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Only one complete group of freestanding Gothic ivory sculptures exists in the world today. These sculptures, which together represent the scene of Jesus Christ's *Descent from the Cross,* currently reside at the Musée du Louvre in Paris, France (figure 1). Each sculpture only measures about 22 centimeters long and 6 centimeters wide, but together they are currently the most complete group of medieval ivory sculptures.[1] The seven sculptures were made in the thirteenth century, around 1270 to 1280, and consist of the religious figures of Joseph of Arimathaea, Jesus Christ, Nicodemus, the Virgin Mary, Saint John, the Church and the Synagogue.

The story of Jesus Christ's *Descent from the Cross* comes from the New Testament and occurs after Jesus Christ's crucifixion (John 19:38-40, Mark 15:40-47). Joseph of Arimathaea brings Christ down from the cross and is about to take him to his burial. In the Louvre group, he carries Jesus Christ's lifeless body over his shoulder as Nicodemus, the religious figure who helped Joseph of Arimathaea with this task, kneels at Jesus Christ's feet (figure 2). The Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, stands behind them and holds her son's lifeless hand to her face (figure 2).[2] Saint John also quietly weeps over the tragedy and clutches his drapery to his face to dry away his tears (figure 2). The representations of the Church and the Synagogue are not literal figures that are described at the scene of Jesus Christ's descent but allegories (figures 3 & 4).[3]

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[1] "Acquisition de Saint Jean et de la Synagogue," last modified April 1, 2013, http://www.louvre.fr/acquisition-de-saint-jean-et-de-la-synagogue.

[2] Originally, Christ and the Virgin Mary would have been attached because the Virgin Mary holds Christ's arm in her hands. Unfortunately, due to time and damage, the arm is just left in her hands and is no longer attached to Christ's body.

[3] Nina Rowe, *The Jew, The Cathedral, and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 81.

The Church personifies Christianity and the Synagogue personifies Judaism. The Church stands triumphantly while the Synagogue bends over in defeat and pain.[4] The two allegories represent the success of the church or Christianity over the synagogue or Judaism.

The sculptures are consistent stylistically and iconographically with other thirteenth-century Parisian sculptures, but many questions still remain about their origin, authorship, and function. The reunion of all seven sculptures in 2013 now allows some of these questions to be reconsidered. Originally, the Louvre only had Joseph of Arimathaea, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary and the Church. This original heart of the group came to Paris from Italy in 1896 from collector Charles Mannheim.[5] Early twentieth century art historians, such as Alfred Maskell and Anna Maria Elizabeth Cust, noted that the group was still missing several figures that were usually featured in medieval depictions of the *Descent from the Cross*. For instance, Nicodemus and Saint John are usually included in depictions and the Synagogue had to be missing because typically depictions of one allegory also include a depiction of its opposing foe.[6] Consequently, other sculptures were needed to complete the Louvre's deposition scene.

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[4] The Church is often referred to as Ecclessia and personifies the Roman Catholic Church while the Synagogue is often referred to as Synagoga and represents the Jewish Synagogue. These allegorical representations are recurring images in medieval art. Ibid.

[5] Danielle Gaborit-Chopin et al., *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils. (*Paris: la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1998), 145.

[6] For example, the *Gabled Triptych* with two registers from the Metropolitan Museum of Art features the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ (figure 5). To the left of Jesus Christ is a triumphant Church who wears a crown and holds her symbolic chalice in her hand. To the right of Jesus Christ is the wounded and blind Synagogue who bends over in pain.

In 1947, the children of the Baron and Baronne Robert de Rothschild donated Nicodemus to the Louvre group.[7] The sculpture had originally been part of the collection of Marquis Pantaléon Costa de Beauregard's collection and was then passed to the Rothschild family. It was originally owned by Gustave Rothschild and then later passed on to Robert Rothschild. Because this placed Nicodemus in Savoy, it was suggested that this ivory group might have originated from the royal court of Savoy, France.[8] Unfortunately, it would be another sixty-six years before the last two sculptures were finally added to the group.

In 2013, the figures of Saint John and the Synagogue were acquired from the collection of Paul Corbin, thanks to the donation of La Société des Amis du Louvre, an organization that allows the public to be a patron to the Louvre's collections.[9] In 2013, the Louvre launched a fundraising program called "Tous les Mécènes!" for everyone to be a patron of the arts. With this fundraising program and the help of the public, the Louvre was able to obtain the last two sculptures by ultimately raising 2.6 million euros.[10]

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[7] The sculpture was referred to as "Le prophète de Rothschild," not only because the Rothschild family owned it but also because an artist had remodeled Nicodemus to look like a prophet. The artist made additions to Nicodemus's "left wrist, right forearm, hands, and scroll." Without these additions, Nicodemus would have originally held pliers to remove the nails from Jesus Christ's feet. The original end of the pliers can still be seen by Nicodemus's right knee.
See: Peter Barnet et al., *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1997), 138.

[8] Danielle Gaborit-Chopin et al., *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils*, 145.

[9] For more information on *La Société des Amis du Louvre* see: La Société des Amis du Louvre. http://www.amisdulouvre.fr/index.htm.

[10] Other museums including the Louvre have used the fundraising system and will doubtlessly be using it again in the future due to its success. In fact, the Louvre plans to continue to ask for donations at least once a year to be able to further grow its collections.

The reunion of these seven ivories over 116 years offers an opportunity to piece together more information about what other groups of medieval sculptures might have looked like as well as their purpose, placement and function. Key questions include: Who would have seen these sculptures and where? What purpose did these sculptures serve? Who were the patron and the artist? How might they have been displayed? Now that the sculptures have been reunited and more information can be obtained, I will examine some of these lingering questions in this paper and make the argument that although much is still unknown about the group, the *Descent from the Cross* was most likely enclosed by a metalwork baldachin and placed in an altarpiece of a church or small private chapel in France after having been commissioned by a member of the French royal court and made by a Parisian ivory worker.

Chapter 1

France in the thirteenth century was still fighting in the continuous religious battle between the Christians and the Muslims during the Crusades.[11] The incentive to fight to receive entrance into heaven was appealing to many Frenchmen, especially since France was one of the great powers of Catholicism at the time. Religion was part of daily life, with many wealthy Christians attending Mass daily or even multiple times in one day.[12]

"The Louvre Turns to Crowdfunding to Buy a National Treasure," last modified December 8, 2012. http://www.forbes.com/sites/ceciliarodriguez/2012/12/08/the-louvre-turns-to-crowdfunding-to-buy-a-national-treasure/.

[11] For more information about the Crusades, see: Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Crusades: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

[12] Henk Van Os et al., *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300-1500.* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1994), 149.

Those wealthy and powerful enough, such as Philip the Bold, would often have private chapels in their castles where they could privately attend Mass and pray.[13] Prayer became not only an act of piety but also a way for the devout Christian to communicate with God or a saint.[14] The faithful Christian would offer "praise, tribute, or donations" in return for help in present day life as well as in the afterlife.[15]

This newfound and increasing Christian reverence led to the need for sacred artwork as well as a sacramental system to match the devout Christian's identity and faithfulness.[16] Cathedrals continued to be built and remodeled to match the Gothic style with the new passionate religious fervor.[17] Religious art not only served as a method of reinforcing biblical stories, religious beliefs and appropriate behavior but was also used for private devotion, for services of the church and as amulets for voyages. Devout thirteenth century Christians would practice their religion in their home as well as while travelling.[18]

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Prayer was the devout Christian's method to ask "God for His grace, and appealing to the Virgin Mary, saints, and angels for their prayers ("alms") and intercession before God. For more information and actual prayers from the Middle Ages: Miri Rubin, ed. *Medieval Christianity in Practice.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 159-163.

[15] Ibid., 163.

[16] Miri Rubin. "The Space of the Altar." In *Sacred and Secular in Medieval and Early Modern Cultures: New Essays,* edited by Lawrence Besserman, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 167.

[17] Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction,* trans. Martin Thom (Cambridge: University Press, 1989), 1.

[18] Henk Van Os et al., *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300-1500,* 148-149.

