On this issue, see C. Pimenta, *D. Pedro I*, Lisbon, 2007, pp. 108–109.

8 Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão considers that motive behind Inês' assassination to be related to the lordly conflicts involving groups which set the Pachecos against the Castros within the Portuguese court. In Oliveira Marques' opinion, however, the reason for Inês' murder was an attempt at preventing Portugal from entering the civil war in Castile. This confrontation involved the supporters of Pedro I of Castile, grandson of the Portuguese king, Afonso IV, against the supporters of Enrique of Trastámara, his half-brother, the illegitimate son of Alfonso XI. The Portuguese king backed his grandson, while in Castile the Castros supported Enrique of Trastámara, which is why Inês de Castro posed a threat to the Portuguese kingdom's strategy for the peninsula. Finally, Maria L. M. de Sousa considers that the assassination of Inês de Castro was the culmination of a conflict-fraught relationship between King Afonso IV and Prince Pedro. For a more in-depth analysis from each of these authors, see J. V. Serrão, *História de Portugal*, 17 vols., Lisbon, 1977, I, p. 278; O. Marques, *Nova História de Portugal: Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV*, 11 vols., Lisbon, 1987, IV, pp. 504–505; *Inês de Castro*, pp. 16–17. The Castilian chronicler Lopes de Ayala (1332–1407) also pays great attention to the death of Inês de Castro when he narrates the events of the year 1360. According to this chronicler, Afonso IV ordered the assassination of Inês because Pedro wanted to marry her to legitimise their children. See López de Ayala, *Coronica del Serenissimo Rey don Pedro*, Pamplona, 1591, 79^{v}–80, 1360, chap. XIV. For an analysis of the chronicle by Lopes de Ayala see *Inês de Castro*, pp. 29–30.

9 See *Inês de Castro*, pp. 16–17.

10 As highlighted by C. Pimenta, *D. Pedro I*, p. 125, this date concurs with the presence of the king in the city of Santarém, where the trial and execution of the two men took place.

11 Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. Pedro*, chap. XXXI.

12 *Ibidem*, chaps. XXVI–XXIX.

13 See *Inês de Castro*, pp. 20–21.

14 Currently, these monuments are located in the transept of the church, Inês de Castro's on the north side and Pedro's on the south side, both facing each other, feet to feet. This positioning of the tombs dates back to 1957, the year in which Queen Elizabeth II of England visited Portugal, when Salazar's government ordered the monuments to be moved to the church's spacious double transept. This disposition also minimises the visual impact of the damage. On this subject see J. C. V. da Silva, *O Panteão Régio do Mosteiro de Alcobaça*, Lisbon, 2003, pp. 42–43.

15 The analogy of this face with the circular framework of the stainedglass has already become an integral part of the studies of Pedro's tomb,

which is why we use this metonymy when referring to the head. Beyond this, the formal and conceptual links between the rose-windows and the Wheels of Fortune have been highlighted by various authors; see, for example, V. Beyer, "Rosaces et roues de Fortune à la fin de l'art roman et au début de l'art gothique", *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 22, 1962, pp. 34–43.

16 Apart from this, the inner circle of the illumination is very different: it has eight niches, instead of six; it starts by descending rather than ascending; and its subject matter refers to the story of Theophilus. On this illumination see E. Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*, Princeton, 1986, p. 146. On other illuminations surviving from the original Psalter, see G. Henderson, "The Meaning of Leaf 5 of Fitzwilliam MS 330", *Burlington Magazine*, 133, 1991, pp. 682–686. On William de Brailes, see C. Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*, London, 1991, pp. 9–24.

17 See *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Pedro I*, Lisbon, 1984, p. 126. This information has been ignored in the vast majority of the studies dedicated to these tombs. Traditionally, it was assumed that Pedro made this decision only in 1360 after the public announcement of his secret marriage with Inês. For a discussion of these arguments see Afonso, *O Ser e o Tempo*, pp. 24–25.

18 In the king's laconic will, written on 17 January 1367, one day before his death, reference is made to the tomb already existing, but it does not specify when it was completed. Nevertheless, most researchers wrongly deduce that the tomb was made shortly before the king's death. On the king's testament see A. Caetano de Sousa, *Provas Genealógicas da Casa Real Portuguesa*, Coimbra, 1946, I, pp. 407–410.

19 Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. Pedro*, chaps. XXVII–XXIX.

