Philip the Bold's Tomb: Sculptural Creativity within a Web of Networks

Andrew Murray

Introduction

The tomb of Philip the Bold of Burgundy (1342–1404) offers a unique opportunity to analyse how historical changes to late medieval networks of labour influenced the design of sculpture (fig. 1). It was completed in 1412 and originally installed in the Charterhouse of Champmol just outside the city of Dijon. This charterhouse was founded by Philip in 1383 and built over the ensuing decades.[1] The tomb was part of a series of major sculptural projects initially planned for Champmol, the other two being, firstly, the portal to the church, which includes statues of the Virgin and Child flanked by donor portraits of Philip and his wife, Margaret of Flanders (fig. 2); and, secondly, the so-called Great Cross whose base was encircled with high-relief sculptures of Old Testament prophets, all surmounting a well in the large cloister of the charterhouse (fig. 3). These monuments constitute some of the most ambitious sculptural projects undertaken in Western Europe in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. But Philip's tomb is particularly important for understanding the history of the Champmol sculptors' engagement with stone. Whereas the planning of the Great Cross and the portal involved considerable interaction between masons and sculptors, the trades involved in the planning of the tomb were predominantly the latter profession.[2]

1   Renate Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol. Grablege des burgundischen Herzöge*, Berlin 2002, p. 18.
2   Ibid., pp. 23, 95–96, 221.

1   Tomb of Philip the Bold, completed 1412, Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

There is an ongoing debate on the extent to which the design of the sculpture at Champmol was influenced by the degree of control the sculptors had over these projects. Consistent with an argument made by Martin Warnke about artists in European courts,[3] several scholars have concluded that the retention of sculptors at Champmol—that is, their permanent, salaried employment—and the courtly title of *valet de chambre* they were given, provided them with the means and authority to produce creative designs.[4] As Jean-Marie Guillouët points out, these sculptors also seem to be an exception to Warnke's claim that sculptors, in comparison to painters and goldsmiths, were not as regularly established as court artists.[5] But more recently, Sherry C. M. Lindquist has shown how the creative independence

3   Martin Warnke, *Hofkünstler. Zur Vorgeschichte des modernen Künstlers*, Cologne 1996.

4   Michael Grandmontagne, *Claus Sluter und die Lesbarkeit mittelalterlicher Skulptur. Das Portal der Kartause von Champmol*, Worms 2005, pp. 22–33; Kathleen Morand, *Claus Sluter. Artist at the Court of Burgundy*, London 1991, p. 49; Henri David, *Claus Sluter*, Paris 1951, p. 110.

5   Jean-Marie Guillouët, "Le statut du sculpteur à la fin du Moyen Âge. Une tentative de problématisation,"

of these sculptors has been overstated.[6] She maps the multifaceted and overlapping decision-making processes between the sculptors, Carthusians, ducal patrons, and financial overseers, and she describes this field as a "bureaucratic agency."[7] If individual sculptors were to advance their position at Champmol, it would be through gaining status and authority within the complex ducal bureaucracy, rather than through cultivating a personal relationship with their patrons or producing individually conceived, innovative works.[8]

While the concept of bureaucratic agency can map the combined and negotiated influences of the ducal patrons, their administrators, the Carthusians and sculptors, it does not account for the unique skills that sculptors bring to this network. Although Lindquist acknowledges that "the personal talents of individuals played a role" in the design of the artworks of Champmol,[9] the process of sculpting stone—skills developed outside of the ducal bureaucracy— is largely absent from her analysis.[10] But as Dana Goodgal-Salem has shown with the portal and Susie Nash with the tomb, the appointment of a new head of the ducal workshop could lead to a radical change in the design of these monuments.[11] An attempt to define the institutional conditions, skills and procedures through which the head sculptor had such agency over the works they supervised would not necessarily entail a Burckhardtian view of the individual as a locus of creativity, a position Lindquist rightly warns against.[12] Indeed, wider sociological and historical research into medieval communities drops this implicit opposition between individuality and free expression on the one hand and collectivity, conformism and anonymity on the other: one's membership or standing within a family, guild or community could define rather than overwrite one's sense of one's individual responsibilities.[13]

---

in Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet and Martine Yvernault (eds.), *Poètes et artistes: la figure du créateur en Europe du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Limoges 2006, pp. 25–35, at pp. 29, 35.

6   Sherry C. M. Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society at the Chartreuse de Champmol*, Aldershot/Burlington 2008, pp. 1–18.

7   Ibid., p. 104.

8   Ibid., p. 108.

9   Ibid., p. 121.

10   Rather than attribute stylistic innovation at the Charterhouse of Champmol to sculptural skill, Lindquist instead focuses her attention on broader changes in late medieval visual culture, including growing interest in novelty and verisimilitude in physiognomic representation, as well as growing associations between sight and spirituality in theology and prayer, ibid., pp. 121–175. These are important and fruitful lines of inquiry. But just as important are the economic and social histories of late medieval Europe that configured the position of the sculptor within the ducal bureaucracy that Lindquist analyses.

11   Dana Goodgal-Salem, "Sluter et la transformation du portail à Champmol," in *Mémoires de la Commission des antiquitiés de la Côte-d'Or* 35, 1987–1989, pp. 263–83, see p. 283; Susie Nash, "The Two Tombs of Philip the Bold," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 82, 2019, pp. 1–111, here p. 54.

12   Lindquist 2008 (note 6). pp. 5–8 and 85.

13   A recent key work developing this perspective is Gervase Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England 1250–1550*, Oxford 2012, pp. 13–17 and *passim*; see also David Gary Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions: The Social Self in Medieval England*, New York 2005.

A way forward would be to consider the extent to which the sculptors' professional networks stimulated their individual agency. Such a sociological perspective arguably informed Warnke's thesis that the court provided the institutional conditions for the formation of the modern artist. However, in Warnke's account it is unclear how the court did so with regard to sculptors. As Guillouët points out in his critique of Warnke, although the lead sculptors at Champmol may have had the courtly title of *valet de chambre*, this did not formalise any changes to their working conditions.[14] Furthermore, the example of André Beauneveu demonstrates that sculptors did not need such a title to be esteemed.[15]

As an alternative to Warnke's model, Guillouët traces the "rise of artistic consciousness" alongside the history of the working processes of sculptors and masons.[16] In his analysis of what he calls "the social effect of technical virtuosity,"[17] he argues that the division of responsibilities demanded by a complex architectural or sculptural project would respond to, but also define, the social and professional standing of the workmen who undertake it.[18] Drawing on the research of Fabienne Joubert, he cites the tomb of Philip the Bold as an early example of how the encounter between two sculptors, Claus Sluter and André Beauneveu, could have led to the open and continuous arcaded space on the base of this tomb monument or, at least, influenced Beauneveu when he designed a similar depiction of space on the window at the Saint-Chapelle of Bourges.[19] A similar case has recently been made by Susie Nash, who argues that the collaboration, if not also competition, between the woodcarver Jacques de Baerze and Sluter could have resulted in the production of these same open arcades around the tomb.[20]

An analysis of the labour processes used in the construction of Philip's tomb extends Guillouët's argument on the importance of the socialisation of labour to this monument's design. However, it also demonstrates the importance of the institutional mechanisms for employing such labour. Even if the aforementioned condition of retainership and the status of *valet de chambre* conferred no formalized privileges that would have influenced a sculptor's labour process, they influenced that process by keeping the sculptor in the long-term service of their patron rather than making their employment conditional on the completion of a specific project. This allowed a project to be developed over a

---

14   Guillouët 2006 (note 5), p. 29.

15   Ibid., pp. 28, 30.

16   Jean-Marie Guillouët, *Flamboyant Architecture and Medieval Technicality: The Rise of Artistic Consciousness at the End of the Middle Ages (c. 1400–c. 1530)*, Turnhout 2019, see especially pp. 72–74.

