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A monument for an English Queen

The genealogical programme on the tomb of Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369) at Westminster Abbey, London

41

In 1328 Philippa, daughter of William I of Avesnes (d. 1336, Count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland) married Edward III, King of England. Her husband's ascent to the throne had been rather tumultuous.¹ In the autumn of 1326, the year of the couple's engagement, an army of about one thousand Hainaulters led by John of Beaumont (d. 1356, Philippa's paternal uncle) had deposed King Edward II. His son, the thirteen-year-old Edward III, was put on the throne and during his minority his mother Isabella of France (the mastermind of the deposition of Edward II) and her alleged lover Roger Mortimer governed in the king's name. The alliance between Isabella of France and the Counts of Hainault was sealed with the marriage of Philippa and Edward III.²

This alliance is also reflected in the tomb of Philippa, by the inclusion of both the family and the family-in-law of the deceased queen (fig. 1). The monument, which is nowadays in a very damaged state, is placed on the southeast angle of the Chapel of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, London. The alabaster effigy of the deceased queen, placed on a tomb of black Dinant marble, is still present (fig. 2). The thir-

1 I would like to thank Dr. Jitske Jasperse and Dr. Sophie Oosterwijk for their earlier remarks on this article. For Edward III see W.M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven, 2013).

2 In 1324-'25, two years before the coronation of Edward III, the negotiations for the marriage were conducted by the mothers of Philippa and Edward, Joan of Valois and Isabella of France. V.A. Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony in the Self-Construction of an English Queen: Philippa of Hainault and her Images', in: J. Mitchell, ed, *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages. Studies in memory of Andrew Martin-dale* (Donington, 2000), 158, 159.



Fig. 1. Tomb of Philippa of Hainaut in Westminster Abbey, London (*Dinant marble and gilded alabaster*; photo Dean and Chapter of Westminster, London)

ty-two statues of weepers (*pleurants*) made of alabaster that were placed around the tomb of the deceased queen are almost all lost.³ Only one pleurant, the statue of Philippa's daughter-in-law, Blanche of Lancaster (d. 1369), is what is left from the original group (fig. 3). It was covered by masonry when the tomb of King Henry V was installed and discovered by Gilbert Scott during the nineteenth-century renovation of Westminster Abbey.⁴ Blanche is portrayed slightly bent forward, dressed in the latest fashion in an open *sur-cotte*. With her right hand she lifts the hem of her dress. The chain of the tiny pet monkey that sits on her arm is winded around her left hand. On the pedestal under the statue, her coat of arms is still visible. Originally all the weepers were placed above a pedestal showing the coat of arms by which they could be identified.

3 Ann McGee Morganstern provides a reconstruction of the genealogical programme based on early modern manuscripts. A. McGee Morganstern, *Gothic tombs of kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (Pennsylvania, 2000), 95-98, fig. 59. For the materials used on the tomb see K. Woods, 'Plantagenets in alabaster', in: P. Crooks, D. Green and W.M. Ormrod, eds, *The Plantagenet empire, 1259-1453* (Donington, 2016), 89-108.

4 Originally two statues were found, but one was stolen. G.G. Scott, 'On the course to be pursued in the reparation of the Monuments'. Report dated 21 January 1854, Public Record Office, Works 20-75; G.G. Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections* (London, 1879), 164-165. As noted earlier by McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs*, 101.

Fig. 2. Alabaster effigy of Philippa of Hainaut in Westminster Abbey, London (photo Dean and Chapter of Westminster, London)

Fig. 3. Statue of Blanche of Lancaster (d. 1369), the only pleurant which is left from the original group (photo Dean and Chapter of Westminster, London)



This group of weepers is the subject of this article. Although almost all pleurants as well as the heraldry on the pedestals have been lost, older drawings and descriptions allow a reconstruction of the identity of Philippa's weepers. Ann McGee Morganstern reconstructed the programme using five early modern sources (table 1).⁵ This genealogical programme has been interpreted as political propaganda for Philippa's husband Edward III in the Hundred Years' War and for his alleged claim (in his wife's name) to the counties Hainault, Holland and Zeeland.⁶ Philippa's patronage, the genealogical programme and location of the tomb in Westminster Abbey suggest however, I will argue, an alternative reading of the tomb's message.