20 Lopes exhaustively describes the pomp of the transfer of the body but does not mention the year in which it took place. See Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. Pedro*, chap. XLIV. On the other hand, the king's itineraries do not indicate his presence in Alcobaça before 1366, which makes it difficult to establish the precise date of the ceremony. See M. Machado, *Itinerários de El-Rei D. Pedro I (1357–1367)*, Lisbon, 1978, p. 260. Taking this into consideration, it has been suggested that Inês' body was moved from Coimbra to Alcobaça in the months following the posthumous announcement of the marriage between Pedro and Inês, in June 1360, which suggests a date for the transfer of her body towards the end of 1360 or early 1361. However, there is new evidence pointing to the year of 1363. For instance, the Bishop of Lisbon, D. Lourenço Rodrigues, left the capital on 26 March 1363 in the direction of Coimbra where he joined the funeral procession that arrived at Alcobaça on 2 April 1363, precisely on Easter Sunday. On the itinerary and life of this bishop see A. Saraiva, "O quotidiano da casa do bispo D. Lourenço Rodrigues, bispo de Lisboa (1358–1364): notas de investigação", *Lusitânia Sacra*, 17, 2005, pp. 419–438.

21 On this transfer see F. M. dos Santos, *Alcobaça Ilustrada*, Coimbra, 1710, p. 176.

22 Until then the tombs of the royal family were located outside the church, in a porch. In the early sixteenth century they were moved to the church transept, next to the tombs of Pedro and Inês. Later, soon after 1786, all of the tombs would be transferred to the so-called "Sala dos Túmulos" (Tomb Room), a Neo-Gothic chapel opened on the west face of the southern wing of the transept. On this issue, see M. Barroca, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862–1422)*, 3 vols., Lisbon, 2000, II, pp. 1187–1193; J. C. V. da Silva, *O Panteão Régio*, pp. 15–17, 32–34, 37–43.

23 On the application of retrospective and prospective scenes in funerary art see E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, London, 1992. We will return to this question.

24 This is not a new thesis. It was expressed for the first time one hundred years ago by M. V. Natividade, *Ignez de Castro e Pedro o Cruperante a iconografia dos seus túmulos*, Lisbon, 1910, pp. 45–47, although this author had a positivist perspective regarding the historical accuracy of images. The same bias characterises the development of this idea by A. de Vasconcelos, *Inês de Castro: estudo para uma série de lições no curso de História de Portugal*, Barcelos, 1933. This thesis was thoroughly analyzed both by Serafín Moralejo Alvarez and Luís Urbano Afonso. See S. Moralejo Alvarez, "El 'Texto' Alcobacense sobre los Amores de D. Pedro y Dª Inês", in A. Nascimento, C. Ribeiro, eds, *Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval (Lisboa, 1–5 de Outubro de 1991)*, 4 vols., Lisbon, 1993, I, pp. 71–89, reprinted in Á. Franco Mata ed., *Patrimonio Artístico de Galicia y Otros Estúdios: Homenaje al Prof. Dr. Serafín Morelajo Álvarez*, 3 vols., Santiago de Compostela, 2004, II, pp. 207–221. See also L. U. Afonso, *O Ser e o Tempo*; *idem*, "Life's circle: some notes on two Portuguese Gothic tombs", in B. Borngässer et al., eds, *Grabkunst und Sepulkralkultur in Spanien und Portugal*, Frankfurt, 2006, pp. 193–205.

25 On the relevance of this idea to Late Medieval autobiographical literature see L. de Looze, *Pseudo-Autobiography in the Fourteenth Century: Juan Ruiz, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, and Geoffrey Chaucer*, Gainesville, 1997, pp. 32, 40, 152. On the circularity of influences between chivalric life and chivalric literature in the late Middle Ages, and for the conformity between them, see the essays collected in the volume: L. Benson, J. Leyerle, eds, *Chivalric Literature: Essays on Relations between Literature & Life in the Later Middle Ages*, Toronto, 1980, particularly J. Leyerle's conclusion, pp. 131–146.

26 Three interpretations sustained by: 1) R. dos Santos, "A iconografia dos túmulos de Alcobaça", *Lusitania*, 1, 1924, pp. 83–90; 2) Natividade, *Ignez de Castro*, p. 63; de Vasconcelos, *Inês de Castro*, p. 93; 3) Moralejo Álvarez, "El 'Texto' Alcobacense"; Afonso, *O Ser e o Tempo*.

27 On the illuminations of this Psalter see L. F. Sandler, *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library*, London, 1999.