17   Ibid., p. 72. The social aspect of labour is discussed throughout the book, see also pp. 13–14, 70–71, 86–87, 127.

18   Ibid., p. 73.

19   Ibid., pp. 86–87. See also Fabienne Joubert, "Illusionnisme monumental à la fin du XVᵉ siècle: les recherches d'André Beauneveu à Bourges et de Claus Sluter à Dijon," in Fabienne Joubert and Dany Sandron (eds.), *Pierre, lumière, couleur: études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge en l'honneur d'Anne Prache*, Paris 1999, pp. 367–384.

20   Nash 2019 (note 11), pp. 62–64.

2   Dijon, Charterhouse of Champmol, portal of the church, 1385–1401

longer period and undergo significant changes in design. A comparison of how Philip's tomb was constructed with earlier and later examples therefore demonstrates how the conditions of employment and labour processes of its sculptors interacted with one another and how both were essential to this monument's unique construction. While the sculptors' conditions of employment and labour process have each been studied extensively,[21] my contention is that the history of the "artist" should not be written from either

21   See Michele Tomasi, "Artistes de cour en France autour de 1400: institutions, formules et réalités," in *Opera Nomina Historiae. Giornale di cultura artistica* 2/3, 2010, pp. 263–386, here pp. 269–271; Susie Nash, "'Adrien Biaunevopt, faseur des thombes': André Beauneveu and Sculptural Practice in Late Fourteenth-Century France and Flanders," in Susie Nash (with contributions by Till-Holger Borchert and Jim Harris), ead., *'No Equal in Any Land.' André Beauneveu, Artist to the Courts of France and Flanders*, London 2007, pp. 30–65; ead., *Northern Renaissance Art*, Oxford 2008, pp. 190–193; ead., "'The Lord's Crucifix of costly workmanship.' Colour, Collaboration and the Making of Meaning on the Well of Moses," in Vinzenz Brinkmann, Oliver Primavesi, and Max Hollein (eds.),

perspective, but rather from the interaction between them, demonstrating how each influences the other.

The significance of the interaction between processes of labour on the one hand and conditions of employment on the other to the history of the artist in the fourteenth and fifteenth century has been explored in recent research. Étienne Anheim has demonstrated how the painting planned, supervised and undertaken by Matteo Giovannetti at the Papal court in Avignon in the 1340s demanded changes to how such work was administered and accounted. Such administrative changes produced conditions of employment that allowed for innovative painting techniques (in this case, frescoes made *giornata* rather than *pontata*).[22] However, in his concluding assessment of Warnke, Anheim claims that the social history of the artist in the fourteenth century evidences too many interactions and careers across courtly, urban and religious institutions for a simple sociological model of its development to hold.[23] However, maybe such potential movement and interaction between different sociological fields was itself the key factor for the history of "the artist." This position is evident in recent Van Eyck research that has studied his role in mediating interactions between the social fields of labour on the one hand and courtly patronage on the other, situating him as emergent from, but also taking advantage of, a "web of networks."[24] A similar argument can also be developed in the field of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sculpture, and this is the objective of the present article.

The Figures on Philip the Bold's Tomb

Philip the Bold's tomb and the history of its construction have not been easy for scholars to reconstruct.[25] There were three master sculptors who worked successively on the tomb between 1380 and 1412. They ran a workshop located next to the ducal palace in the

---

Circumlitio. The Polychromy of Antique and Mediaeval Sculpture, Munich 2010, pp. 357–381, here pp. 358–370; Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, "Atelier Activity and the Status of Artists," in Stephen N. Fliegel, et al. (eds.), *Art from the Court of Burgundy 1364–1419*, exh. cat., Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Cleveland 2004, pp. 282–287; Sherry C. M. Lindquist, "Accounting for the Status of Artists at the Charterhouse of Champmol," in *Gesta* 41, 2002, pp. 15–28; ead., "The Organization of the Construction Site at the Chartreuse de Champmol," in *Art from the Court of Burgundy 1364–1419*, 2004 (see this same note), pp. 171–174; Guillouët 2006 (note 5).

22 Étienne Anheim, "Un atelier italien à la cour d'Avignon: Matteo Giovannetti, peintre du pape Clément VI (1342–1352)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 72, 2017, pp. 703–735, especially pp. 732–733.

23 Ibid., p. 735.

24 Jan Dumolyn and Frederik Buylaert, "Van Eyck's World: Court Culture, Luxury Production, Elite Patronage and Social Distinction within an Urban Network," in Maximiliaan Martens et al. (eds.), *Van Eyck*, London 2020, pp. 85–121, here p. 120. See also the critique of Warnke in Jan Dumolyn and Andrew Murray, "Artist," in *Kunst und Politik. Jahrbuch der Guernica-Gesellschaft* 21, 2019, pp. 21–27, here p. 24.

25 The most extensive and persuasive reconstruction of this history is Nash 2019 (note 11).

stables of Guy de La Trémoille, Philip the Bold's favourite.[26] These men were Jean de Marville (d. 1389), Claus Sluter (d. 1406), and Claux de Werve (d. 1439), who replaced one another in this order after death. Although the chronology for the tomb's productions spans three decades, in the 1390s it was completely redesigned, incorporating none of the work undertaken when Marville was head of the sculptural workshop.[27] The surviving material evidence is also complicated by the fact that the Charterhouse of Champmol was largely destroyed during the French Revolution. The tomb was broken up between 1792 and 1793, then reconstructed from its fragments between 1819 and 1826 and installed in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon.[28] It still comprises all its key elements: a recumbent effigy on a black marble tomb slab, with a lion at its feet and angels holding a helmet above its head; and a black marble tomb chest encircled by gothic arcades in which are installed a series of thirty-nine mourning statues. As we will see, this reconstructed tomb is not completely faithful to the original. But it still provides important information on the technical challenges its design posed, as well as on the solutions the sculptors developed to overcome them. Detailed ducal accounts recording the expenses for the construction of the works at Champmol provide a further means to analyse the history of the construction of the tomb and the working practices of its sculptors.[29]

The surviving evidence shows how the tomb's design was distinct from those of preceding comparable monuments. It is often claimed that, compared to those on previous tombs, the figures on Philip the Bold's display a greater structural and compositional independence from the architectural devices that frame them.[30] The mourners are designed as freestanding figures, and the effigy lies naturalistically on the tomb slab as a real body would. I will outline the material evidence for this claim, before turning to the documentary record to analyse the social conditions for it.