Tombs, pleurants and memoria

Tombs are an important part of 'memoria'. The medieval dead were commemorated and present in the society of the living through words or objects. Examples of this are the reading of the names of the deceased during the liturgy and the inscriptions and

⁵ McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs*, appendix V. She used London, Brit. Lib. Lansdowne 847, fol. 135-36, Camden 1606, Sandford 1683, Dart 1723, 2 and Stow (1618, 1633, 1733-35 and 1754 editions).

⁶ Ibid.

		F.	Cous.	H.	B.-in-l.	S.			
		WILLIAM I C. of Hainault and Holland d. 1337	JOHN II d. 1364 or CHARLES V d. 1380 Ks. of France	EDWARD III K. of England d. 1377	LOUIS IV of Bavaria H.R. Emp. d. 1347	EDWARD P. of Wales b. 1330 d. 1376			
M.	JOAN OF VALOIS C. of Hainault d. 1342	W5	W4	W3	W2	W1	N1	JOAN of ENGLAND Q. of Scots d. 1362	Sr.-in-l.
B.	WILLIAM II C. of Hainault k. 1345	S2	PHILIPPA of HAINAULT Queen of England d. 1369				N2	JOHN of ELTHAM E. of Cornwell k. 1336	B.-in-l.
Sr.	MARGARETH of HAINAULT H.R. Emp. d. 1356	S3					N3	JOAN of KENT P. of Wales d. 1385	Da.-in-l.
B.-in-l.	REGINALD II D. of Guelders d. 1343	S4					N4	LIONEL of ANTWERP D. of Clarence b. 1338 d. 1368	S.
Sr.-in-l.	ELEANOR of ENGLAND D. of Guelders d. 1355	S5					N5	ISABEL of ENGLAND C. of Bedford b. 1332 d. 1379	Da.
Gf.	JOHN II ? C. of Hainault d. 1304	S6					N6	JOHN of GAUNT D. of Lancaster b. 1340 d. 1399	S.
Da.	MARY of ENGLAND D. of Brittany b. 1344 d. 1362	S7					N7	ELIZABETH de BURGH D. of Clarence d. 1363	Da.-in-l.
N.	WILLIAM III C. of Hainault and Holland d. 1388	S8					N8	EDMUND of LANGLEY D. of York b. 1341 ? d. 1402	S.
Da.	MARGARET of ENGLAND C. of Pembroke b. 1346 d. 1361	S9					N9	BLANCHE D. of Lancaster d. 1369	Da.-in-l.
Gf.	CHARLES C. of Valois d. 1325	S10					N10	THOMAS of WOODSTOCK? D. of Gloucester b. 1355 d. 1397	S.
Sr.-in-l.	JOANNA D. of Brabant d. 1406	S11					N11	PHILIPPA of HAINAULT Q. of England d. 1369	
		E1					E2	E3	E4
		PEDRO I K. of Castile k. 1389	ROBERT I K. of Naples d. 1343	DAVID II K. of Scotland d. 1371	CHARLES IV ? K. of Bohemia and H.R. Emp. d. 1378	CHARLES II ? K. of Navarre d. 1387			
		Gr. U.		B.-in-l.	U. by marr.	Cous. by marr.			

Table 1. Reconstruction of the identity of Philippa's weepers by Ann McGee Morganstern (*source: Morganstern, Gothic Tombs, fig. 59*)

heraldry on medieval tombs and altarpieces.⁷ *Memoria* was considered by Otto Gerhard Oexle as a ‘*totales soziales Phänomen*’.⁸ He considered the liturgical care for the hereafter the basis of remembrance, yet, according to Oexle, *memoria* also incorporated political, legal and economical components. Patrick Geary went even further and considered *memoria* as a key organising principle of medieval society.⁹ He stressed the importance of the rituals and objects, such as tombs, by which memory was preserved.