Wealthy patrons spared little expense in commissioning religious artwork. Luxury production of religious works included illuminated manuscripts, the books of hours and particularly ivory carvings.[19] Ivory became an evident choice of medium for religious art due to its beauty, rarity and difficulty to obtain.[20] Even in the Bible there are references to ivory as being a prized possession of luxury and wealth: "King David sang of the "Palace of Ivory" and Soloman had a throne of ivory."[21] The thirteenth century increase in ivory carving was due to the advanced trade route established in the second quarter of the thirteenth century that was created from the Atlantic ports rather than the original land routes, which proved to be slower and more expensive.[22] The new Atlantic route came directly from the Mediterranean and into the ports of Normandy, where they were then sent to Paris via the Seine.[23] These trade routes moved goods such as elephant tusks from the Far East and Africa and into France, where it became the fashionable and increasingly

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[19] Books of hours were prayer books and were the beginner's guide for literacy as well as a guide to devotion. They were usually either inherited or received as gifts. See: Miri Rubin, ed. *Medieval Christianity in Practice.*

[20] The use of ivory dates back to the prehistoric days when cave men carved pictures on ivory and continued into the Assyrian empire circa 1900 BCE to around 600 BCE. Ivory was also used in all of the great civilizations such as Ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, and into the Byzantine and Christian era. Not only is ivory a beautiful material to look at because of its creamy opulence, but it is also a sturdy material that can last centuries.
Ancient History Encyclopedia. "Assyria." Last modified April 28, 2011. http://www.ancient.eu.com/assyria/.

[21] Norbert J. Beihoff, *Ivory Sculpture Through The Ages.* (Milwaukee Public Museum Publication: Order of the Board of Trustees, 1961), 17.

[22] "Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History: Ivory Carving in the Gothic Era, 13th-15th centuries." Last modified in 2008. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/goiv/hd_goiv.htm.

[23] Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Les Ivoires Gothiques Français." (Paris: *Louvre Trésors du Moyen Age* Dec. 93-Jan. 94), 34.

inexpensive material of choice.[24] Paris thus became the main center for ivory workshops. The new routes helped quench the demand for ivory by the royal court and upper middle class who supported ivory carvings and all luxury productions.[25] For example, the gold and enamel made *Reliquary in the form of a triptych* currently housed at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam was paid for by French kings and dukes and made in a Paris workshop around 1400-10 (figure 6).[26] The triptych would have been used by one of these members of the royal court for private devotion. The Louvre group should be understood as part of this growing trend toward ivory devotional objects.

Iconography

Before we can discuss the display of the Louvre group, we must examine how its iconography compares with other compositions of the Deposition scene in thirteenth century France. As aforementioned, the Louvre group fits typical Gothic depictions of the story of the *Descent from the Cross* that comes from the New Testament. It is a story that would have been easily identifiable to the Christian viewer of the time. Jesus Christ is the main focus of the scene: his limp body drapes over Joseph of Arimathaea's left shoulder as he is gingerly carried down from the cross (figure 2).[27] Joseph of Arimathaea wraps his arms around Christ's body and sadly looks up toward the sky. Jesus Christ is

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Henk Van Os et al., *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300-1500,* 76.

[27] The cross itself is not depicted, but the moment is insinuated from Christ's positioning above Joseph, as if he has just been taken down.

completely lifeless as he rests his head on Joseph of Arimathaea's back with his eyes shut. The depiction is not realistic but idealized. Even though Jesus Christ is being depicted in a moment of pain and weakness, he is always perfect. His body naturally curves to Joseph of Arimathaea's shoulder making an upside down "u" formation. His legs dangle motionlessly but are crossed at the ankles with his toes naturally pointing downward. Even though he is dead, his right knee is bent, as is his right arm being held by the Virgin Mary. This allows the viewer to see more of his body rather than obscuring it behind Joseph of Arimathaea. Jesus Christ's muscles are delicately defined on his back, showing his physical strength. Although his head is upside down, his hair doesn't fall to the ground. Instead, it perfectly drapes around his neck. The two sculptures are literally attached to one another and were most likely made from the same block of ivory.

Christ is the largest figure in the scene: if these figures were real, Joseph of Arimathaea would not have been able to carry Jesus Christ by himself because of the disparity in their sizes. Because Joseph of Arimathaea lifts Jesus Christ above him, Christ also becomes the highest figure of the scene. After all, he is the focus of the story and the Son of God who sacrificed himself so other Christians could live. Such hierarchical positioning is typical of the Gothic tradition, with Jesus Christ almost always being the tallest figure in a scene. For example, in the *Plaque: Les Douze Apôtres* from the Musée de Cluny in Paris, France, the depiction of Christ's deposition places Christ as the tallest figure (figures 12 & 13).

Originally, it is clear that Jesus Christ and his mother would have been physically attached, since the Virgin Mary now holds the Christ's arm in her hands. The Virgin Mary, her head veiled as tradition dictates, looks down at the hand with such intense

sadness and bends her head down to kiss her dead son's hand. Nicodemus can be recognized by his traditional conical hat and kneeling posture. He was originally supposed to be shown as removing the nails from Christ's feet, his traditional role in the narrative; however, due to restoration, Nicodemus now holds a scroll in his hands, rather than his traditional pliers, because of an apparently misunderstanding of the figure as a prophet. There is only a remnant of the original fragment from his pliers near his right knee, indicating that he was originally in fact Nicodemus. [28] Saint John symbolically cradles the Gospel in his left hand against his body as he uses his sleeve from his other hand to wipe away his tears. Saint John looks downcast and his visible and vivid emotion over Jesus Christ's death mimics the Virgin Mary's downcast and mournful appearance on the other side.[29] As in other depictions of the *Descent from the Cross,* he is a sad bystander watching the scene unfold rather than actually taking part in Christ's descent.

Although the Church's face has been scraped off from her crown to her nose, she is still identifiable because she holds her symbolic chalice and wears a gold crown on her head.[30] She stands upright and tall and appears to be smiling from her almost upward curved mouth.[31] While the Church stands proud and triumphant, the synagogue leans her

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[28] Peter Barnet et al., *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, 138.

[29] For an example of how the *Descent from the Cross* is iconographically the same and thus easily identifiable, examine *Plaque with the Descent from the Cross* from the Metropolitan Museum in New York City (figure 8). It was made from 1320-1340 and features the same core: Joseph of Arimathaea bringing Jesus Christ down from the cross as the Virgin Mary and Saint John look on mournfully and Nicodemus removes the nails from Jesus Christ's feet. Jesus Christ is once again the center of the scene and the others merely flank him.

[30] Nina Rowe, *The Jew, The Cathedral, and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century,* 81.

[31] The Church's right arm would have originally held a cross but has been mutilated due to the religious Iconoclasm. For more information about the destruction and reconstruction of the

whole body to the left as she droops her head down as if in pain. A blindfold covers her eyes, making her unable to look at anything. Medieval artists often represented ordinary Jews by having them wear a pointed cap; however, the Synagogue would have originally been wearing a crown that has fallen off her head to show her defeat.[32] The Synagogue's right hand, which is now tightly clenched, would have originally been holding a broken spear, now lost, and her left hand would have held the tablets of the Law.[33] The Synagogue is in clear despair and pain, while the Church appears triumphant and glorious. Their representations demonstrate the idea that the Church has triumphantly conquered the Synagogue and consequently, the power of Christianity overrules that of Judaism.

According to two gospels in the Bible, the only figures that were unquestionably at Jesus Christ's descent were Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus.[34] However, in the standard iconography of the *Descent from the Cross*, these two figures are not the only

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figures see: Elisabeth Antoine-König and Juliette Levy-Hinstin, *La Descente de Croix.* (Paris: le Musée du Louvre, department des objets d'art, 2013).

[32] The crown has disappeared.
Elisabeth Antoine-König and Juliette Levy-Hinstin, "D'heureuses retrouvailles: la *Descente de Croix* d'ivoire gothique." (Paper presented at the Auditorium du Louvre, Paris, France, November 6, 2013).

[33] Rykner, Didier. "The Two Ivories for the Descent from the Cross finally Acquired by the Louvre." *The Art Tribune*, last modified February 4, 2013, http://www.thearttribune.com/The-Two-Ivories-for-the-Descent.html.