The tomb was constructed from three types of stone. The effigy and the arcades were made from white marble; the mourners, lion, angels, and helmet from white alabaster; and the base, external panels on the chest, and the slab from black limestone from
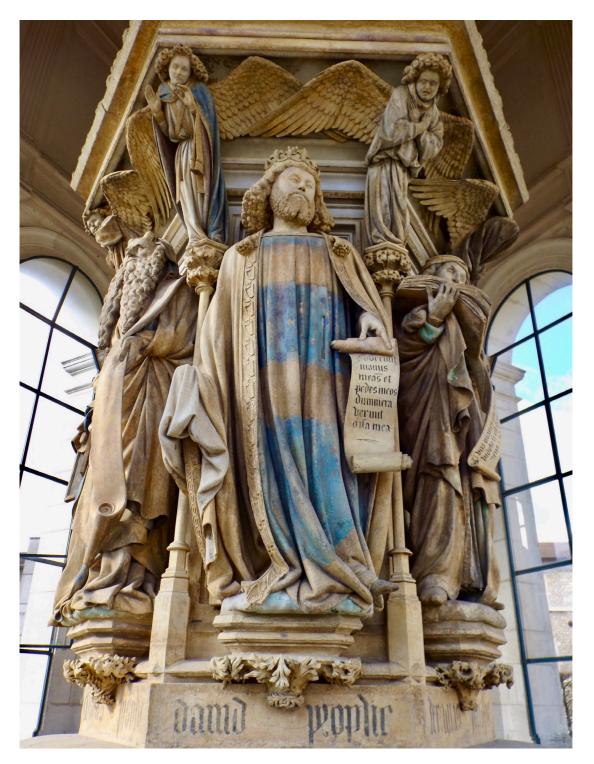
---

26 Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or (hereafter ADCO) B4429, fol. 32r, transcribed in Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 85, appendix 1, no. 61 and Henri Drouot, "L'atelier de Dijon et l'exécution du tombeau de Philippe le Hardi," in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 2, 1932, pp. 11–39, here p. 27, no. 5. See also David 1951 (note 4), p. 58; and Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 29, footnote 119.

27 Nash 2019 (note 11), especially pp. 74–75.

28 Françoise Baron, Sophie Jugie, and Benoît Lafay, *Les tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne. Création, destruction, restauration*, Dijon 2009, pp. 41–70.

29 Records related to the tomb are transcribed in Nash 2019 (note 11), pp. 76–111. Many extracts from these sources are also transcribed in Prochno 2002 (note 1), pp. 253–377. But also see Domien Roggen, "Hennequin de Marville en zijn Atelier te Dijon," in *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 1, 1934, pp. 173–205; Drouot 1932 (note 26), p. 29.

30 Some historians who have made this observation are Prochno 2002 (note 1), pp. 102–103; Baron, Jugie, and Lafay 2009 (note 28), p. 130; Morand 1991 (note 4), p. 127.

3   Dijon, Charterhouse of Champmol, the Great Cross, completed 1402, view of the surviving base, side of David

Dinant.[31] There was a conscious decision to contrast the colours of these stones. Extensive polychromy was applied only to the vestments of six clerical figures (nos. 3–8), which originally had blue inner linings, gilded trimmings, and floral patterns, now only visible under ultraviolet light.[32] Only a few of the accoutrements of the rest of the mourners and arcades were polychromed, including some of mourners' books, prayer beads, and bases, which were painted or gilded, and some gilded fringes on the pillars and vaults, such as on the hanging pendants.[33] This overall exposure of the alabaster bespeaks an admiration for this material, which is presented in a polished form.[34] The colour and relief of this alabaster are augmented in their juxtaposition to the polished black limestone. The effigy is also contrasted with the latter material. This figure is now largely a 19th-century reconstruction. But it was originally made from white marble that, although polychromed, was less intensively so than its modern reconstruction.[35] Drawings of the tomb made in the 18th century also reveal that it did not originally include the blue cloths that now sit below the cushion, angels, and lion, and that the exterior of Philip's cloak would not have been painted blue.[36] Overall, the white stone of the original effigy was more completely juxtaposed to the black limestone slab on which it lay.[37]

In combining and contrasting black and white stone, Philip's tomb followed a trend long established in France and Burgundy. Every French monarch, from Philip III (d. 1285) to Charles VII (d. 1461) had in the Basilica of Saint-Denis a tomb featuring a white marble effigy against a black limestone tomb slab.[38] So too did several princes, including John of

31 Baron, Jugie, and Lafay 2009 (note 28), p. 111. I have also consulted several unpublished reports on the condition of the tomb. See "Tombeaux. Restaurations (Rapports)," Bibliothèque du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon. The most significant documents here for our purposes are Benoît Lafay, *Tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne. PPhilippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon (Côte-d'Or) Rapport d'étude*, 2 vol., Dijon 2002–2003, vol. 1, *Structures, pleurants et architectures*; vol. 2, *Les gisants. Essais de nettoyage*; id., *Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon (Côte-d'Or) Rapport d'intervention*, Dijon 2005; id. and Dominique Faunières, *Étude de polychromie. Tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne. Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur et Marguerite de Bavière*, Dijon 2002; Nathalie Pingaud, *Rapport no. 1128A (décembre 2002). Tombeau des Ducs de Bourgogne (XVᵉ siècle). Étude stratigraphique et analyses physico-chimiques*, Paris 2002.

32 Baron, Jugie, and Lafay 2009 (note 28), pp. 117–119; Faunières and Lafay 2002 (note 31), pp. 6, 9, 20, 23; Lafay 2005 (note 31), pp. 3, 7, 8.

33 Faunières and Lafay 2002 (note 31), pp. 6–7. On the hanging pendant, see Pingaud 2002 (note 31), sample nos. Arch. 1–2.

34 Prochno, 2002 (note 1), p. 95; Lafay, 2005 (note 31), p. 3.

35 Baron, Jugie, and Lafay, 2009 (note 28), pp. 101–102.

36 Ibid., pp. 101–102, and figs. 42–52.

37 This observation has not yet been published. But it is noted in Faunières and Lafay 2002 (note 31), p. 7. See also Nash 2019 (note 11), pp. 42–44.

38 See these royal effigies in the Basilica of Saint-Denis and their corresponding drawings by Roger de Gaignières in Jean Adhémar and Gertrude Dordor, "Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières. Dessins d'archéologie du XVIIᵉ siècle," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 84, 1974, pp. 3–192; 88, 1976, pp. 3–128; 90, 1977, pp. 3–76, here nos. 399, 589, 600, 639, 671, 762, 835, 888, 1097, and 1183.

Berry (d. 1416),[39] Charles I of Bourbon (d. 1456),[40] and René of Anjou (d. 1480).[41] There was also a tradition of contrasting black and white stone in Burgundy. The tomb of an earlier count of Burgundy, that of Otto IV (d. 1303), which was made for the now destroyed Cistercian abbey of Cherlieu, was also encircled by alabaster mourners,[42] and a fragment of its black marble slab has tentatively been identified.[43] The tomb for Joan of Auvergne (d. 1360) and Philip of Burgundy (d. 1346) in the (now lost) Sainte-Chapelle of Dijon also contrasted alabaster figures against black stone.[44]

However, Philip's tomb stands out against these predecessors in one aspect of its design: the relation between its figural and architectural elements. In earlier tombs, figures were rendered in relief and oriented according to the imagined space of the architectural elements of the monument—its niches, arcades, and baldachins—rather than according to the natural orientation of a standing or lying figure. In contrast, the figures on Philip's tomb kneel, lay or stand as independently conceived figures on the black marble, with the same relation and response to gravity as real figures. To demonstrate this point, several art historians have compared Philip's tomb with that of his brother and sister-in-law, Charles V (1338–1380) and Joanna of Bourbon (1338–1378), which we know from surviving fragments and from a late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century drawing for Roger de Gaignières (fig. 4).[45] Charles and Joanna's joint tomb was likely completed between 1375 and 1380, around the time or just before Philip's was being planned.[46] Several scholars have pointed out how, in contrast to Philip's tomb, Charles and Joanna's features a baldachin over their heads, and they are enclosed with an architectural framework that, like the sculpted bodies themselves, lies flat against the tomb slab. Despite being horizontal in relation to a viewer standing before the tomb, this framing suggests an upright orientation in which the figures stand within the architectural construction around them. Because they are represented as standing, Charles and Joanna's robes fall to their feet. Those of Philip, on the other hand, fall naturally onto the slab, as would the robes of a lying figure. And whereas the small figures of bishops, deacons, and water bearers on Charles and Joanna's tomb slab also 'stand' within the architectural framework, the angels and lion that accompany Philip's effigy rest naturalistically on top of the slab.