Tombs formed the epicentre of remembrance of the dead. As Robert Marcoux has put it, the tomb as the locus of liturgical commemoration, materialises the body of the deceased in the church. It enables an interactive relation between the living and the dead on an individual level, but also on the level of collective identity.¹⁰ Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka similarly refer to the importance of tombs as a form of cultural memory and instrumental in ‘the concretion of identity’. They argued that monuments (as ‘figures of memory’) can preserve the ‘store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity’.¹¹ This point was stressed for English monuments of the gentry by Nigel Saul, who calls monuments ‘an essential weapon in the battle for salvation of the soul’.¹² Yet commissioning monuments was, according to Saul, also of importance in the establishment of the gentry’s sense of identity as a physical expression of their ancestral worth.¹³

One of the most striking examples of this function of a tomb is the iconographical representation of identity and ancestral worth in the form of the genealogical programme on tombs of kinship, of which Philippa’s tomb is an example. Erwin Panofsky was one of the first scholars to notice the pleurants on the walls of medieval tomb chests.¹⁴ He described them as ‘non-descript grief-stricken characters’ that were part

7 A basis for the art historical approach of *memoria* was laid in T. van Bueren, ‘Care for the here and the hereafter: A multitude of possibilities’, in: idem, ed., *Care for the here and the hereafter: Memoria, art and ritual in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2005), 13–34. See also B. Gordon and P. Marshall, eds, *The place of the dead. Death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000).

8 O.G. Oexle, ‘*Memoria* und Memorialbild’, in: K. Schmid and J. Wollasch, eds, ‘*Memoria*’. *Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert* (München, 1984), 394.

9 P.J. Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance. Memory and oblivion at the end of the first millennium* (Princeton, 1994), 18.

10 R. Marcoux, ‘Body, Liturgy, and Tomb Monuments in the Later Middle Ages’, in: Ph. Booth and E. Tingle, eds, *A companion to death, burial, and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe, c. 1300–1700* (Leiden/Boston, 2021), 269, 270.

11 J. Assmann and J. Czaplicka, ‘Memory and cultural Identity’, *New German Critique* 65 (1995), 130.

12 N. Saul, *English church monuments in the Middle Ages. History and representation* (London, 2011), 120.

13 Saul, *English church monuments*, 130, 131.

14 E. Panofsky, *Tomb sculpture. Four lectures on its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York, 1964), 61. To celebrate the fiftieth birthday of Panofsky’s ground-breaking study, a collection of essays was published in his honour. A. Adams and J. Barker, eds, *Revisiting the monument. Fifty Years since Panofsky’s tomb sculpture* (London, 2016). Henriette s’Jacob also noticed the pleurants on tombs almost at the same time; Panofsky reports in his introduction that he was unable to take note of her publication. H.E. s’Jacob, *Beschouwingen over christelijke grafkunst, voornamelijk in Frankrijk en Italië* (Leeuwarden, 1950).

of the funeral cortège displayed on the tombs.¹⁵ Weepers can be divided into two different categories. In addition to the anonymous members of the funeral cortège that Panofsky distinguished, there is a separate group of weepers that can be identified by the coats of arms that accompanied them (*kinship pleurants*). This dichotomy between the anonymous weepers and the kinship pleurants on medieval tombs was discussed for the first time during the ninth *Conseil international des Musées* (Dijon, 1971). The first thorough analysis of the tombs with kinship pleurants was published in 2000 by Ann McGee Morganstern, who argued that the appearance of these figures should be regarded as a political message.¹⁶

These tombs and especially the depiction of kinship pleurants, can be regarded as a literal visualisation of shared ancestry. According to David Crouch, this emphasis on shared ancestry affirmed the idea that noble ancestors (*consanguinei*) passed their qualities to their progeny through their bloodline.¹⁷ It is important to point out that these tombs often did not show the complete family tree of the deceased; only the most important family members that fit the story that the tomb was supposed to tell, were incorporated into the genealogical programme.