[34] The *Descent from the Cross* obviously comes from the New Testament where it is referred to by both John and Mark. John only recounts Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea as the two figures that were explicitly there during Christ's descent from the cross. Joseph of Arimathaea asks Pilate for permission to remove Jesus Christ's body and Nicodemus helps him to prepare the body for burial. The story is in the Gospel of Mark is similar. However, Mark describes several women watching Jesus Christ's crucifixion from a distance. Whether the women stayed there during Christ's descent or not is unclear but it can be presumed that one of the women must have been the Virgin Mary for she is the mother of Christ after all. John 19:38-40 NJB, Mark 15:40-47 NJB.

ones depicted. The Virgin Mary, Saint John, Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea are almost always depicted in medieval portrayals. For example, Benedetto Antelami's marble *Descent from the Cross,* made in 1178, features all the same figures (figure 14). Another example is of the ivory *Plaque with the Descent from the Cross* currently located at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (figure 8). It was made in the fourteenth century in Paris and depicts Joseph of Arimathaea, the Virgin Mary, St. John and Nicodemus surrounding Jesus Christ.

Overall, the iconography of the Louvre group is nothing new and holds true to other representations from around the same time. Not only does the iconography fit other medieval works of art, but the style does as well.

Style

The craft of ivory sculpture was in its prime during the thirteenth century in France. Parisian ivory workers paid particular attention to every meaningful line and facial feature to fully demonstrate the emotion of the scene.[35] Gothic French ivory carving was less rigid and more expressive, replacing the former Romanesque stiff and less naturalistic style that preceded it.[36] For example, the Romanesque ivory plaque of Christ's crucifixion shows emotionless figures standing rigidly next to Christ's body (figure 7). The Virgin Mary and Saint John stand straight without any emotion in their faces or bodies. Neither figure twists in mournful sadness. Instead, they stand fixed with

[35] Norbert J. Beihoff, *Ivory Sculpture Through The Ages,* 62-63.

[36] Ibid.

blank stares. French ivory workers followed the same new naturalistic format leading Parisian Gothic artwork to be stylistically and iconographically similar.

One of the most recognizable features of Gothic art is the figure's fluidly modeled and naturalistic drapery. Every single figure in the Louvre group is wrapped with individual drapery folds, which outline their bodies subtly. It is so recognizable because every Gothic sculpture is shrouded with the same folded drapery that hangs loosely from their bodies, continuously curving to create a baggy shape without emphasizing the sculpture's actual figure. Even Jesus Christ, who is only wearing a loincloth, has the same individual folding of the drapery on his skirt. The other figures are respectfully covered. The same kinds of drapery folds can be identified in the Gothic ivory statue of *Figure of a Pope*, which is also thought to be French and made around the same time as the Louvre group (figure 9). The pope's drapery folds and drapes heavily over his body, neither revealing his skin nor tightly showcasing his body. It is a modest and humble outfit that fits a religious figure just like those in the Louvre group. The *Figure of a Pope* also has the same curly hair that has been clearly defined and incised by the ivory worker. The Louvre figures also have curly hair, which has been intricately defined and is immediately visible. For example, the Synagogue's hair has been carefully constructed through wavy lines made of deep incisions giving it the appearance of a thick, curly head. The Pope's hair is the same. His head is covered in parallel continuous wavy lines that extend from his forehead and down to his neck. His hair is not too long or covering his face, it perfectly frames his head. This idealization is in keeping with the group's devotional character.

Along with this more naturalistic style, the sculptures show movement in their posture through contrapposto and other graceful shifts of weight and position. For example, the Synagogue is completely bent over, Saint John's head tilts to the right adding to his sorrowful expression and Joseph of Arimathaea bends forward to balance the weight of Jesus Christ. All of this movement makes a more realistic and believable depiction. The sculpture's faces are also more expressive, explicitly showing their emotion. Saint John is the perfect example: he is so upset that he can barely even hold up his head to look at Jesus Christ. His eyes are merely slits from crying and he can barely raise them to look up at his Savior. His forehead is creased from worry and pain as he watches the beloved Son of God be carried down from the cross after suffering a most painful death.

The faces of the Louvre group and their contrapposto mimic other Gothic French sculptures of the thirteenth century, such as the sculptures at the Reims Cathedral in France. The two sculptures at the west façade of the Cathedral depicting the *Visitation* of the Virgin Mary and Saint Elizabeth are completely draped with folding drapery that zigzag and cover their entire bodies (figure 10). They wear the veil over their head, representing their purity and holiness in the same way does the veil of the Virgin Mary in the Louvre group. The Reims Virgin Mary tilts her body to create an "S" formation while Saint Elizabeth bends her body toward the Virgin Mary. The viewer can even see her knee protruding beneath her drapery. The Virgin Mary's face looks to the distance contentedly and innocently, as she appears to be satisfied with her situation. Saint Elizabeth looks at the Virgin Mary as if they are in discussion over their discovered pregnancies. Saint Elizabeth appears older than the pure and innocent looking Virgin

Mary, in keeping with the Biblical accounts that she was much older. Saint Elizabeth has wrinkles and her mouth droops downward into a scowl. Such visible and naturalistic emotion is characteristic of French Gothic art and matches the emotion that is visible in the faces of the Louvre sculptures.

Not only do the Louvre sculptures have the same French Gothic features, but they also have polychrome remnants, proving that like most Gothic ivories, the sculptures were in fact once painted in multiple colors. Conservators Juliette Lévy and Agnés Cascio know that the sculptures would have been painted because there are remnants of paint left on the figures, particularly red on Joseph of Arimathaea's mouth and blue on his clothing.[37] Along with the different colors of paint, the sculptures would have also had gold leaf on the edges of their drapery, both of which is very characteristic of Gothic ivory carvings.[38] The different colors are no longer visible to the naked eye, but some of the gold leaf design still remains and is visible. For example, the Church has a gold leaf design bordering her entire robe that is still visible on her chest and at the bottom. Today, the sculptures are for the most part bare, but the Christian viewer would have originally seen a colorful group of sculptures that is similar to the Louvre's Figure Group of the *Coronation of the Virgin* from the late thirteenth century (figure 11). The group not only has the decorative gold leaf features on their drapery, but they also have remnants of the polychrome color. All of the figures still have red color on their cheeks and Jesus Christ

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[37] The conservators specifically cite: "traces of red on the mouth" of Joseph and "some traces of blue on the reverse of his loincloth and robe." The Church also has traces of blue color around the irises of her eyes or what is left of her eyes. See Elisabeth Antoine-König, Elisabeth and Juliette Levy-Hinstin, *La Descente de Croix,* 17-19.

[38] Ibid, 15-19.

and the Virgin Mary both have remains of blue color on their drapery. This is an example of how colorful the Louvre group would have originally been.

Overall, the style of the *Descent from the Cross* is so stylistically similar to other French Gothic art that it is easily placed within France in the thirteenth century. Then the next question becomes: can their style help explain how the sculptures would have been displayed?

Chapter 2

Organization

The style and iconography of the group is better understood once we attempt to reconstruct its original design. The original format of the Louvre group would have displayed the sculptures at different levels, since their size and relative positions suggest that they would had to have been placed at different heights. First, beginning with the heart of the group, Joseph of Arimathaea and Jesus Christ have to be in the center. In all medieval scenes, Jesus Christ is always in the center because he is the most important figure and the figure that the Christian viewers would have admired and revered. For example, in the Cluny Plaque of the twelve apostles, in every scene that he is in, Jesus Christ is in the center (figure 12).

The Virgin Mary would have originally been to the left and behind Jesus Christ and Joseph of Arimathaea. She would have also been lower than the two other figures because she is holding Christ's detached, right arm in her hands, proving that she would have been mourning her son right next to him. When the arm is connected back to Jesus

Christ's remaining arm, the Virgin Mary has to be placed lower, behind and to the right of Jesus Christ. Because she is so close to him, she is one of the most important figures in the group. Not only does her proximity to Jesus Christ highlight her importance as a religious figure, it also emphasizes her role as a mother who is grief stricken after just losing her son.