28 See Moralejo Álvarez, "El 'Texto' Alcobacense", p. 73.

29 We think that the model for this representation of *infantia* derives from the cycle of the Works of Adam and Eve, namely images where Eve appears seated in a domestic indoor scene next to a cauldron over a flame, spinning and nursing a child at the same time. A good example of this type of image, dated *c.* 1200, can be found in the initial E that illustrates Psalm 19 from a *Psalter* in the Pierpont Morgan Library M.338 (fol. 70^{v}).

30 On the Ages of Man in general and on their relationship with the planets see Sears, *The Ages of Man*, pp. 47–53.

31 This figure is mutilated, but what remains is compatible with this supposition. It is similar to representations of scenes of scholars used to illustrate the liberal arts, namely Grammar. On these representations see M. Evans, "Allegorical Women and Practical Men: the Iconography of the *Artes* Reconsidered", in D. Baker, R. Hill, eds, *Medieval Women: Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind M.T. Hill on the Occasion of Her Seventieth Birthday*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 305–329.

32 See D. Markl, "O xadrez na arte e na literatura portuguesas na Idade Média e no Renascimento. Breves exemplos", *A Cidade de Évora*, 1, 1994–1995, pp. 331–346. This author suggests that the Alcobaça sculptors were inspired to create this scene by ivories carved with young couples playing chess, something we agree with entirely. On the popularity

of this subject matter in fourteenth-century ivories see R. Randall, "Popular romances carved in ivory", in ed. P. Barnet, *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, Detroit, 1997, pp. 63–79, at p. 75; D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires Médiévaux: Ve–XVe siècle*, Paris, 2003, pp. 351–352.

33 As noted by Serafín Moralejo, who has emphasised the "intertextuality" between this love story and other well-known love legends of the time, Tristan and Iseult had also fallen in love while playing chess. See Moralejo Álvarez, "El 'Texto' Alcobacense", pp. 76–77; Markl, "O xadrez na arte", p. 331.

34 See Moralejo Álvarez, "El 'Texto' Alcobacense", p. 77.

35 As far as we can tell, this representation has no parallel in the iconography of the Ages of Man. However, it corresponds to a type of iconography seen in the Wheel of Fortune, representing the individual who is about to reach the top and be crowned, accompanying the movement and curve of the wheel. S. Moralejo Álvarez, "El 'Texto' Alcobacense", p. 77, identified a similar image to this one of the Wheel of Fortune in the *Crónica Troyana*, a manuscript kept in the Library of El Escorial (h.I.6, fol. 152). This illumination, which illustrates the (mis)fortune of King Priam, was created *c.* 1350.

36 On the Iberian political theory of the king as Vicar of God and its application by Pedro's grandfather, King Dinis I of Portugal, see M. Nuñez Rodríguez, "*Religio Regis* y Culto al Poder", in M. Costa, ed., *Propaganda & Poder. Congresso Peninsular de História da Arte*, Lisbon, 2001, pp. 95–113.

37 In judicial terms, Pedro did not simply execute Inês' assassins. In the *Crónica de D. Pedro* Fernão Lopes emphasises the importance that the king placed on justice and underlines the violence used in some cases personally judged by the king himself, which was, in fact, a key element for the chronicler in building Pedro's "portrait". The examples given by Fernão Lopes are as follows: he ordered that two squires be beheaded for robbing and killing a Jew (chap. VI); he was prepared to thrash the Bishop of Porto, Afonso Pires, because he was sleeping with a married woman and because he had threatened to kill the woman's legitimate husband (chap. VII); he ordered the castration of a squire because he was sleeping with a married woman (chap. VIII); he ordered that the wife of a merchant be beheaded and burnt for infidelity (chap. IX); he had a man who raped a woman hanged, despite their being married and having children (chap. IX); he ordered the beheading of a squire who had cut the rings off a wine vat (chap. IX); he had a royal treasury scribe hanged for suspected corruption (chap. IX); and he had a squire beheaded because he had attacked a judge's envoy (chap. IX).

38 According to Vieira da Silva, this emphasis on King Pedro as keeper of the peace and administrator of justice is even more evident on the monumental effigy of the tomb. See J. C. V. da Silva, "A construção de uma imagem: jacentes de nobres portugueses do século XIV", in C. Cosmen Alonso et al., eds, *El Intercambio Artístico entre los Reinos Hispanos y las Cortes Europeas en la Baja Edad Média*, León, 2009, pp. 407–429, at pp. 412–413.