---

39   Prochno 2002 (note 1), pp. 108–109.

40   Tomb in the abbey church of Souvigny.

41   See Adhémar and Dordor 1974–1977 (note 38), no. 1252.
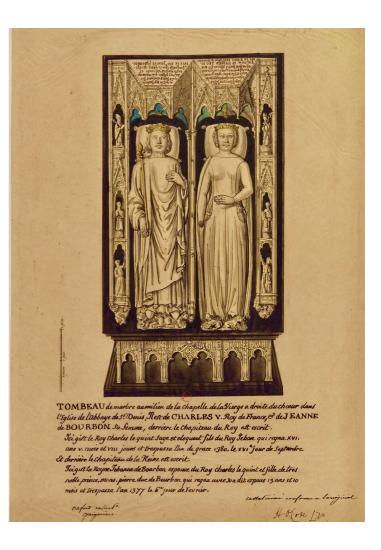
42   Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 100.

43   Cabrero-Ravel Laurence, *L'enfant oublié. Le gisant de Jean de Bourgogne et le mécénat de Mahaut d'Artois en Franche-Comté au XIVᵉ siècle*, Besançon 1997, pp. 55–56.

44   ADCO B11255 fol. 23r; see David 1951 (note 4), pp. 430–431.

45   Prochno 2002 (note 1), pp. 102–103; Baron, Jugie, and Lafay 2009 (note 28), p. 130; Morand 1991 (note 4), p. 127. De Gaignières's drawing of Charles V and Joanna of Bourbon's tomb is reproduced in Adhémar and Dordor, 1974–1977 (note 38), no. 888.

46   Pierre Pradel, "Les tombeaux de Charles V," in *Bulletin Monumental* 109, 1951, pp. 273–296, here p. 290.

4 Tomb of Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon, abbey of Saint-Denis, completed between 1375 and 1380, drawing for Roger de Gaignières, late 17th – early 18th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

These innovative aspects of Philip's effigy brought with them their own design problems. Philip's drapery, now unconstrained by any framing elements, spreads more widely across the tomb slab than that in preceding instances. The outer segments of these robes were therefore made from separate pieces of marble and secured to the main body by molten lead.[47] In constructing the effigy from separate blocks, the sculptors made more economical use of their stone, and reduced the chance that such a wide, flat figure would break during production.[48]

---

47 Lafay 2005 (note 31), pp. 4–5.
48 Baron, Jugie, and Lafay 2009 (note 28), pp. 99–100.
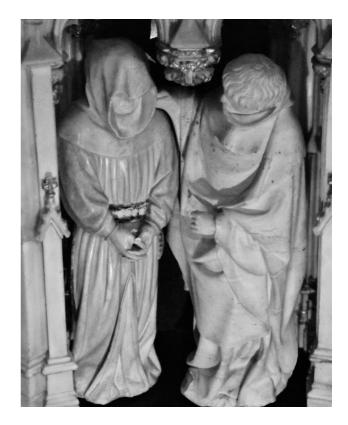
SEPVLTVRE DV DVC IEAN III. A VILLERS.

5 Tomb of John III, Duke of Brabant (d. 1355), from the church of Notre-Dame in Villers, after Christopher Butkens, *Trophées tant sacrés que profanes du Duché de Brabant*, 4 vol., The Hague, 1724–1726, vol. 1, p. 443

Philip's mourners also display a greater independence from their architectural frames than any of their predecessors. They are carved fully in the round. They have no independent bases and were instead secured directly to the black marble by a metal pin and molten lead.[49] There are some preceding tombs that may have likewise incorporated mourning figures in the round. The now lost tomb of John III, Duke of Brabant (1300–1355), included

---

49   Lafay 2002–2003 (note 31), vol. 1, pp. 19–20; id., 2005 (note 31), pp. 4–5.

niches into which such figures could have been installed (fig. 5).[50] Deep niches similar to those found on Philip's tomb have been noted as well on the tombs of Philippa of Hainault (ca. 1310–1369) and Walram of Jülich (d. 1349).[51] However, in contrast to these precursors, the arcades of Philip's tomb create an interconnected, open passage that surrounds the tomb. The mourners interact through this space, overlapping the pillars defining their arcades.[52] Notable here are the mourners usually numbered as 24 and 25 (fig. 6), the former touching the latter's left shoulder, as well as the two choristers that, according to pre-revolutionary drawings of the tomb, originally shared a book (nos. 7–8; fig. 7). Rather than a series of independently conceived compositions, the sculptors of Philip's tomb had to consider how to integrate the mourners into a greater composition across multiple niches.

6   Tomb of Philip the Bold, detail, mourners nos. 24–25

This treatment of the mourners had a considerable impact on the tombs of many later princes in Western Europe. Notably, the tomb of Philip's son and daugther-in-law, John the Fearless and Margaret of Bavaria, was modelled after Philip's and installed next to it in the church of the Charterhouse of Champmol in 1470 (and it still neighbours his in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon). But Philip's tomb also influenced those outside of his own dynasty, including, most notably, the tombs of John of Berry,[53] Charles III of Navarre

---

50   Tomb originally from the church of Notre-Dame in Villers, see Christopher Butkens, *Trophées tant sacrés que profanes du Duché de Brabant*, 4 vol., The Hague 1724–1726, vol. 1, p. 443; Gerhard Schmidt, "Jean de Marville, artiste suranné ou innovateur?" in *Actes des journées internationales Claus Sluter*, Dijon 1992, pp. 295–304, here p. 297.

51   Philippa's tomb is in Westminster Abbey. See Morand 1991 (note 4), pp. 53–55. Walram's is in Cologne Cathedral. See Stefan Heinz, Barbara Rothbrust, and Wolfgang Schmid, *Die Grabdenkmäler der Erzbischöfe von Trier, Köln und Mainz*, Trier 2004, pp. 106–110.

52   Guillouët 2019 (note 16), p. 86; Joubert 1999 (note 19); Nash 2019 (note 11), pp. 55, 59 and 62.

53   Tomb in the cathedral of Bourges. See *Les pleurants dans l'art du Moyen Âge en Europe*, Pierre Quarré (ed.), exh. cat. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-arts, Dijon 1971, pp. 36–37.

7   Tomb of Philip the Bold, detail, mourners nos. 7–8, Joannès Lesage, second half of the 18th century, watercolor, detail, Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

(1361–1426),[54] Richard Beauchamp (1382–1439),[55] Pierre de Bauffremont (1400–1472),[56] and Philippe Pot (1428–1493),[57] all of which have prominent mourners that are highly individualized and carved either in the round or in deep relief. That Philip's mourners

---

54   Tomb in the cathedral of Pamplona. Émile Bertraux, "Le mausolée de Charles le Noble à Pampelune et l'art franco-flamand en Navarre," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 40, 1908, pp. 89–112; Javier Martinez de Aguirre, *Arte y monarquia en Navarra 1328–1425*, Pamplona 1987, p. 320.

55   Tomb in the collegiate church of St. Mary, Warwick. Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, The Low Countries and England*, University Park 2000, p. 137.

56   Tomb in the church of Notre-Dame of Dijon. Fragment of uncompleted tomb in Pierre Quarré, "Le tombeau de Pierre de Bauffremont. Chambellan de Philippe le Bon," in *Bulletin Monumental* 113, 1955, pp. 103–115.