Nicodemus' placement can also be identified because of what he would have originally been holding in his hands. Today, Nicodemus holds a scroll in his hand, but originally he would have been holding pliers to remove the nails from Jesus Christ's feet. Thus, he is kneeling and automatically has to be lower than Jesus Christ and Joseph of Arimathaea. Nicodemus is placed to the right of Jesus Christ and Joseph of Arimathaea because he is always positioned to the right.[39] Just like the Virgin Mary, Nicodemus fits the typical medieval representational standard. This would place him on the right side opposite of the Virgin Mary and in front of Christ and Joseph of Arimathaea.

The Virgin Mary and Nicodemus are also easy to place in the group because they would have been physically attached to the central figures. The other three remaining figures would not have been attached to Jesus Christ, but their positioning according to art historian Elisabeth Antoine-König has also been decided based on other typical medieval depictions. For example, Saint John stands to the right behind Nicodemus, his

[39] Nicodemus is almost always shown in medieval art to the right of Jesus Christ holding his symbolic pliers to remove the nails from Christ's feet. For example, the *Plaque with the Descent from the Cross* shows Nicodemus to the right with his pliers (figure 8). The Deposition scene from the Cluny Plaque also shows a Nicodemus to the right holding pliers and removing the nails from Jesus Christ's feet (figure 13).

traditional position in such scenes.[40] Saint John has been placed at the same height as Nicodemus because he cannot be taller than the central figures nor can he be shorter than Nicodemus, or else the viewer would not be able to see him.

Because the Church and the Synagogue are allegorical representations and not actual figures, they could not have actually taken part in the scene. Artists typically placed the Church and the Synagogue on opposing sides because they were considered enemies of sorts. In the Louvre group, art historian Elisabeth Antoine-König has placed the Church on the left and the Synagogue on the right, matching other depictions of the allegories such as Benedetto Antelami's *Descent from the Cross*, which has the triumphant Church to the left of Jesus Christ and the defeated Synagogue to the right (figure 14). The Church and the Synagogue are not frequently found in deposition scenes, but are frequently found in the same format of opposing sides in crucifixion scenes such as the illuminated manuscript page from the Psalter of Blanche of Castile (figure 15). This page depicts the crucifixion scene and the deposition scene and the artist placed the Church on the left and the Synagogue on the right, just as they have been placed in the Louvre's deposition scene.

Display

Now that we know the organization of the Louvre group, the question remains: where and how would they have been displayed? Because the ivory sculptures are so small, it would have been impossible for anyone to be able to see them without being close to them. Something bigger would have been required to attract the viewer's

[40] In the Metropolitan Plaque of the Descent, Saint John is illustrated in the same position behind Nicodemus and to the right (figure 8). The Cluny Plaque's deposition scene also features Saint John in the same position (figure 13).

attention and to show that these sculptures are sacred and not secular. Not only would the sacred need to be identifiable but as previously mentioned, the sculptures are made of ivory, an expensive and sought after material. Seeing that the sculptures are in the round and very fragile, they would have needed a protective structure that would also make them attractive and striking. Consequently, I will argue that the Louvre group would have likely rested under an actual frame-like baldachin structure designed with microarchitecture to house the figures (figure 16).

Art historians such as François Bucher have argued that in the Gothic era, small works of art mimicked large works of art or architecture.[41] Thus, microarchitecture, the use of miniaturized architectural details and attributes in smaller works of art became popular. An example of microarchitecture can be seen in the French Ivory *Polyptych with Virgin and Child and Scenes of the Infancy of Christ* (figure 17). The Virgin Mary is in the center of this structure and enclosed by the same triangular-shaped arches and thin columns that are seen in actual large Gothic architecture. Spire-like pieces extend out from the top of the arches mimicking the same tall, thin, spindle like pinnacles that reach up to the heavens in Gothic architecture. The architecture frames not only the Virgin Mary, but also every figure and scene in the polyptych. The framing of the Virgin Mary and the other figures draws the viewer to admire and revere her while also creating a separation between the sacred and the general Christian viewer.

Microarchitecture was also used with reliquaries and sculptures in the round. Sculptures were often enclosed with a canopy-like frame that enshrined them inside,

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[41] See: Bucher, François. "Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style." *Gesta* (1976): 71-89, accessed April 28, 2014. doi: 10.2307/766753.

similar to the one seen in the polyptych example above (figure 17). These structures or baldachins typically feature miniature Gothic arches for the viewer to see what is inside while still maintaining a separation. The microarchitecture being described was usually made out of metalwork, in part because the fragility of ivory would have made such structures impossible. For example, the *Three Towers Reliquary*, made around 1370 to 1390, has an intricate and detailed tower above each figure, Saint John the Evangelist, Jesus Christ and the donor of the reliquary (figure 18). Each tower extends out into smaller rods, which connect together and create a sense of verticality and height, attributes that are usually associated with large Gothic architecture as well. The three figures are found within the framework and are visible through little corresponding arches. The structure is like a shopping window where the viewer can peer through each hole and see Saint John the Evangelist and the donor venerate Jesus Christ who stands in the center tower.

Another three-dimensional example is the *Reliquary of Saint-Sepulcher* from the Pamplona Cathedral in Spain (figure 19). This reliquary is also made of metalwork and contains the same archetype of the baldachin. Above the figures, consisting of the three Mary's and the angel who delivers them news, is a tri-lobed arch that is enclosed by a triangular arch. These arches are part of a square, which holds a skinny tower creating a tall and dramatic effect. The viewer can see the four figures situated underneath the tower through a large opening. Like the *Three Towers Reliquary*, the *Reliquary of Saint-Sepulcher* has openings both in front of and behind the figures allowing the viewer to see both sides. The *Reliquary of Saint-Sepulcher* is also a narrative scene like the Louvre's deposition group, proving that narrative scenes were also housed underneath a baldachin.

Both reliquaries serve as examples for the type of structure that probably would have canopied and enclosed the Louvre group. In fact, Elisabeth Antoine-König argues that a microarchitectural framework also made of gold would have framed the sculptures. Her reconstruction displayed at the Louvre, allows viewers to envision this proposed format (figure 16). In the sketch, the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus would have all been positioned under the central tower because they would have been attached to one another and are the focus of the scene. The only detached figure, Saint John, has been added underneath the tallest center of the microarchitecture because that would leave only the opposing two sculptures, the Church and the Synagogue. Naturally, the Church and the Synagogue would be on alternate sides flanking the central tower and underneath their own smaller arches. Because the Church and the Synagogue could not have physically been part of the scene of the *Descent from the Cross* and are just allegories, it is befitting that they are put off to the sides as additions to the scene to add to its meaning. Along with this format, a cross would have been put behind the central four figures to represent Christ's descent.

The sketch of the possible reconstruction of the original framework made by Cécile Barthes shows that art historian Elisabeth Antoine-König supports the idea that the microarchitecture would have looked very similar to the two reliquaries discussed above; however, rather than having tall-spindle pinnacles on top of the structure, Antoine-König hypothesizes that the Louvre group would have been enclosed by a smaller and simpler version of a church or another form of Gothic architecture.[42] The central four figures would be underneath multiple arches including a triangular shaped

[42] Elisabeth Antoine-König and Juliette Levy-Hinstin, *La Descente de Croix,* 22.

arch. These arches would be held by two thin columns and extend out to a decorated roof and a smaller arch shaped like an arrow. As in the polyptych looked at earlier, the other figures have been positioned underneath two smaller arches that match the large centerpiece. The four sculptures have even been drawn on top of a rock formation in the sketch, in keeping with Elisabeth Antoine-König claims that the four main sculptures would have been placed on top of a rock-like structure made from polychrome wood to imitate rock, which represents Golgotha, the place outside of Jerusalem where Jesus Christ was crucified.[43] Perhaps the most important part about the microarchitectural framework is that like the previously mentioned reliquaries, it would have had openings on all sides for the viewer to be able to see the sculptures within.[44]

The microarchitectural framework supported by the Louvre fits the organization and height of the sculptures by focusing on the scene at hand and positioning the Church and the Synagogue in positions consistent with Gothic visual tradition. Regardless of the exact replication, the Louvre group in its original state would have been impressive to the Christian viewer because of both its grandeur and splendor of appearance as well as in emotion and religious meaning. The use of these luxury materials of gold and ivory would have been magnificent to view and would have been even more breathtaking in their original form than they are today.