39 On this issue see Pimenta, *D. Pedro I*, pp. 172–173.

40 On this issue see P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, London, 2001, p. 109. The tomb of King Robert I of Naples, made up of six tiers, constitutes an extreme example of the multiplication of representations of the deceased. Created around 1343–1346, it represents the monarch in four different guises. On this monument see B. Cassidy, *Politics, Civic Ideals and Sculpture in Italy c. 1240–1400*, London, 2007, pp. 68–80.

41 For an interpretation of this inscription see Afonso, *O Ser e o Tempo*, pp. 53–56.

42 Emphasis added. On the use of these expressions in Alcobaça manuscripts kept in Portugal's National Library, namely MS ALC. 62 and MS ALC. 92, see Afonso, *O Ser e o Tempo*, pp. 54–55.

43 We will return to this question.

44 On this discussion see Afonso, *O Ser e o Tempo*, pp. 57–63.

45 The *Livro das Eras* (or *Livro da Noa*) of the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, which includes one of the oldest references to Inês' death, explicitly states that King Afonso IV ordered that Inês be beheaded: "Era. Milesima. CCC.ª Nonagesima. IIJ.ª VIJ. dies Januerij decolata fuit dona Enes per mandatum donni regis Alfonsi IIIJ". That is, "In era 1393 [of the Christian era, i.e., 1355], January the seventh, Lady Inês was decollated by order of King Afonso IV". See A. Cruz, *Anais, Crónicas e Memórias Avulsas de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, Porto, 1968, p. 79.

46 The story of Polyxena was known among the Portuguese nobility of the time. On the presence of the Trojan cycle in Portuguese chronicles of this period see L. Krus, *A Concepção Nobiliárquica do Espaço Ibérico (1280–1380)*, Lisbon, 1994, pp. 143–170. Naturally, however, the audience of this tomb would have been much more familiar with the *vitae* and imagery of beheaded female martyrs.

47 On the relationship between Fortune and Love in medieval literature see H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, New York, 1967, pp. 90–98. The specific association between the Wheel of Fortune and Love is found, for example, in Book IV of *Troilus and Criseyde*, written between 1380 and 1388 (Proemium and IV, 323–326). L. Benson, ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, Boston, 1987, p. 542.

48 An interpretation proposed by F. de Almeida, "A Roda da Fortuna/Roda da Vida do túmulo de D. Pedro, em Alcobaça", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto. História*, 8, 1991, pp. 255–263, on p. 260.

49 On this hypothesis see S. Moralejo Álvarez, "El 'Texto' Alcobacense", p. 84.

50 See R. Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques Français*, 3 vols., Paris, 1924 (repr. 1968), III, pls. 175–227. This subject matter is also found in other supports, such as an octagonal capital of the lower colonnade of Venice's Palazzo Ducale sculpted between 1342 and 1348, which depicts the love story of a couple in eight episodes. See A. Lermer, *Der gotische "Dogenpalast" in Venedig. Baugeschichte und Skulpturenprogramm des Palatium Communis Venetiarum,* Munich, 2005, pp. 181–183.

51 Louvre Museum no. MRR 197. According to Gaborit-Chopin there are twelve more objects of this type carved with four pairs of lovers. On this list and on the Louvre's MRR 197 see D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires Médiévaux*, pp. 335, 354–356.

52 This mirror case was sold at the auction of the G. Dourmeuil Collection (Sotheby's Lot 3 of sale PF7082, Paris, 19 November 2007).

53 The Metropolitan Museum of Art no. 41.100.160. On this mirror case see C. T. Little, "Mirror Case with Falconing Party", in P. Barnet, ed., *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, Detroit, 1997, pp. 235–236.

54 See Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques*, II, p. 373; III, pl. 177.

55 On similar objects, such as one at Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Walters n.71.206), see R. Randall, "Medieval Ivories in the Romance Tradition", *Gesta*, 28/1, 1989, pp. 30–40.

56 The influence of Master Pêro has been widely recognized by historians of Portuguese art. See F. de Almeida, M. Barroca, *História da Arte em Portugal: O Gótico*, Lisbon, 2002, pp. 215–230; C. V. Fernandes, *Poder e representação: iconologia da família real portuguesa. Primeira dinastia. Séculos XII a XIV*, PhD diss., Universidade de Lisboa, 2004, pp. 874–899.