57   Tomb in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, R.F.795 (originally installed in Cîteaux Abbey). See Robert Marcoux, *Le tombeau de Philippe Pot: Analyse et interprétation*, PhD thesis, Université de Montréal, 2003, pp. 123–124; Henri David, "Le tombeau de Philippe Pot," in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 5, 1935, pp. 119–134, here pp. 119–120.

had such an extensive influence in the fifteenth century indicates that they were widely recognized as an innovative and compelling feature.

The figures on Philip's tomb therefore display a greater compositional and structural independence from their framing elements than found on any previous monument, and such a design was influential during the fifteenth century. While accepting Lindquist's argument that the sculptors were not the sole agents in the planning of their work at Champmol but rather negotiated their work with the ducal patrons, financiers, and the Carthusians, the sculptors would nevertheless have needed the authority and ability to execute such an innovative design. Surviving ducal accounts recording the construction of the Charterhouse of Champmol provide evidence relevant to the sculptors' conditions of employment and their labour process. We will consider these in turn in the following two sections.

Conditions of Employment

Though the sculptors were not the sole agents in the planning of their work at Champmol, a study of their contractual status demonstrates that they could engage in longer creative dialogues with the materials which they worked than could either their predecessors or immediate successors in Burgundy.

The wages of the master sculptors were defined in letters that were renewed each year, stored in the ducal *Chambre des comptes*, and copied into account books. The earliest surviving entry making mention of these letters defining the wages of the ducal workshop is from 1374.[58] This entry records Marville's personal allowances. He was granted eight gros each day to maintain himself, two varlets (a personal one and an apprentice), and a horse. These conditions of payment seem to have been passed on to the other heads of the sculptural workshop.[59]

Another way in which the long-term service of the sculptors was formalized was in a title they were given, *valet de chambre*.[60] This title was conferred upon a broad range professions, including sculptors but also painters, glaziers, goldsmiths, receiver general of

---

58   ADCO B4421, fol. 19v, transcribed partially in Chrétien César Auguste Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois & le Hainaut avant le XVᵉ siècle*, 2 vol., Lille 1886, vol. 2, 1374–1401, p. 525, and more fully in Sylvaine Bertrand, *Contribution à l'étude de la sculpture au XVᵉ siècle. L'élaboration des œuvres dans les ateliers bourguignons*, 4 vol., PhD thesis, Université de Bourgogne, Dijon, 1997, vol. 3, pp. 2–3.

59   For Sluter's wages, ADCO B4434, fol. 20r, transcribed in Drouot 1932 (note 26), p. 30, no. 15. See also Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 90, appendix 1, no. 110. On De Werve's wages, see the series of documents maintaining his wages at eight gros per day transcribed and noted in *Claux de Werve. Imagier des ducs de Bourgogne*, Pierre Quarré (ed.), exh. cat. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-arts, Dijon 1976, here pp. 26–27.

60   Guillouët 2006 (note 5), p. 29. The earliest record we have of Jean de Marville working for the duke of Burgundy describes him as "Hannequin de Menneville, ymagier, lequel monseigneur avait retenu son ymagier et varlet de chambre," ADCO B1435, fol. 67v, transcription from Dehaisnes 1886 (note 58), p. 504.

finances, harp players, armourers, tailors, barbers, and carpet weavers, amongst others.[61] Some claim that the conferral of the title *valet de chambre* on the sculptors of Champmol indicates that the duke had a considerable appreciation for the art of sculpture.[62] Others, including the most recent scholarship, emphasize that the title does not indicate any personal relation to the lord who confers it, and that most likely it only meant that its holder was a long-term servant.[63]

Prior to the work at Champmol, there is no known example of the permanent retention of sculptors at either the French or Burgundian courts.[64] Goldsmiths and painters, in contrast, were retained at court starting in the early fourteenth century. The earliest goldsmiths include a certain Thibaut who in 1303 is described as "the goldsmith and valet of our lord Louis, King of France."[65] Painters were retained at the royal court slightly later. In 1301, the painter Stephen of Auxerre (*Stephanus de Autissiodoro*) is, along with his son John, recorded among the *valeti* in the treasury records of Philip the Fair.[66] The son, John, is described as "pictor regis" from 1321,[67] although this title is recorded as early as 1304, belonging to Evrard d'Orléans.[68] Masons and carpenters were similarly retained by the French monarchs from the mid-thirteenth century.[69]

Sculptors were not retained by princes until the late fourteenth century. André Beauneveu produced the effigies for the aforementioned tomb of Charles V and Joanna of Bourbon in 1364, as well as those of some of their predecessors, and the letters commissioning these works refer to Beauneveu as "nostre ymager."[70] But he was only contracted to complete these works and was never retained by the king or any other patron.[71] The same is true for Jean de Liège who, as well as carving the architectural framework on Charles and Joanna's tomb, also constructed this king's heart tomb in Rouen in 1368.[72] Another notable example

61 Cyprien Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon, d'après les documents des archives de Bourgogne*, 3 vol., Montreuil-sur-Mer vol. 1, pp. 66–67.

62 Grandmontagne 2005 (note 4), pp. 22–33; Morand 1991 (note 4), p. 49; David 1951 (note 4), p. 110.

63 Earlier scholars who took this position were Roggen 1934 (note 29), p. 174; Léon de Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne. Études sur les lettres, les arts, l'industrie pendant le XVᵉ siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne*, 3 vol., Paris 1849-1852, vol. 1, p. xl. More recently see Tomasi 2010 (note 21), pp. 269–271; and Guillouët 2006 (note 5), p. 29

64 Guillouët 2006 (note 5), p. 29.

65 Dehaisnes 1886 (note 58), p. 152.

66 Bernard Prost, "Recherches sur les 'peintres du roi' antérieurs au règne de Charles IV," in *Études d'histoire du Moyen-Âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod*, Paris 1896, pp. 389–403, here p. 392.

67 Ibid., p. 396.

68 Ibid., p. 393.

69 Isabelle Taveau-Launay, "Raymond du Temple, maître d'œuvre des rois de France et des princes," in Odette Chapelot (ed.), *Du projet au chantier. Maîtres d'ouvrage et maîtres d'œuvre aux XIVᵉ–XVIᵉ siècles*, Paris 2001, pp. 323–338, here p. 326.

70 Dehaisnes 1886 (note 58), pp. 452, 454.

71 Guillouët 2006 (note 5), p. 28.

72 On his role in the construction of the Charles and Joanna's tomb, see Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, "Un nouvel

is Jean Pépin de Huy. He produced four tombs for Mahaut of Artois, Countess of Burgundy, between 1312 and 1320: for her father, Robert, her husband, Otto, and each of her sons, John and Robert.[73] He also made a statue of the Virgin for Mahaut in 1328.[74] But despite his recurring services, he was not retained. One only begins to find retained sculptors at the end of the fourteenth century, first with those retained at Champmol, then at the court of Berry where Jean de Cambrai achieved the title of *valet de chambre* at least by 1397.[75]

A sculptor could be highly regarded without being retained: Beauneveu was famously described by Jean Froissart as making works that had "no equal in any land."[76] Similar to retainers at other courts,[77] it is likely that the sculptors at Champmol were retained not simply because their work was praiseworthy, but because it was expedient. Philip needed to keep his sculptors near the site of the Charterhouse of Champmol for several decades. As well as produce a series of major projects onsite, the sculptors at Champmol were on hand as and when various other tasks came up, including smaller sculptures within the church such as a Trinity on the high altar,[78] an image of the Virgin that sat above a tabernacle near the high altar,[79] and a work described as an "image of God" ("*Ymage de Dieu*") in the Chapel of Angels in the church.[80] They could also be asked to work on projects other than stone sculpture, for Sluter is also once recorded as making a plan on paper for the carpentry required for the Chapel of Angels.[81]

The sculptors seem to have been retained because they were required to be readily available for the duration of the construction of the Charterhouse of Champmol. This is made explicit in a document that states that Claux de Werve would continue to receive his wages of eight gros per week from the first of January 1415 because, despite the completion of the tomb of Philip the Bold, "[Philip] does not wish to give him leave, for he has many times required the said Claux to go work and labour somewhere else."[82]

élément du tombeau de Charles V et Jeanne de Bourbon pour le département des Sculptures," in *Revue des musées de France. Revue du Louvre* 59/4, 2009, 9–11. On the heart tomb, see Dehaisnes 1886 (note 58), p. 486; and Jacques Baudoin, *La sculpture flamboyante. Normandie et Île-de-France*, Nonette 1992, p. 151.