Not only would the baldachin make the sculptures more noticeable and enticing, but the structure would have also deciphered the difference between what is sacred and

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[43] Ibid., 21.

[44] Ibid.

what is mundane to a Christian viewer.[45] Demonstrating the difference between a sacred work of art and a profane work of art was very important in Paris at this time, particularly beginning in the twelfth century when the University of Paris began to develop, thanks to academics such as Peter Abelard. [46] The University of Paris was one of the first to be established and separate itself from religious schools and monasteries, which were the predominant source of education at the time.[47] The Parisian scholars who came from all over to study theology and liberal arts began a discussion about the necessity that a religious work of art be different from a secular artwork. [48] Consequently, Parisian Gothic artists in the thirteenth century were inspired to noticeably differentiate between the two and accommodate the appropriate methods of veneration for the religious figures that were being depicted. Part of this change was the decision to decorate ivory carvings with microarchitecture. To the examples discussed earlier in this paper, Sarah Guérin cites the ivory diptych from 1240, *The Soissons Diptych,* as one of the earliest examples of ivory and microarchitecture (figure 20). The diptych consists of three scenes on each side depicting the Passions of Christ. Each scene is framed with three triangular arches and little colonnettes in between each arch as seen earlier. Guérin argues specifically that the pointed arches serve as a symbol for a sacred existence.[49] The arches in the *Soissons*

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[45] Sarah Guérin, Sarah, "Meaningful Spectacles: Gothic Ivories Staging the Divine," 53-54.

[46] Ibid., 55.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Sarah Guérin writes that these questions came from "book 3, distinction 9 of Peter Lombard's Sententiae in IV libris distinctae (1155-57), which explores the Incarnation and questions whether Christ's human nature is to be adored with his divine nature." Ibid.

[49] Ibid., 64.

Diptych are the same arches used in Gothic architecture, particularly Gothic cathedrals, which serve as sacred places of worship for Christians to be able to connect to God and Jesus Christ. The Gothic arches used in cathedrals are particularly symbolic because they reach up high towards heaven, thus bringing an even closer presence to God. Therefore, the triangular arches that are continuously seen in Gothic architecture and microarchitecture have a significant meaning. All of these arches give a sense of dramatic height and thus power and closeness to God, ideas that are synonymous with both Gothic architecture and Christianity itself.[50] Consequently, the microarchitecture that would have been part of the Louvre group's display would have signaled to the Christian viewer that he or she was approaching a sacred space.

Because of the constant comparisons and similarities to ivory diptychs, triptychs and polyptychs, the question arises as to whether the Louvre group was part of a series of multiple scenes framed by microarchitecture just as they are continuously depicted in the plaques. The Gothic artists followed a pattern and a system as is seen in the continuous use of microarchitecture and the same iconography for every religious scene, thus, it would seem reasonable for the artists to continue the tradition of replicating multiple scenes or series of religious events in free standing sculptures.

Although a series of three-dimensional groups of ivory sculptures would have been a beautiful, awe-inspiring sight, it would have also been very expensive. Instead,

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[50] For an example of Gothic architecture's use of the triangular arch, look at the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, France. Like most Gothic cathedrals, Notre Dame's tympanum and archivolt in the portal feature the same type of rounded triangular arch that is featured in microarchitecture. Multiple rounded triangular arches in the archivolt of the cathedral create a multiple arch effect enclosing the tympanum. It would thus only make sense that a three-dimensional group of ivory sculptures such as the Louvre group would also incorporate a similar type of framework.

groups of ivory sculptures in baldachins would have likely been placed individually in the altarpiece of a church. Each altarpiece in turn was focused on one particular story or saint. According to Sarah Guérin, it has been known for ivory plaques to be combined with individual statues to form an elaborate and very expensive altarpiece rather than as part of a series of ivory groups.[51] The plaques would have been able to depict a series of events from the Bible because they were less expensive than creating individual sculptures. Ivory plaques were made of only a few pieces of ivory and were often intended as portable decorations for church altars.[52] It is more likely that instead of having numerous groups of ivory sculptures in one church, there would have been ivory plaques as well as a group of ivory sculptures if at all.

Chapter 3

The Louvre group was most likely placed under a baldachin, but the next question becomes, where would the structure have been placed? Before I can fully answer the question, we must attempt to understand who the possible patron of the Louvre group could have been and the possible reason for its commission. Unfortunately, there is not any record as to why the Louvre group was commissioned and by whom. The most recent piece of research written about the Louvre group by Elisabeth Antoine-König also comes to the conclusion that the patron is unknown.[53] I am going to argue, however, that the

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[51] "Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History: Ivory Carving in the Gothic Era, 13th-15th centuries."

[52] For example, "A group in low relief depicting the Deposition (17.190.199) was mounted sequentially with a number of other scenes recounting the Passion of Christ, from the Arrest to the Resurrection, to form a continuous frieze across the back of an altar." Anna Maria Elizabeth Cust, *The ivory workers of the middle ages*. (England: George Bell and Sons 1906), 142.

[53] Elisabeth Antoine-König and Juliette Levy-Hinstin, *La Descente de Croix,* 19-20.

group of sculptures was most likely commissioned by a wealthy and educated French patron who was probably somehow part of the Parisian royal court of Louis IX or Philip III. The reasoning behind this argument is that Louis IX and his mother, Blanche of Castile were serious patrons of the arts. Louis IX is known for his commission of architecture, particularly Sainte Chapelle, which will be discussed later in this chapter. His mother, Blanche of Castile, is considered one of the original patrons of Parisian illuminated manuscripts, eventually making Paris a center for manuscript production in Europe.[54] There are numerous illuminated manuscripts dedicated to the King and his mother for their contributions to the arts. In particular, the manuscript page from the Pierpont Morgan Library shows Blanche of Castile and Louis IX as patrons while below them, a cleric works on a manuscript page and to his right, an artist carves circles (figure 21).

Even members of the royal court were commissioning works of art to give as donations to churches in return for additional prayers and blessings to be bestowed upon them as well as forgiveness for their sins. For example, Guérin cites a story of a vicar, Federici de Placentia, who donated an ivory *Virgin and Child* to the Notre Dame Cathedral.[55] De Placentia had paid for prayers to be made following his death in order to make sure that he would be sent to Heaven.[56] A similar commission might have been the

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[54] Peter Barnet et al., *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age,* 9.

[55] Sarah Guérin, "Meaningful Spectacles: Gothic Ivoires Staging the Divine", 70.

[56] Ibid.

motivation for the production of the Louvre group, although only a very wealthy patron could have paid for such a work of art.

I conclude that the *Descent from the Cross* must have belonged to a church or chapel because it is thought to have been part of a public setting up until the eighteenth century. Elisabeth Antoine-König and the conservator, Juliette Lévy-Hinstin argue that the group stayed in France until the eighteenth century because the heads of Saint John, the Virgin Mary and Nicodemus were actually decapitated at a certain point and later reattached to their bodies. [57] Antoine-König cites that this destruction most likely occurred during the rampage that took place in France during the Reign of Terror. This violent and turbulent time in French history not only included the executions of thousands of French people, but the decapitation of French religious sculptures such as the heads of the king Judah sculpture at the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, the statues at the Cathedral of Saint-Denis also in Paris and the head of the lying Lothario at the abbey of Saint-Remi in Reims, France.[58] Because the three sculptures of the Louvre group were also most likely a victim of this surge of art decapitation, the sculptures must have still been in France at the time and must have been in a public setting such as a church, rather than in a private room for individual devotion and meditation.[59]

With that being said, being so expensive and ornate, the Louvre group could have only been placed at the altar of a church or chapel like other sculptures during the thirteenth century. The altar of a church is always on the east end and is distinguished

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[57] Elisabeth Antoine-König and Juliette Levy-Hinstin, *La Descente de Croix,* 22.

[58] Ibid.