46

Tombs of kinship and female patronage

The tomb of Philippa of Hainault, McGee Morganstern remarked, spoke first and foremost about kinship. She analysed the genealogical programme and argued that it should be understood within the context of Edward III's pursuit of the French throne.¹⁸ Edward's claim to the French throne was reflected by his placement on Philippa's tomb between Emperor Louis IV of Bavaria and John II of France.¹⁹ McGee Morganstern also connected the depiction of his allies in the Hundred Years' War (Emperor Louis IV, William of Hainault, Reginald of Guelders, Pedro of Castille and Charles the Bald) on the tomb to this claim. She related the inclusion of Philippa's other family members to Edward's ambitions with regard to the troubled succession of Hainault and Holland. After the death of Philippa's brother, William II of Hainault

15 Panofsky, *Tomb sculpture*, 62.

16 P. Quarré, *Les Pleurants dans l'art du Moyen âge en Europe. Musée des beaux-arts de Dijon, Palais des ducs de Bourgogne, 1971* (Dijon, 1971), 5-8; McGee Morganstern, *Gothic tombs*, 3-9.

17 R. Carron and P.R. Gaussin, *Enfant et parenté dans la France médiévale. Xe-XIIIe siècles* (Genève, 1989), 23-26. See also G. Croenen, *Familie en macht. De familie Berthout en de Brabantse adel* (Louvain, 2003), 247. D. Crouch, *Birth of nobility. Constructing aristocracy in England and France 900-1300* (London/New York, 2016), 125. For example, the 1341 contract for the tomb of the dukes of Brabant Henry (d. 1285), John (d. 1312) and Henry the Young of Louvain (d. 1323) demands: 'ymaignettes d'esleveure dou lignage menant duel' (McGee Morganstern, *Gothic tombs*, 61-63 and note 57).

18 McGee Morganstern, *Gothic tombs*, 95, 96.

19 McGee Morganstern, *Gothic tombs*, 180. McGee Morganstern states that it would have made him the equal of Emperor Louis IV and the liege lord of his cousin John II. In table 2 I suggest that it is not John II who is depicted, but Philippa's great-grandfather King Philip III of France. See also fig. 5-7 for the genealogy of the tomb.

in 1345, both Edward (for his wife Philippa) and Louis of Bavaria (for his wife Margaret of Hainault) claimed the counties Hainault, Holland and Zeeland.²⁰ This interpretation raises the question if the genealogical programme on the tomb that commemorates a deceased queen would reflect mainly the political ambitions of her husband. The first step in answering this question is an analysis of the role of Queen Philippa of Hainault as the patron of the tomb.

That medieval noblewomen were well aware of the importance of dynastic memory has been demonstrated by Elisabeth van Houts. Van Houts showed that care for the remembrance of (male) family members was a key task of the female nobility, who should be regarded as the guardians of dynastic memory.²¹ John Carmi Parsons similarly described English medieval queens as ‘chief remembrancers of medieval death’.²² There is evidence that two of Philippa’s female ancestors took responsibility for the burial and remembrance of their male kin. The chancery of Countess Philippa of Luxembourg (d. 1311) – Philippa’s paternal grandmother – coordinated the works on the tomb for herself and her deceased husband John of Avesnes, Count of Hainault in 1311.²³ This tomb of kinship was placed in the Franciscan church of Valenciennes. According to the thirteenth-century chronicler Melis Stoke, Aleida of Holland (d. 1284, mother-in-law of Philippa of Luxembourg), took care of the burial of her brother Floris de Voogd (d. 1258, guardian of Count William II of Holland), who died during a tournament in Antwerp.²⁴ It is very well possible that she also commissioned his tomb in Middelburg.²⁵ Aleida’s own tomb in Valenciennes (of which only the effigy remains) can stylistically be dated to 1280.²⁶ She might also have been involved

20 McGee Morganstern, *Gothic tombs*, 98.

21 For example, E.M.C. van Houts, *Memory and gender in medieval Europe, 900-1200* (Basingstoke, 1999), 73.

22 J. Carmi Parsons, ‘“Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honour”: the burials and posthumous commemorations of English queens to 1500’, in: A. Duggan, ed., *Queens and queenship in medieval Europe* (London, 2002), 328.