73   Transcribed in Dehaisnes 1886 (note 58), pp. 207–209, 213–217, 231. Her father's tomb at Maubuisson Abbey is also mentioned, ibid., p. 205.

74   Ibid., p. 280.

75   Guillouët 2006 (note 5), p. 28, no. 10.

76   Jean Froissart, *Œuvres de Froissart*, Joseph-Bruno-Marie-Constantin Kervyn de Lettenhove (ed.), 26 vol., vol. 14, Brussels 1871, p. 197.

77   Tomasi 2010 (note 21), pp. 269–271. This same point is made by Guillouët 2006 (note 5), pp. 28, 30.

78   Prochno 2002 (note 1), pp. 67–70.

79   Ibid., pp. 70–71.

80   Ibid., pp. 162–163.

81   ADCO B11672, fol. 162r, transcribed in Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 325.

82   ADCO B5968, fols. 39v and 31v, as transcribed in Quarré 1976 (note 59), pp. 26–27: "depuis que la sépulture de feu monditseigneur son père le duc Philippe, qui Dieu pardoint, fut parfaicte et assise en l'église desdit Chartreux, il ne lui a voulu donner congié, que lui avoit par plusieurs fois requis ledit Claux pour aler ouvrer et gaigner autrepart."

However, such continued service seemed no longer necessary after de Werve's death in 1439. At this point, the sculptors' workshop was converted into an office for the bailiff of Dijon, and no other sculptors would be retained in this city by the Burgundian dukes.[83] Two further sculptors were employed in Dijon to complete the tomb of John the Fearless and Margaret of Bavaria. These were Jean de la Huerta, employed from 1443, and Antoine le Moiturier, who took up the work from 1462, six years after de la Huerta absconded.[84] But rather than be retained, their employment was attached to the completion of this tomb.[85]

As retained servants, the sculptors at Champmol had conditions of employment that allowed them to produce an innovative design for Philip's tomb. They were not as constrained as their predecessors in the French court or their successors in Dijon to fulfil work within a specific timeframe, budget, and design. This is evident from the initial agreement made between Jean de Marville and Philip in 1380. This document stipulates neither the budget nor the timescale for Philip's tomb, but only that Marville was to be granted the money needed to pay the salaries of those he employed.[86] This differs from the terms of the agreement made between Beauneveu and Charles V in 1364, which stipulates the cost of the tombs he was to make (3800 gold francs).[87] It also differs from those of the agreement made between de la Huerta and Philip the Good for John the Fearless's tomb, which stipulates both a budget and a timeframe (an initial and over-optimistic 4000 livres tournois, to be paid over four years).[88]

Only after Philip's death in 1404 was there the urgency to establish a budget and timeframe for the completion of his tomb. A contract between Sluter and John the Fearless was drawn up, providing 960 livres for his wages and 2000 francs for his expenses, to be paid over four years in exchange for a completed monument (although he would nevertheless continue to receive his wages should he go over the deadline).[89] The design that was agreed upon at this stage was developed from an appraisal of the work that the sculptors had already achieved. However, there was still some leeway to amend it.

---

83   ADCO B382, transcribed in Bertrand 1997 (note 58), p. 112.

84   Prochno 2002 (note 1), pp. 104–107.

85   Lindquist 2008 (note 6), pp. 96–97.

86   Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Collection de Bourgogne*, vol. 26, fol. 237r, transcribed in Bernard Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois*, 2 vol., Paris 1902–1913, vol. 2, Philippe le Hardi, 1378–1390, pp. 101–102; and in Georg Troescher, *Claus Sluter und die burgundische Plastik um die Wende des XIV. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg 1932, p. 153. On the date of 1380 (as oppose to 1381 given by Prost and used in the subsequent literature), see Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 2, footnote 9.

87   Dehaisnes 1886 (note 58), p. 454.

88   ADCO B310, 26 September 1443, transcribed in *Jean de la Huerta et la sculpture bourguignonne*, Pierre Quarré (ed.), exh. cat. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-arts, Dijon 1972, here pp. 27–30.

89   Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Collection de Bourgogne*, vol. 58, fols. 51r–52v, transcribed in Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 373.

Sluter is asked to present the effigy "armoured, or in a royal cloak, according to what he judges [...] the most appropriate (*convenable*)."[90]

The retention of the sculptors at Champmol therefore provided the conditions for them to develop a unique design for Philip the Bold's tomb. Rather than be employed from the beginning to complete this monument according to a specific model of a predecessor's tomb, the project gestated for decades in the sculptors' workshop while also undergoing a complete redesign soon after Sluter took over from Marville.[91] This contrasts to the tombs made by Beauneveu and de la Huerta, which closely followed models set by their predecessors. The tombs Beauneveu produced follow the designs for the tombs of the kings of France from Philip III to Charles IV, whereas John and Margaret's tomb is a near replica of Philip's, and was stipulated to be so in de la Huerta's contract.[92] In contrast, by the time Philip died, and thus when it was deemed necessary to have his tomb completed, Sluter could present to his patron designs and elements of the monument that he had been planning for a decade, a design he transformed from that of the original one of his predecessor. As much as the tomb followed the examples of prior Burgundian and royal tombs in combining black and white stone, it became its own prototype in how its various stone elements were composed and combined.

Socialized and Specialized Labour

The conditions of the sculptors' employment do not bring with them the skills necessary for carving alabaster figures in the round and combining them with the black marble slab and base. To address how such skills developed, one has to consider not only the history of how sculptors were employed but also the history of their labour processes.

The surviving ducal accounts that record the construction of the Charterhouse of Champmol provide evidence on two aspects of the sculptors' labour. Firstly, that it was specialized: the sculptors were employed as independent professionals distinct from masons; and secondly, that it was socialized, in that it involved a significant degree of interaction with and coordination of other specialist labourers on a relatively equal social level. Historically, these two labour processes—specialization and socialization—have tended to accompany one another: the skills workers develop in economies with an increasing specialization of labour are in large part defined by how they co-ordinate their work with a greater diversity of professions.[93] It has already been argued that the special-

90 Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Collection de Bourgogne*, vol. 58, fols. 51r–52v, transcribed in Prochno, 2002 (note 1), p. 373. There is an open question on whether the "he" here refers to Sluter or to John the Fearless, see Guillouët 2006 (note 5), p. 30.