[59] The sculptures of the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, Joseph of Arimathaea and the Church came to the Louvre from Italy, so they must have been moved from France at a certain point.

from the rest of the sacred space of a church, indicating an area of even greater holiness. Large churches can have more than one altar to coincide with side chapels, also referred to as bye-altars. These side altars were dedicated to Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary or a specific saint and intended for individual prayer. However, a church always had a main altar at the east end, which served as the most important, high altar. The main altar is where the priest would face with his back toward the churchgoers while giving Mass. The priest would thus lead the congregation toward the altar and toward God. By the third century, the altars were required for Mass in Catholic churches and were typically decorated with a baldachin and an altarpiece.

Because the Louvre group's story is about Christ's descent from the cross, the sculptures could have been placed at the high altar or in a side altar devoted to Jesus Christ. It would have looked similar to other known baldachins in altars that no longer exist today. For example, Elisabeth Antoine-König cites that Giovanni Pisano's sculpture of *La Madonnina* would have originally been part of a group of sculptures that were placed under a wooden baldachin in the altar of the Pisa Cathedral (figure 22).[60] According to ancient inventories of the cathedral's treasury, the Madonna statue would have been framed with two ivory angels and placed under a baldachin made of wood, neither of which still exists.[61] Perhaps an even closer example as to how the Louvre group would have been displayed is the baldachin that would have been displayed at Louis IX's Saint Chapelle. Although the original baldachin resting at the altar of the Saint Chapelle no longer exists, there is a seventeenth century sketch that shows how the

[60] Ibid., 10.

[61] Ibid., 10.

baldachin with the reliquary of the crown of thorns would have sat at the altar (figure 23).[62] The Saint Chapelle baldachin would have sat raised above the steps of the altar and would have had the typical Gothic pointed arches, similar to the reliquaries mentioned above, and vertical rod-like pinnacles sticking out from the top. [63] A tiny sculpture is enclosed within the decorative baldachin and can be seen through an arch by the viewer.

The *Descent from the Cross* very likely sat underneath a baldachin at an altar of a church in France similar to that of the original baldachin at Saint Chapelle. The sketch of the Louvre group's baldachin is very similar to the sketch of the original baldachin at Saint Chapelle. They both have the same microarchitectural elements such as the pointed repetitive arches and tiny spindle-like rods that stick out of the top. Like the baldachin at Saint Chapelle, the Louvre group's baldachin would have represented an extremely sacred space that only the priest could see daily as he gave Mass in front of the Catholic congregation. Perhaps even underneath the altar, the baldachin and the seven sculptures housed a relic.

Conclusion

Now that the seven sculptures of the *Descent from the Cross* have been reunited, we can have a better understanding as to how they might have originally looked in their original state. The Louvre group would have been visible under a gold microarchitectural framework of a baldachin through arches that only the priest would be able to see up close. However, for the thirteenth century churchgoers who attended Mass, the sculptures

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[62] Daniel H. Weiss, "Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle." *The Art Bulletin* 77 (Jun., 1995): 310, accessed April 24, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3046103.

[63] Ibid.

with its baldachin would have been a magnificent sight surrounded by a painted altarpiece, stained glass, painted enamel, sculpture and other metalwork. The Louvre group would have served as a symbolic presence of the sacred and might have even housed an actual sacred object, a relic.

Obviously, the entire display of the *Descent from the Cross* has been only theorized and other questions still remain. The question as to who was the actual patron of the group is still unanswered. If the history of where the sculptures moved to and how they were separated could be answered, it would be possible to find out where their original provenance would have been. Clearly as Saint John and the Synagogue were only recently discovered, there is hope that more information will be unearthed about these sculptures or maybe even possibly another sculpture. As of now, there is unfortunately not enough documentation about these sculptures and questions will always remain about them, but the mystery of these sculptures adds to its allure.

While only theories can be made about these sculptures, it would be easier to understand and envision the original display of the ivory sculptures if a reconstruction of the proposed baldachin was made and used to display the group at the Louvre. This would not only show a possible example as to how the sculptures would have been seen to the thirteenth century Christian but also show the potential to find out more information about the group of sculptures.

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Appendix

Figure 1. *Descent from the Cross*, 1270-1280, Ivory, traces of gilt and polychrome, French.

Source: Meredith Tavallaee

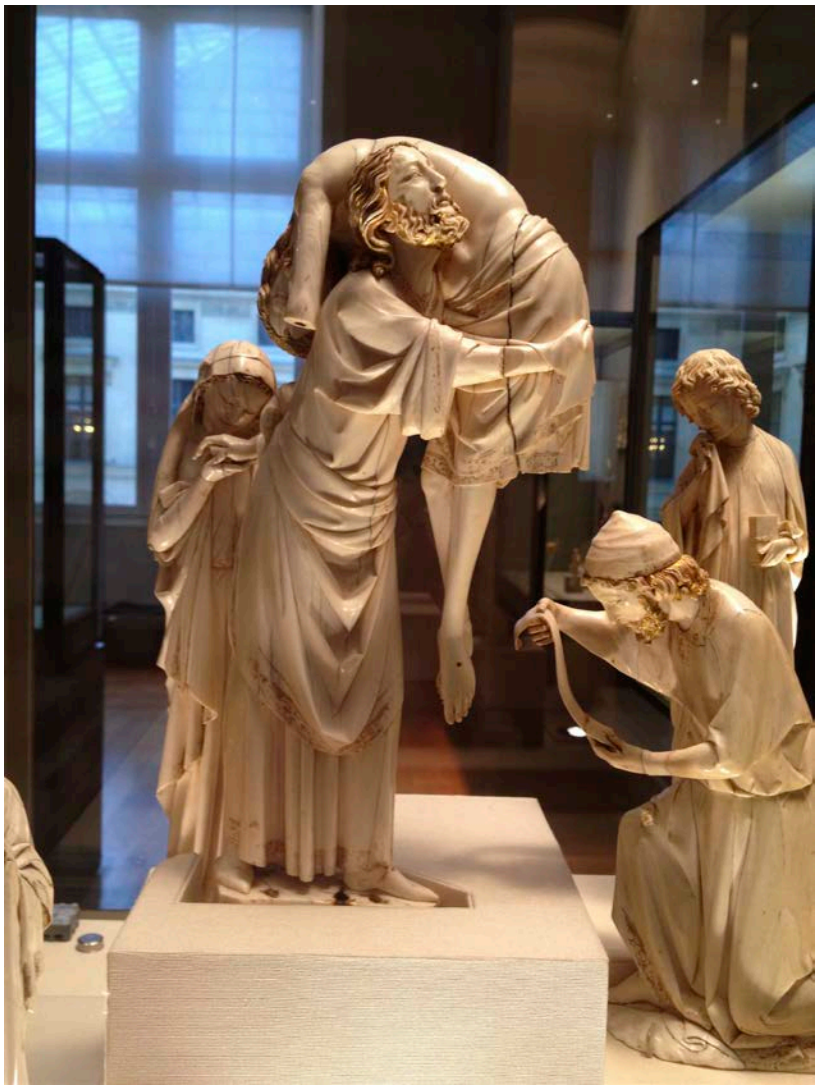

Figure 2. Joseph of Arimathaea, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, Nicodemus and Saint John from the *Descent from the Cross*, 1270-1280, Ivory, traces of gilt and polychrome, French.

Source: Meredith Tavallaee

Figure 3. The Church from the *Descent from the Cross*, 1270-1280, Ivory, traces of gilt and polychrome, French.

Source: Meredith Tavallaee

Figure 4. The Synagogue from the *Descent from the Cross*, 1270-1280, Ivory, traces of gilt and polychrome, French.

Source: Meredith Tavallaee

Figure 5. *Gabled triptych, 2 registers (colonnettes; frise d'arcatures) (Front, open),* 3rd quarter of the 13th century, Ivory, metal (hinges; clasp), traces of gilding and polychromy, French.

Source: 'Gothic Ivories Project at The Courtauld Institute of Art, London, www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk' 04/14/2014

Figure 6. *Reliquary in the form of a triptych*, 1400-10, gold and enamel, French, made in Paris.