23 For an analysis of one of the accounts with payments to the contractors for this tomb see S. Frequin, ‘Veiling and Unveiling. The Materiality of the Tomb of John I of Avesnes and Philippa of Luxembourg in the Franciscan Church of Valenciennes’, in: A. Adams and J. Barker, eds, *Revisiting the Monument. Fifty Years since Panofsky’s Tomb Sculpture* (London, 2016), 184-200.

24 Melis Stoke, *Rijmkroniek*: ‘4482 Dese florens van hoghen gheslachte, 4483 (IV 45) Leget in middelborch begrauen, 4484 Die zijn zuster met groter hauen, 4485 Ende met eren ter eerden dede, 4486 Van hene-gouwen was si graefnede.’ Melis Stoke en Huygens KNAW, *Rijmkroniek*, W.G. Brill, ed. (Utrecht, 1983), http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/stok001wgbro1_01/stok001wgbro1_01.pdf (visited April 4, 2016). See also Den Haag, Nationaal Archief, OHZ ep. 1205, 3.205-07, letter of Aleida of Holland, dated February 22, 1259.

25 Of the monument of Floris de Voogd only fragments remain. But when the fragment of the shield of the effigy is compared to that of the tomb of John of Avesnes and Aleida of Holland, the paws of the lions that are depicted on them are stylistically comparable. The line of fur on the paw of the two lions, for instance, is similar. For a picture of the Middelburg tomb see www.beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl, document number 96.983. For the fragment of the tomb of John I van Avesnes see https://art.rmngp.fr/fr/library/artworks/fragment-de-gisant-avec-blason_pierre-matiere_sculpture-technique?force-download=314799 (visited June 6, 2021).

26 Musée des Beaux-Arts Valenciennes, Inv. 90.20.A.

in the commission of her own monument and that of her deceased husband John I of Avesnes.

Philippa of Hainault too was well aware of the importance of the dynastic memory of her family members and she knew how to use it to her advantage. Janet van der Meulen convincingly argued that the queen used the mourning poem *Li Regret Guillaume* to urge her brother, Count William II of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland, to support her husband's claim to the French throne.²⁷ In this work (composed between 28 March 1339 and 16 April 1340) a group of thirty personifications of virtues mourn in a castle for the deceased Count William I (Philippa's father, who died in 1337). 'Perfection', the last virtue, voices complaints regarding the meagre tomb that had been made for William, and she urges his progeny (her brother Count William II) to remedy this as soon as possible.²⁸ Van der Meulen emphasises that there is no indication of a paltry memorial for the deceased count. This poem was not a daughter's commentary on the half-finished tomb for her father, it rather functioned as a metaphor in a sophisticated political pamphlet. William I had promised the English monarch support in his battle with the French sovereign Philip VI of France.²⁹ The poem can be considered as a call to the son William II to honour the remembrance of his father, by supporting his ally the King of England. The metaphor that Philippa chooses to convey her message, that of the memory (or the memorial) for her deceased father, is an interesting one. It emphasises that the queen was highly aware of the political power of a sovereign's tomb and the ability it provided to deploy the commemoration of her deceased father for her own political propaganda. In the mourning poem she commissioned the alleged paltry monument of her father as a literary motif to urge her brother to follow their father's footsteps.

Mark Ormrod has argued that Philippa was the patron of her own tomb, which would be in line with her awareness of the political power of tombs.³⁰ That she was indeed the patron is demonstrated by two of the three contemporary sources available for the analysis of the process of the realisation of the tomb. The first source is a payment that can be dated to late 1364 or early 1365. Marie de St.-Pol, a lady-in-waiting to the queen, received £133, 13 s. 4 d. for 'super factura tumbe regine apud Paris ex precepto dicte regine'.³¹ Marie was sent by Philippa to Paris for work on the tomb. The precise nature of this work is not stipulated, yet, it seems likely that Marie vis-

48

27 J.F. van der Meulen, 'Een chapelle ardente en een castrum doloris in verzen. Over het graf van Willem III en de Regret Guillaume (1339)', in: P. Bitter, V. Bonenkampová and K. Goudriaan, eds, *Graven spreken. Perspectieven op grafcultuur in de middeleeuwse en vroegmoderne Nederlanden* (Hilversum, 2013), 79-89.