91 Nash 2019 (note 11), pp. 74–75.

92 ADCO B310, 26 September 1443, transcribed in Quarré 1972 (note 88), pp. 27–30.

93 Paul S. Adler, "The Future of Critical Management Studies. A Paleo-Marxist Critique of Labour Process Theory," in *Organisation Studies* 28/9, 2007, pp. 1313–1344, here pp. 1322–1323.

ization of sculptors created the conditions for late medieval sculpture to become increasingly independent from its architectural setting.[94] However, the tomb of Philip the Bold not only gives a greater independence to its mourners than preceding French tombs but also that its figures, composed of one material, are combined with components made from other materials in a manner more complex and intricate than found on preceding tombs. To understand why this occurred, one has to study not only how the labour of the sculptors was specialized but also how it was socialized.[95]

The sculptors retained to work at Champmol had their own workshop in which they administered the payments for the journeymen and organized their labour.[96] These sculptors were not accountable to the masons at the Charterhouse of Champmol, but directly to ducal administrators.[97] The master sculptors were therefore not themselves considered masons, who would come with and work under a master mason.

This professional differentiation between sculptors and masons had not always existed. From the twelfth century into the fourteenth century, sculptors were not considered as belonging to a profession separate from that of the mason. Textual accounts of French architectural projects from the eleventh and twelfth centuries reveal very few references to *sculptores*, and even these seem only to have the general meaning of stonecutter, a hired workman in a mason's yard.[98] Figural sculpture only started to be treated as an independent craft between 1250 and 1300 when its production began to be centred in workshops in Paris, London, and the major towns of the Low Countries.[99] It was possible by 1358 for the contract for the construction of the tomb of Philip of Burgundy and Joan of Auvergne to ask that a sculptor instruct his apprentice "as best

---

94 Guillouët 2019 (note 16), pp. 86–87. See also Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140–1300*, New Haven/London 1995, p. 173; Philip Lindley, "Gothic Sculpture. Studio and Workshop Practices," in Philip Lindley (ed.), *Making Medieval Art*, Donnington 2003, pp. 54–80, here p. 69.

95 Guillouët 2019 (note 16), pp. 13–14, 86–87, 127. See also Liliane Hilaire-Pérez and Catherine Verna, "La circulation des savoirs techniques du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne. Nouvelles approches et enjeux méthodologiques," in *Tracés. Revue de sciences humaines* 16, 2009, pp. 25–61, also discussed by Guillouët 2019 (note 16), p. 14.

96 On the workshop see note 26 above. See also the transcribed documents in Drouot 1932 (note 26) and Roggen 1934 (note 29). See also Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 29, footnote 119.

97 Lindquist 2008 (note 6), p. 86.

98 Guillouët 2019 (note 16), pp. 68–69; C. R. Dodwell, "The Meaning of 'Sculptor' in the Romanesque Period," in Neil Stratford (ed.), *Romanesque and Gothic. Essays for George Zarnecki*, Woodbridge 1987, pp. 49–61, here pp. 49, 53, 59; Jacques Brengues, "La Franc-maçonnerie opérative d'après une étude comparée de manuscrits et textes du Moyen Âge," in Xavier Barral I Altet (ed.), *Artists, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1986, pp. 93–110, here pp. 96–99.

99 Williamson 1995 (note 94), p. 170. Nicola Coldstream, *Masons and Sculptors*, London 1991, p. 63. Françoise Baron, "Enlumineurs, peintres et sculpteurs parisiens des XIIIᵉ et XIVᵉ siècles d'après les rôles de la taille," in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 4, 1968, pp. 37–121, here pp. 37–45.

he can in the science of sculpture (*ymagier*) and of masonry," the two crafts being mentioned as separate specializations.[100]

The specialization of sculptural labour over the course of the fourteenth century set the conditions for the novel individuation of the figures on Philip the Bold's tomb. Unlike masons, specialized sculptors would have been able to make unprecedented decisions in design based on their knowledge of sculpture and would thus have been able to make the figural elements of these monuments independent from the architectural elements. Furthermore, this independence of the figures emerged particularly strongly at Champmol due to the local conditions of the sculptors' employment: their retention, and with that their greater capacity to develop designs based upon their own skill set.

While masons and sculptors belonged to clearly separate professions at Champmol, they interacted with one another on an equal professional level. There are instances recorded in which work was certified, or a trade agreement with an external contractor agreed upon, by both Sluter and the master mason.[101] A payment for the sourcing and transportation of stone from the quarry at Asnières to Sluter's hotel was "by trade agreement (*par marchié*) done with him by master Jacques de Nuilly master mason of the works of masonry of my said Lord, the said Claus [Sluter] and many other men of my said Lord, for all paid to him by his receipt (*quittance*) on the end of which [is] the certification of the aforesaid masters Jacques and Claus."[102] In this example, both Sluter and de Nuilly are shown to have a shared responsibility in confirming agreements with and certifying the work of external contractors.

This social aspect of the sculptors' labour seems to have been recognized and appreciated by their patron. In 1393, Philip sent Sluter, along with the painter Jean de Beaumetz to a construction site in Mehun-sur-Yèvre, "to visit certain works of painting, images, sculpture, and other things that my Lord of Berry has had made."[103] This is evidence that Philip understood that the skill of his retained sculptors and painters depended on the knowledge they acquired from other workers.[104] There are also three records from 1400 and 1401 of payments made to dine a list of "honourable men and wise masters."[105] These invited wise persons include the duke's administrators (Amiot Arnaut and Regnaudot de Janley, among others) as well as a master mason (Jehan-Bourgoiz), a painter (Jean Malouel), and a sculptor (Sluter). These dinners

---

100   ADCO B11255, fol. 25r, transcribed in Henri David, "Claus Sluter, tombier ducal," in *Bulletin Monumental* 93/4 1934, pp. 409–433, here p. 432.

101   ADCO B11672, fols. 71v–72r, 136r, 169r–169v, transcribed in Prochno 2002 (note 1), pp. 320, 323, 325–26.

102   ADCO B11672, fol. 136r, transcribed in Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 323.

103   ADCO B1500, fol. 45v, transcribed in Dehaisnes 1886 (note 58), p. 707.

104   Lindquist 2008 (note 6), p. 89; Grandmontagne 2005 (note 4), p. 27.

105   ADCO B11673, fols. 81r, 106v, 107r, transcribed in Prochno 2002 (note 1), pp. 338–339. See also Lindquist 2008 (note 5), p. 89.

were intended for those who managed various projects at Champmol to socialize and exchange opinions and ideas.[106]

Not all of the labour needed to construct the tomb of Philip the Bold was socialized. Most of it was hierarchical, with the master mason employing and directing journeymen who were paid a daily or weekly wage at a lower rate of pay himself.[107] Such men mostly did tasks that are unspecified in the accounts, suggesting that their work was often casual. There are also instances of piecework, such as the case of Philipot Van Eram, who was paid three francs per set of alabaster capitals he carved.[108] But occasionally they also had to source more specialist workers. In 1388, specialist polishers from Paris were employed in Marville's workshop to polish the arcades, which they did with fish skins.[109]

Also within the workshop there was a need to collaborate with others of the same professional standing. Their labour was socialized. In the introduction above, I noted the potential collaborations between Sluter on the one hand and André Beauneveu and Jacques de Baerze on the other. Some of the other workers coming into the workshop may have been employed briefly as specialists in figural sculpture, such as Claus de Haine, who was employed in 1386 for six months at the large sum of six gros per day;[110] Pierre Beaulneveu, who was employed for five gros per day in 1389 and twenty-seven gros per week the next year;[111] and Jan van Prindale, who was frequently employed by Sluter from 1390 to 1399, often at two francs per week (one franc equals twelve gros).[112] The skills of another retained craftsman at Champmol were also used for the tomb. In 1410, Jean Malouel, a retained painter and *valet de chambre*, is recorded as polychroming it, which likely involved adding the gilded and painted highlights to the mourners' clothing and

---

106 Lindquist 2008 (note 6), p. 89.

107 See the transcribed documents in Drouot 1932 (note 26) and Roggen 1934 (note 29).

108 ADCO B4434, fol. 21r, transcribed in Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 90, appendix 1, no. 112 and Drouot 1932 (note 26), p. 31, no. 16. See also Nash 2019 (note 11), pp. 33–34.