Source: Rijks Museum http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.17757

Figure 7. *The Crucifixion*, 1050, carved elephant ivory, Köln, Germany, German.

Source: The Victoria and Albert Museum http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O166137/the-crucifixion-plaque-unknown/

Figure 8. *Plaque with the Descent from the Cross,* 1320-40, Ivory, whale bone, traces of paint and gilding, French, made in probably Paris, France.

Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/464156

Figure 9. *A Pope,* 1230-1240, ivory, French, Paris, France.

Source: Victoria and Albert Museum.
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O72932/a-pope-statuette-unknown/

Figure 10. *Visitation group from Reims Cathedral,* 1230-33, French, Reims, France.

Source: SUNY Oneonta
http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/arth212/gothic_sculpture.htm

Figure 11. *Applied group: Coronation of the Virgin*, third quarter of the 13th century, polychrome ivory.

Source: Musée du Louvre.
http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=6739&langue=en

Figure 12. *Plaque: Les Douze Apôtres,* middle of 13th century, ivory, west of France.

Source: Meredith Tavallaee

Figure 13. Close up of the Deposition scene from *Les Douze Apôtres,* middle of 13th century, ivory, west of France.

Source: Meredith Tavallaee

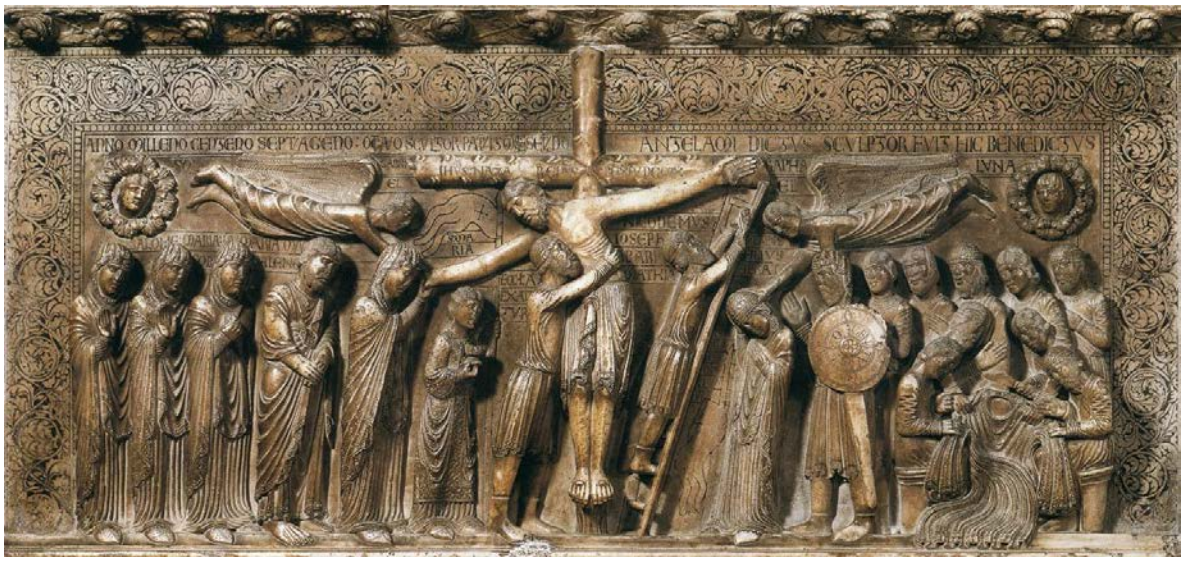

Figure 14. *Descent from the Cross,* Benedetto Antelami, 1178, Marble, Italian.

Source: Web Gallery of Art. http://www.wga.hu/html_m/a/antelami/depositi.html

Figure 15. fol. 24r, Psalter of Blanche of Castille, *Crucifixion and Descent from the Cross Between Church and Synagogue*, 1236, French, most likely Paris.

Source: Department of Art History at Oberlin College
http://www.oberlin.edu/images/Art336/Art336j.html

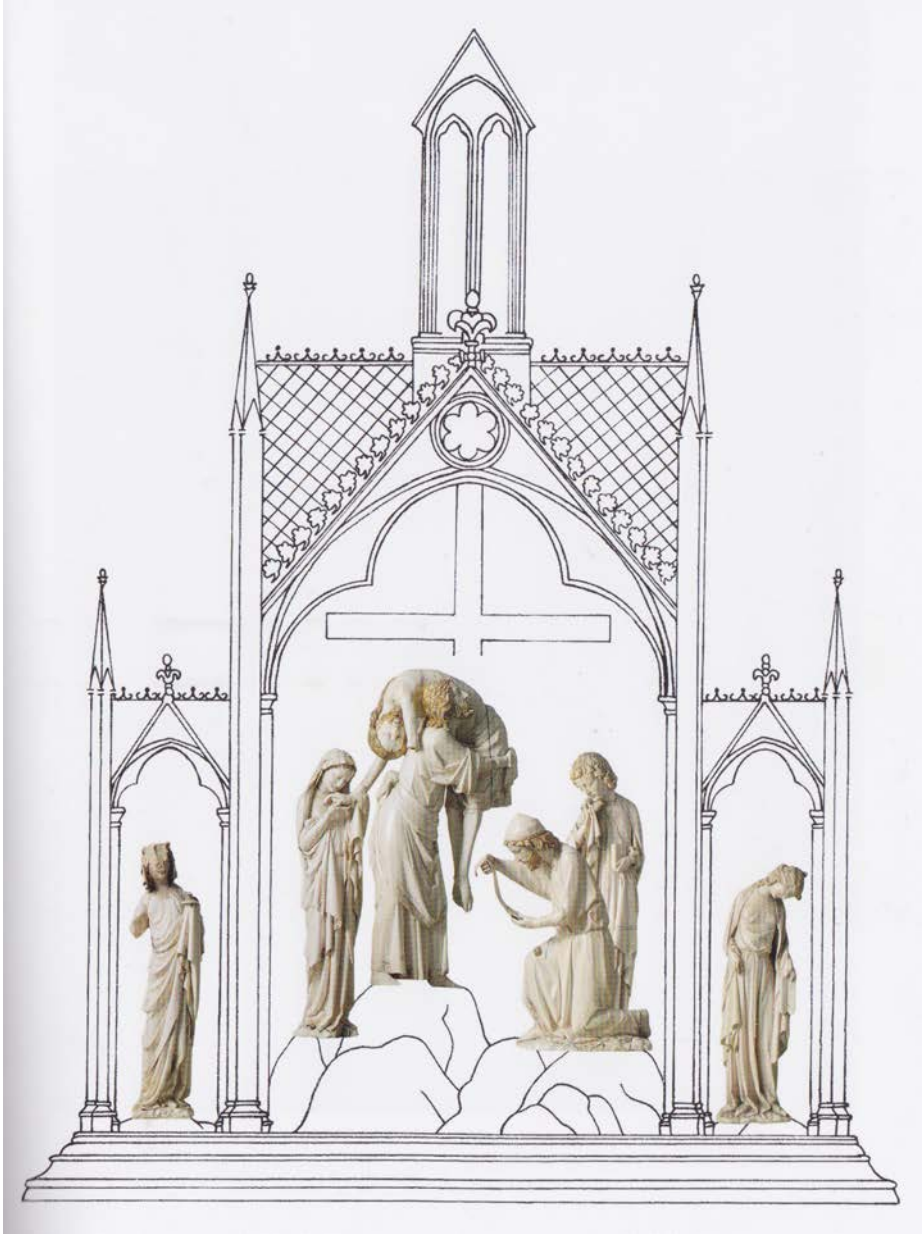

Figure 16. *Proposition of the reconstruction of the Descent from the Cross in a gold architecture*, Cécile Barhes

Source as seen in: Antoine-König, Elisabeth & Levy-Hinstin, Juliette. *La Descente de Croix.* Paris: le Musée du Louvre, department des objets d'art, 2013.

Figure 17. *Polyptych with Virgin and Child and Scenes of the Infancy of Christ*, 1280-90, Elephant ivory with traces of polychromy and gilding, metal hinges, French, probably made in Paris.