57 On the evolution of Portuguese Gothic tombs see de Almeida, Barroca, *O Gótico*, pp. 207–240; Fernandes, *Poder e Representação*; J. C. V. da Silva, "Memória e Imagem: reflexões sobre escultura tumular portuguesa (séculos XIII e XIV)", *Revista de História da Arte*, 1, 2005, pp. 46–81; *idem*, "A Construção de uma Imagem"; M. J. Goulão, *Expressões Artísticas do Universo Medieval* (D. Rodrigues, ed., *Arte Portuguesa. Da Pré-História ao Século XX*, vol. 4), Lisbon, 2009, pp. 48–97.

58 The exception being Master Pêro, about whom we know from a payment receipt for the work done for Vataça Lascaris' tomb in 1336–1337 and the contract for the tomb of the Archbishop of Braga, Gonçalo Pereira, in 1334. On this issue see de Almeida, Barroca, *O Gótico*, pp. 215–230.

59 By the middle of the fourteenth century, the consumption and circulation of these objects was increasing among the elites. On the emergence of this phenomenon in the late Middle Ages, particularly in relation to illuminated manuscripts, see B. Buettner, "Profane illuminations, secular illusions: manuscripts in late medieval courtly society", *Art Bulletin*, 74/1, 1992, pp. 75–90.

60 On the appearance of secular subject matter in European medieval ivory carving and on its profusion during the fourteenth century see Randall, "Popular romances".

61 On this type of secular works of art see Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques*, II, pp. 365–471; D. Ross, "Allegory and Romance on a Mediaeval French Marriage Casket", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 11, 1948, pp. 112–142; C. J. Campbell, "Courting, Harlotry and the Art of Gothic Ivory Carving", *Gesta*, 34/1, 1995, pp. 11–19; Randall, "Medieval Ivories in the Romance Tradition"; *idem*, "Popular Romances"; P. M. Carns, "*Compilatio* in Ivory: The Composite Casket in the Metropolitan Museum", *Gesta*, 44/2, 2005, pp. 69–88.

62 For an introductory study and an edition of the text see F. Whitehead, ed., *La Chastelaine de Vergi*, Manchester, 1951. On the British Museum casket and on the representation of this subject matter in Gothic ivory caskets see L. Gross, "La Castelaine de Vergi carved in Ivory", *Viator*, 10, 1979, pp. 311–321; Randall, "Popular romances", pp. 69–70, who emphasizes the high popularity of this story, particularly during the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

63 There are also three more fragments of dismantled caskets. Laila Gross refers to the existence of thirteen French and two Dutch fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Chastelaine* and provides the location of the caskets: British Museum, London (Dalton 367); Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (17.190.180 and 17.190.177); Louvre, Paris (Moul. 61); Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (PS 115); Castello Sforzesco, Milan (no number). The three fragments are in Florence (Museo Nazionale), Paris (Louvre) and Lawrence, KS (University of Kansas Museum of Art). Gross also mentions a fresco depicting this story in the nuptial chamber of Tomaso Davizzi and Catelana degli Alberti in the Palazzo Davizzi-Davanzati, Florence, which was painted *c.* 1385. See Gross, "La Chastelaine", p. 312.

64 The exploit of this *topos* by the anonymous author anticipates the presentation of a *mise en abîme* in the final monologue of the *Chastelaine*, when she compares her tragic destiny with that of Tristan and Iseult. A similar analogy occurs in the speech of Francesca da Polenta in Dante's *Inferno*, when she blames Tristan and Iseult for her tragic destiny. See Dante, *Inferno*, V, 97–108, 127–138. On the literary links with other medieval courtly romances and *lais* see F. Whitehead, ed., *La Chastelaine*, pp. IX–XIX.

65 On medieval ivories in Portugal see de Almeida, Barroca, *O Gótico*, pp. 271–275.

66 On the constitution of the Alcobaça *armarium* see A. Miranda, *A Iluminura Românica em Santa Cruz de Coimbra e Santa Maria de Alcobaça. Subsídios para o estudo da iluminura em Portugal*, PhD diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996, pp. 79–90.

67 Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, MS ALC. 446.

68 This classification of the Ages of Man is the same as the one we find in Alcobaça manuscripts written in Portuguese. See above note 44.

69 See Afonso, *O Ser e o Tempo*, pp. 85, 88–90.

70 If the latter is true then one should not exclude a member of the Castro family, whose lineage was particularly favoured in these tombs.

71 This Castilian chronicle composed *c.* 1295 narrates the First Crusade and the Conquest of Jerusalem with a large dose of fantasy. On this manuscript see F. Gutierrez Baños, *Las Empresas Artísticas de Sancho IV el Bravo*, Salamanca, 1997, pp. 223–232.