28 Van der Meulen, 'Een chapelle ardente', 85.

29 She argues that the poem might have been presented in Brabant, on occasions where allies of Edward III and Philippa came together. Van der Meulen, 'Een chapelle ardente', 89.

30 W.M. Ormrod, 'Queenship, death and agency: The commemorations of Isabella of France and Philippa of Hainault', in: C.M. Barron, Clive Burgess, eds, *Memory and commemoration in medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2010), 88.

31 Cited in Ormrod, 'Queenship, death and agency', 97. Original signature: The National Archives, E 101/508/30.

ited sculptor Jean de Liège (d. 1381) during her trip to the continent. Jean de Liège was born in the prince-bishopric of Liège and set up his workshop in Paris, the epicentre of tomb sculpture, where he became a well-known sculptor. In 1361, he made the tomb of Joan of Brittany (lady of Cassel, d. 1364) and from 1365 onwards he worked on behalf of the Valois kings.³² Considering he was a sculptor with an excellent reputation, he is a likely candidate for the creation of the queen's tomb. The second source, a payment of £133, 6 s. and 8 d. by Philippa's chancery to Jean de Liège in 1366, supports this theory.³³

While it is evident that Philippa herself made provisions for her monument during her lifetime, she was not the only patron involved in the creation of her tomb. The third available contemporary source suggests that Edward III was responsible for a part of the construction of the tomb after the death of his wife. This source consists of a payment by Edward III, dated 1376 (and hence after the death of the queen) to brass-worker (*latoner*) John Orchard for an iron grille and six 'copper' angels for her tomb.³⁴ It is unclear where these angels were placed on the tomb. They were probably not part of the genealogical programme of statues on the side walls of the tomb. At the beginning of the last century, Gilbert Scott, Surveyor to Westminster Abbey, found one angel when he removed parts of the fifteenth-century monument of Henry V of England that covered Philippa's tomb.³⁵ The fragments discovered by Scott served as a basis for a reconstruction that he made of the head-end of the tomb (Victoria and Albert Museum, fig. 4), placing angels at the top of the pillars between

32 'A Hanequin du Lieege, faiseur de tumbes, demorant a Paris, pour fere et rendre prest et assise a Orlens a ses couts et perilz, la tumbre et sepulture de madame bien et deubement, selon les devis contenu es lettres du marché qui en fut fait a li par les exécuteurs, IIII^e L escuz.' C.C.A. Dehaisnes, *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Nord, archives civiles, série B* (Lille, 1899), 316.

33 The accounts are part of the *rolls of the Exchequer*. Because of a mix-up of the *calendar* and *regal years* (used in the Exchequer Rolls) this account was dated to 1367. Mark Ormrod has corrected this to 1366. Ormrod, 'Queenship, Death and Agency', 96 (note 42). A nineteenth century edition was published by Frederik Devon (*Issues of the Exchequer, being a collection of Payments made out of His Majesty's Revenue from King Henry III to King Henry VI inclusive* (London, 1857), 189). 'To Hawkin Liege, from France, in money paid to him in discharge of 200 marks, which the Lord King commanded to be paid him for making the tomb of Philippa, Queen of England, the King's consort.' It is thus not specified what these works consisted of exactly.