109 Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 12; Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 95. ADCO B1475, fol. 81v, transcribed in Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 99, appendix 1, no. 94; Drouot 1932 (note 26), pp. 29–30, no. 14.

110 ADCO B4429, fols. 24v–25r, transcribed in Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 83, appendix 1, no. 51 and Drouot 1932 (note 26), p. 28, no. 10. See also Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 95, no. 19; Roggen 1934 (note 29), pp. 183–185.

111 ADCO B11671, fol. 260r. See Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 303. ADCO B4434, fol. 21r, transcribed in Dehaisnes 1886 (note 58), p. 661 (Dehaisnes notes this as fol. 20). B4435, fols. 28v and 29r, transcribed in Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 91, appendix 1, nos. 127 and 128 and Dehaisnes 1886 (note 58), p. 678 (Dehaisnes notes this as fol. 27).

112 On the career of Jan van Prindale, see Michèle Beaulieu and Victor Beyer, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs français du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1992, p. 250.

accessories.[113] Marville, Sluter, and de Werve would have been more likely to collaborate with these workers rather than manage them.[114]

Finally, the sculptors also had to organize with merchants and ducal accountants the sourcing and delivery of stones used in the monument. For instance, Marville was sent to Dinant in April 1385 to acquire stone for the tomb, and was entrusted with 340 livres for his voyage and for the purchase and transportation of the material.[115] In 1391, Sluter bought alabaster from Pierre Beaulneveu, the abovementioned highly paid sculptor in his workshop.[116] Between 1392 and 1393, he also certified the acquisition of what may have been the stone for Philip's effigy from a Genoese merchant based in Paris.[117] He visited Dinant in 1397 to source black limestone for the tomb, and he returned to do the same late in 1403 or early in 1404.[118]

All of the aforementioned relations to other workers—commanding and organizing journeymen, consulting and contracting external specialists, and trading with other professions and assessing their commodities—were major aspects of the skill of the heads of the sculptural workshop. Essential for making the mourners independent from the white marble arcades and the black marble ground was the ability to design and have produced many separate units—including moulded and polished black marble, a series of arcades, and a series of individualized mourners—and to coordinate all these elements and the associated labour into the production of a single artefact. The complex combination of stones in this monument is a result not simply of the specialization of labour, but its socialization as well. The completion of the tomb required the sculptors' personal abilities not only in carving and in observing from life but also in managing, bargaining, certifying, consulting, and coordinating. While the design of the tomb emerged under Sluter's direction, these skills had already been evident in Marville's workshop. They were therefore not in themselves a sufficient condition for the final design, but they were necessary to it.

---

113   ADCO B1560, fol. 173v; B1558, fol. 153v. See Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 103, appendix 2, no. 53; Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 97; Monget 1898–1905 (note 61), p. 22. Prochno and Monget cite B1560 fol. 180v, which is incorrect.

114   See Nash 2007 (note 21), pp. 58–60. Also see her study of the extensive collaboration between Sluter and Malouel on the Great Cross: Nash 2010 (note 21), pp. 358–370.

115   Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 95. Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Collection de Bourgogne*, vol. 29, fol. 93v, and vol. 65, fol. 41, transcribed in Drouot 1932 (note 26), p. 27, no. 3.

116   ADCO B4435, fol. 29, transcribed in Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 91, appendix 1, no. 128 and Drouot 1932 (note 26), no. 18.

117   ADCO B1501, fol. 66v, transcribed in Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 93, appendix 2, no. 5 and Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 263. See also a certificate sealed by de Werve in ADCO B382, transcribed in Nash 2019 (note 11), p. 93, appendix 2, no. 4 and Dehaisnes 1886 (note 58), p. 695.

118   Prochno 2002 (note 1), p. 96. Drouot 1932 (note 26), pp. 32–33, no. 23.

Conclusion

Sculptural skill develops not only in a set of individual sculptors but also in the networks of professions who work the materials of stone from its extraction to its sale, transport, carving, polishing, and finally its integration with other materials. During the fourteenth century, the position of the sculptor within these networks became increasingly specialized and socialized. These historical shifts acted as a condition for the design of Philip the Bold's tomb. The specialization of sculptural labour allowed for a greater structural independence of its figures than can be found in any previous tomb. And the socialization of this labour meant that a diversity of material components could be combined in a manner that allowed for the mourners, carved in the round, to be installed in an open, arcaded space. Even if such skills may have developed gradually in the Western European economy across the fourteenth century, a factor local to the Charterhouse of Champmol allowed them to advance considerably for the production of Philip's tomb monument: the long-term employment of the sculptors provided them with the time and authority to plan and produce a monument using these skills. Retention was thereby a means by which the ducal bureaucracy at Champmol both acquired and facilitated specialised and socialized sculptural labour.

The social and economic preconditions necessary to the design of Philip's tomb are not a sufficient explanation for it. The tomb's conception and the transformation of it that took place under Sluter's watch would require a more extensive consideration of the input given by the Burgundian dukes and the Carthusian Order than can be provided here.[119] It would also require an analysis of the cultural and religious significance of the tomb's materials as well as their production.[120] Nevertheless, from the combined perspective of the sculptors' labour process and conditions of employment, it is clear that those of Champmol had considerable creative agency in designing the tomb of Philip the Bold. Furthermore, by becoming *valet de chambre*—an exceptional status for sculptors in this period—and by being entrusted to design a monument as a relatively open-ended project, the sculptors of the charterhouse show how sculptural labour could influence how a ducal bureaucracy operated, as well as vice versa. Similar to Anheim's argument for the painters at the Papal court of Avignon, if the sculptors at Champmol are part of a history of "the artist", it is a history of the encounter and mutual influences between court service on the one hand and the history of labour processes on the other.[121]

---

119   See especially Nash 2019 (note 11), pp. 65–75. See also Lindquist 2008 (note 6), pp. 154–157; Prochno 2002 (note 1), pp. 98–100; Grandmontagne 2005 (note 4), pp. 258–260.

120   This line of enquiry is currently being undertaken by Susie Nash, who shared her research at a recent conference: Susie Nash, "Time, Dust and Polish. Dinant Marble in Tombs for the Courts of France and Burgundy," paper presented at *Souls of Stone. Funerary Sculpture from Creation to Musealisation*, Lisbon, 3 November, 2017. This should be published in a book that will emerge from that conference.

121   See Anheim 2017 (note 22), p. 732–733.

But further to Anheim's case, this history characterises the incipient "artists" of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries as the choreographer of a "web of networks,"[122] networks that, in the case of the sculptors of Champmol, connected their workshop, those of other sculptors, the ducal bureaucracy, and the wider market. These are sculptors who are employed for their ability to navigate and manipulate such networks in the planning and production of a monument.

---

122   Term taken from Dumolyn and Buylaert, 2020 (note 24), p. 120.

Image p. 154: Tomb of Philip the Bold, mourners nos. 7–8, Joannès Lesage, second half of the 18th century, watercolor, detail, Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (cf. fig. 7, p. 168)