72 This manuscript seems to have been produced after a Galician-Portuguese translation of the *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Sainte-Maure. On this possibility see R. Lorenzo, ed., *Crónica Troiana. Introdución e Texto*, Coruña, 1985, pp. 191–192; H. de Carlos Villamarín, "Aquiles en Portugal: Un aspecto de las Versiones Peninsulares del Roman de Troie", *Euphrosyne*, 20, 1992, pp. 365–378. For a cultural and artistic analysis of the *Crónica Troyana* illuminations see R. M. Rodríguez Porto, "Una Nota sobre la Particular Versión de la Tumba de Héctor en la *Crónica Troyana* de Alfonso XI", *Troianalexandrina*, 3, 2003, pp. 23–38; *idem*, "Troy-Upon-Guadalquivir: Imagining Ancient Architecture at King Alfonso XI's Court", *Troianalexandrina*, 5, 2005, pp. 9–35; *idem*, "Courtliness and its *Trujamanes*: Manufacturing Chivalric Imagery across the Castilian–Grenadine Frontier", *Medieval Encounters*, 14, 2008, pp. 219–266.

73 See Moralejo Álvarez, "El 'Texto' Alcobacense", p. 89.

74 According to Rosa Porto the illuminations of the *Crónica Troyana* correspond to a syncretic visual culture of courtliness, particularly strong among the nobility of Castile and Granada between *c.* 1340 and *c.* 1360. Together with art works, such as the famous painted ceilings of Alhambra's *Hall of Justice* made *c.* 1360, they express the mutual assimilation between Christian and Muslims in relation to courtly culture. On this issue see Rodríguez Porto, "Courtliness and its *Trujamanes*"; C. Robinson, "El Manuscrito Bayad wa Riyad y las Relaciones con las Distintas Culturas Mediterráneas, Cristianas e Islámicas en la Península Ibérica", in M. Valdez Fernández, ed., *El Legado de al-Andalus. El arte Andalusí en los Reinos de León y Castilla durante la Edad Media*, Valladolid, 2007, pp. 161–201.

75 A suggestion made by Moralejo Álvarez, "El 'Texto' Alcobacense", p. 89.

76 In other regions of Iberia, the presence of works of art with chivalric subject matter is better documented. Concerning subject matter derived from Arthurian cycles, see R. Sánchez Ameijeiras, "Cistercienses y Leyendas Artúricas: El Caballero del León en Penamaior (Lugo)", in R. Sánchez Ameijeiras, J. Gabriel y Galán, eds., *El Tímpano Románico: Imágenes, Estructuras y Audiencias*, Santiago de Compostela, 2003, pp. 295–321.

77 On the capitals of Celas' cloister see F. Teixeira, *A Arquitectura Monástica e Conventual Feminina em Portugal nos Séculos XIII e XIV*, PhD diss., Universidade do Algarve, 2007, p. 198. The interest in Alexander is documented in Iberia through a Castilian epic poem dedicated to him, entitled *Libro de Alexandre*, written during the first half of the thirteenth century. On the presence of Alexander in Portuguese chronicles see Krus, *A Concepção Nobiliárquica*, p. 127.

78 This noblewoman was the niece of the last Byzantine emperor of the Lascaris line and came to Portugal in the escort of Isabel of Aragon for her marriage with King Dinis I.

79 On this inventory and on the history of Vataça Lascaris see M. H. Coelho, Ventura, "Os bens de Vataça: visibilidade de uma existência", *Revista de História das Ideias*, 9, 1987, pp. 33–77.

80 This work of art was inherited by King Pedro. On this testament see H. Fernandes, L. U. Afonso, "Do luxo à economia do dom: em torno do tesouro da rainha D. Beatriz (1349–1358)", *Clio*, 16/17, 2008, pp. 363–394. The story of the Knight of the Swan was sufficiently well-known in Iberia to be included in one of the four books of the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* mentioned above (note 71).

81 On these examples see M. R. L. de Malkiel, "Arthurian Literature in Spain and Portugal", in ed. R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*, Oxford, 1959 (repr. 1961), pp. 406–418; H. Sharrer, "Spanish and Portuguese Arthurian Literature", in N. J. Lacy, ed., *The New Arthurian Encyclopedia*, New York, 1991 (repr. 1996), pp. 425–428; A. F. Dias, *História Crítica da Literatura Portuguesa. Idade Média*, Lisboa, 1998, pp. 56–79.