Source: Gothic Ivories Project. 'Gothic Ivories Project at The Courtauld Institute of Art, London, www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk' 04/16/14

Figure 18. *Three Towers Reliquary*, 1370-90, Chased and gilded silver, enamel and gems, Flemish.

Source: Web Gallery of Art.
http://www.wga.hu/html_m/zzdeco/1gold/14c/16f_1350.html

Figure 19. *Reliquary of Saint-Sepulcher,* late thirteenth century, silver and gilded copper, Pamplona Cathedral, Spanish.

Source as seen in: Antoine-König, Elisabeth & Levy-Hinstin, Juliette. *La Descente de Croix.* Paris: le Musée du Louvre, department des objets d'art, 2013.

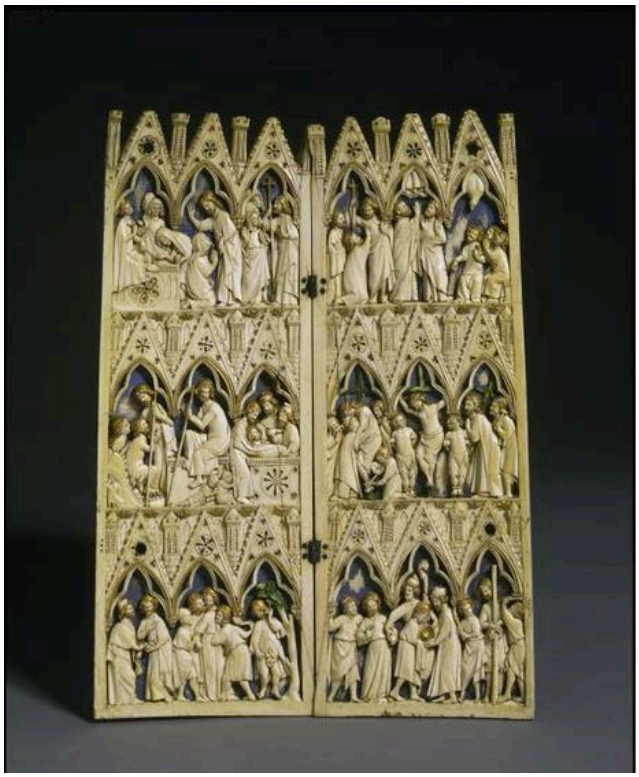

Figure 20. *Soissons Diptych,* 1280-1300, Painted and gilt ivory, Paris, French.

Source: Victoria and Albert Museum. http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O70091/the-soissons-diptych-diptych-unknown/

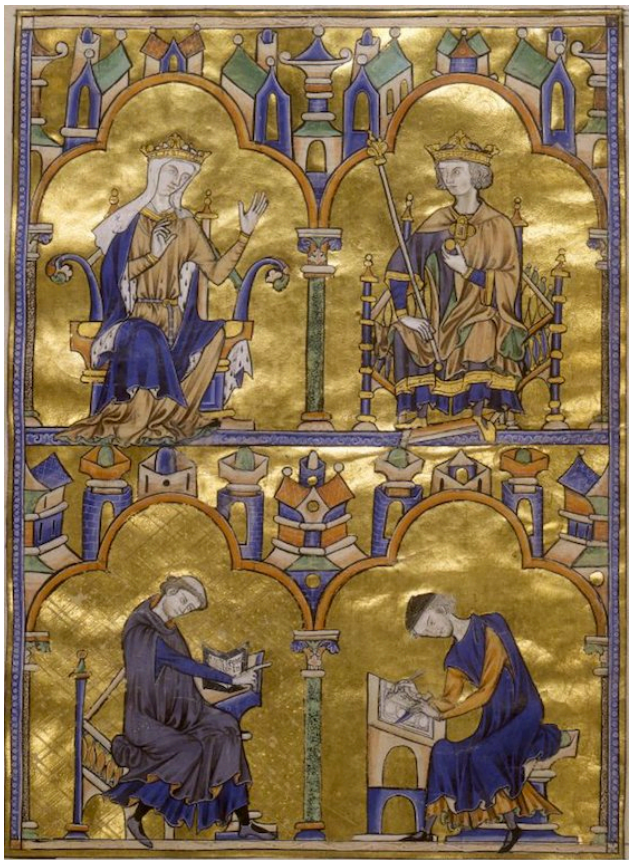

Figure 21. Leaf from the Toledo Bible Moralisée, Blanche of Castille and King Louis IX of France; Author Dictating to a Scribe, 1230, Moralized Bible, French, Probably made in Paris.

Source: The Morgan Library & Museum.
http://www.themorgan.org/collections/collections.asp?id=81

Figure 22. *La Madonnina,* end of 13th Century, Giovanni Pisano, Pisa Cathedral, Italian.

Source as seen in: Antoine-König, Elisabeth & Levy-Hinstin, Juliette. *La Descente de Croix.* Paris: le Musée du Louvre, department des objets d'art, 2013.

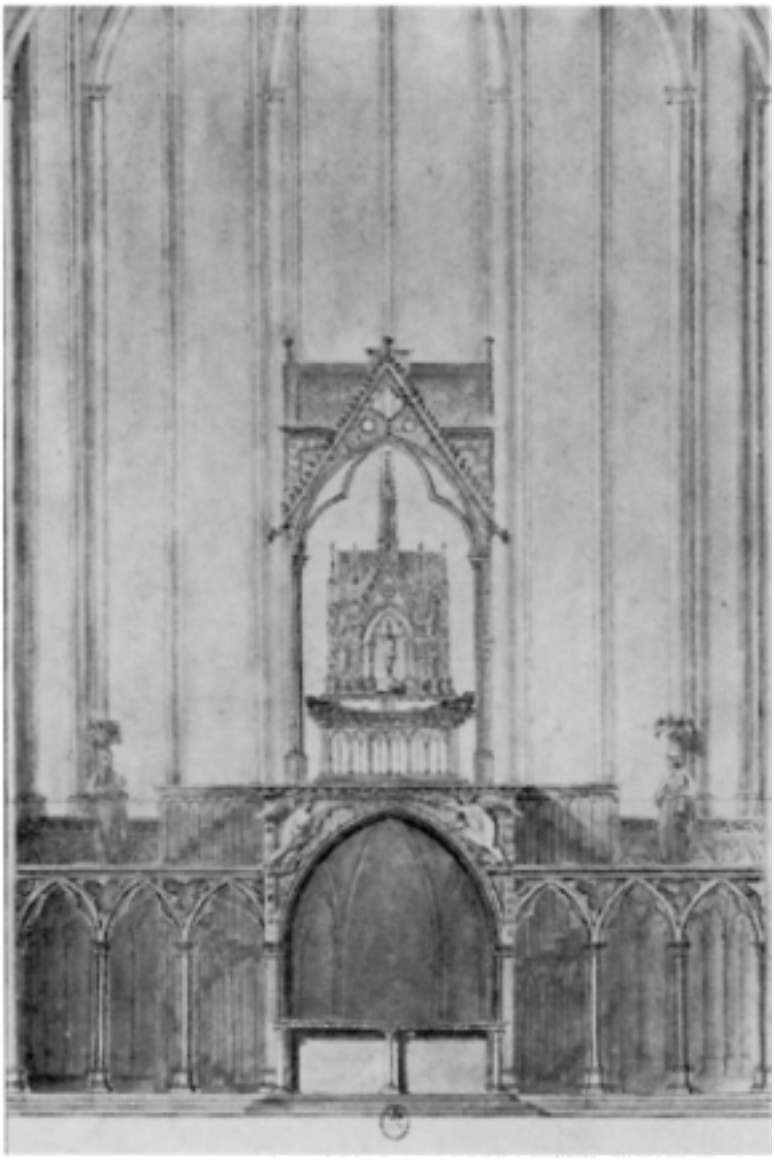

Figure 23. *Ste.-Chapelle: Tribune screen, Baldachin, and Grande Châsse*, 1971, drawing made for Roger de Gaignières, Paris.

Source as seen in: Weiss, Daniel H. “Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle.” In *The Art Bulletin, Vol. 77, No. 2 (Jun., 1995):* 310. doi: 10.2307/3046103