82 On this hypothesis and on the references about *Merlim* and *José de Arimateia*, see I. de Castro, "Sobre a data da introdução na Península Ibérica do ciclo arturiano da Post-Vulgata", *Boletim de Filologia*, 28, 1983, pp. 81–98.

83 See L. Krus, *A Concepção Nobiliárquica*, pp. 143–170; I. de Castro, "Matéria de Bretanha", in G. Lanciani, G. Tavani, eds., *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1993, pp. 445–450; Dias, *História Crítica*, pp. 56–79. This process favoured the location of Achilles' hiding place in Portugal, at the far west of Europe, when his mother tried to avoid his participation in the Trojan War. On the presence of this *topos* in Iberian medieval chronicles see Carlos Villamarín, "Aquiles en Portugal".

84 On the interrelations between these two Castilian chronicles and Portuguese genealogical literature see J. Mattoso, "As Fontes do Nobiliário do Conde D. Pedro", in *A Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa: A Família e o Poder*, Lisbon, 1980, pp. 57–100; *idem*, "A Literatura Genealógica e a Cultura da Nobreza em Portugal (s. XIII–XIV)", in *Portugal Medieval: Novas Interpretações*, Lisbon, 1992, pp. 309–328.

85 See J. Mattoso, ed., *Livro de Linhagens*, I, pp. 72–98. According to Luís Krus, the majority of the references to Troy were taken from the Navarrese *Libro de las Generaciones*, composed *c.* 1260–1270. See Krus, *A Concepção Nobiliárquica*, pp. 113, 116, 143–170.

86 There are eight of Ovid's epistles in Alfonso X's *General Estoria* alone, which was initiated around 1272. See A. G. Solalinde et al., eds, *General Estoria*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1957–1961, II/1, pp. 425–429 (Ariadne and Theseus); II/2, pp. 40–44 (Dejanira and Hercules), pp. 72–77 (Hypsipyle and Jason), pp. 82–87 (Medea and Jason), pp. 119–121 (Oenone and Paris), pp. 224–228 (Phyllis and Demophon). In addition, the *Primera Crónica General de España*, also associated with Alfonso X but written in two periods, namely 1260–1274 and 1282–1284, includes the letter from Dido to Aeneas. See ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General de España*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1955, I, pp. 39–43.

87 On the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* and its sources see J. S. Carvalho, "As Crónicas Anteriores à *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*" and "A *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, de D. Pedro, conde de Barcelos", in *História da Literatura Portuguesa: das Origens ao Cancioneiro Geral*, Lisboa, 2001, respectively pp. 205–215 and 217–251.

88 Although representative of an earlier period, when oral *chansons de geste* were much more important than written *romances*, it is striking to verify that visual representations of the Matter of Britain in the cathedrals of Modena (*c.* 1100–1120) and Compostela (*c.* 1110–1120) antedate, by several decades, the first written accounts by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Chrétien de Troyes. On this issue see S. Moralejo Álvarez, "Artistas, Patronos y Público en el Arte del Camino de Santiago", *Compostellanum*, 30, 1985, pp. 395–430, rpt. in: *Patrimonio Artístico de Galicia y Otros Estúdios*, II, pp. 21–36; *idem*, "Artes Figurativas y Artes Literarias en la España Medieval: Románico, Romance y Roman", *Boletín de la Asociación Europea de Profesores de Español*, 17, 1985, pp. 61–70.

89 On this topic see Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 73.

90 Mourning scenes and scenes that show the *elevatio animae* are both relatively common in Iberian medieval funerary art. On Portugal see M. Barroca, "Cenas de Passamento e de Lamentação na escultura funerária medieval portuguesa (séc. XIII a XV)", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 14, 1997, pp. 657–686. On Spain see E. V. del Alamo, "Lament for a Lost Queen: the Sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Nájera", *Art Bulletin*, 78/2, 1996, pp. 311–333; R. Sánchez Ameijeiras, "*Mui de Coraçon Rogava a Santa Maria*: culpas irredentas y reivindicación política en Villasirga", in *Patrimonio Artístico de Galicia y Otros Estúdios*, III, pp. 241–252. Concerning scenes of charity see R. Sánchez Ameijeiras, "*Monumenta et Memoriae*: the Thirteenth-Century Episcopal Pantheon of León Cathedral", in E. V. del Alamo, C. Pendergast, eds, *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, Aldershot, 2000, pp. 269–299.

91 Cassidy, *Politics, Civic Ideals and Sculpture*, pp. 165–169, 172–173.

92 *Ibidem*, pp. 165, 173–174.

93 *Ibidem*, pp. 144–145. The first two of these tombs are located at the Piazza S. Domenico (Bologna). The other two are at the Cathedral of Pistoia and at the Camposanto (Pisa).

94 See M. E. Roberts, "The Tomb of Giles de Bridport in Salisbury Cathedral", *Art Bulletin,* 65, 1983, pp. 559–586.

95 *Ibidem*, p. 571.

96 *Ibidem*, pp. 578–583.

97 Even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some tombs already presented biographical imagery. A case in point is the sarcophagus of Queen Blanca of Navarre (†1156), which represents her death in childbirth and her family's grief. On this tomb see del Alamo, "Lament for a lost Queen", pp. 311–313, 317–319.

98 In 1970, after a fire, these tombs were moved to the convent of Villarcayo. On these tombs see M. Ruiz Maldonado, "Escultura Funeraria en Burgos: los Sepulcros de los Rojas, Celada y su Círculo", *Boletin del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar*, 46, 1994, pp. 45–126; M. Nuñez Rodríguez, "El Discurso de la Muerte: Muerte Épica, Muerte Caballeresca", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 269, 1995, pp. 17–30.

99 Ruiz Maldonado, "Escultura Funeraria en Burgos", pp. 61–62.

100 *Ibidem*, pp. 63–69.

101 On Alcobaça as a royal pantheon see the book by J. C. V. da Silva, *O Panteão Régio*.

102 See M. Martins, *Alegorias, Símbolos e Exemplos Morais da Literatura Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1975, pp. 101–104. This sermon was published and studied by other authors, including S. D. Arnaut, *A Crise Nacional dos fins do Século XIV: A Sucessão de D. Fernando*, 2 vols., Coimbra, 1960, I, pp. 471–474.

103 This situation legitimated the children from the union between Pedro and Inês, namely João, Dinis and Beatriz. This meant that if anything unfortunate happened to Fernando, son of Pedro and Constança, born on 1345, there were two other possibilities in terms of male successors through João and Dinis, who were born in 1352 and 1353, respectively. On this subject see Pimenta, *D. Pedro I*, pp. 211, 245–247.

104 On this interpretation in particular and on the *religio regis* phenomenon in medieval Portugal see Nuñez Rodríguez, "*Religio Regis*", pp. 96–97.

105 During the first five years of his reign, Fernando I maintained good relations with his powerful half-siblings, João and Dinis. However, from 1372 onward, Dinis began to fall out with the king and went to Castile, where he joined Enrique II in the incursion against Portugal. João, who was older than Dinis, stayed close to the king until 1380, which was the year he sought refuge in the Castilian kingdom, after seeing the chances of marrying Beatriz, Fernando I's only heiress, frustrated. However, the importance of Pedro I's illegitimate children became very clear at the time of the dynastic crisis from 1383 to 1385, when both João and Dinis were considered to be potential heirs to the Portuguese throne after the death of Fernando I. Regarding the relationship between King Fernando I and his half-siblings, and their political manoeuvring in the struggle for the Portuguese throne, see Pimenta, *D. Pedro I*, pp. 112, 211, 267–285.

106 The tomb traditionally identified as that of King Fernando I, now at the Museu Arqueológico do Carmo, Lisbon, is considered by J. C. V. da Silva to be that of the ruler's mother, Constança Manuel. Indeed, the monument's heraldry combines the Portuguese coat of arms on the lid with the Manuéis coat of arms on the chest. For a discussion of this problem see C. V. Fernandes, "Vida, Fama e Morte: Reflexões sobre a Colecção de Escultura Gótica", in *idem*, *Construindo a Memória. As Colecções do Museu Arqueológico do Carmo*, Lisboa, 2005, pp. 301–355, at pp. 309–335; da Silva, "Memória e Imagem", p. 48.

107 M. Holland, ed., *Collins Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, Glasgow, 2003, p. 1091.

108 The tomb of Abbot Guillaume de Putot from *c.* 1300 in Fécamp, Normandy, presents a similar program, exploring the association between death and the History of Salvation in twelve scenes, from the Creation of Adam to the Universal Resurrection. Like in Alcobaça, this narrative stresses the association between the Fall and the death of man and it also explores the faith in salvation. On this tomb see G. S. Wright, "A Tomb Program at Fécamp", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 47/2, 1984, pp. 186–209.

109 The identification of these two figures as Pedro and Inês was proposed for the first time in 1910. See Natividade, *Ignez de Castro*, p. 51.