34 Ormrod, 'Queenship, death and agency', 99; Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 199, 200. 'For making diverse images in the likeness of angels' and 'for six angles of copper placed around the said [Philippa's] tomb' (Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', 172). The clothes of the weepers and the fence (perhaps a so-called *hughe*, a permanent version of the *chapelle ardente*) were also gilded. For the *hughe* on the tomb of John II and Philippa of Luxemburg see Frequin, 'Veiling and unveiling', 190-195. For Orchard see E.M. Veale, 'Craftsmen and the economy of London in the fourteenth century', in: R. Holt and G. Rosser, eds, *The English medieval town. A reader in English urban history 1200-1540* (London, 2014), 133, 134.

35 J.G. Noppen, 'A tomb and effigy by Hennequin of Liege', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 59 (1931), 114. This laborious exercise, carried out with magnifying glasses by candlelight, revealed two pleurants and one angel. *Westminster Abbey Muniments*, Fabric Vouchers 1852. This account was brought to my attention by Dr. Susan Jenkins, curator at Westminster Abbey. I would like to take the opportunity to thank her for her help.

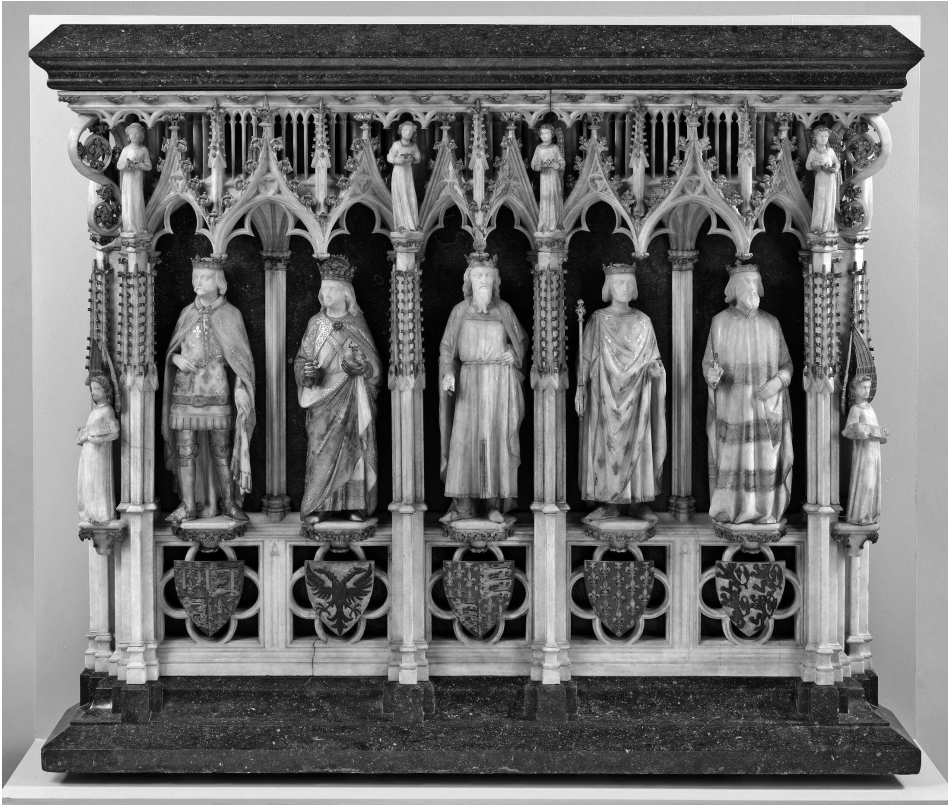


Fig. 4. Model for the proposed restoration of the monument to Queen Philippa of Hainault (*painted and gilded alabaster and petit granit, George Gilbert Scott, John Philip Birnie Philip and Thomas Willement, 1850; coll. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A.15-1973*)

the niches on the sides of the monument. Although this reconstruction has an irrefutable nineteenth-century appearance, it seems unlikely that Scott would have deviated from the original fragments in his choice of material for the reconstruction. The angel that was found will have served as an example for the angels on his model. When the buttress pinnacles of the actual monument of Philippa are counted, there was room for eight angels on the long sides of the tomb and four on the short sides, numbers which differ from the six angels described in the payment to John Orchard, making it uncertain that the angel Scott found is one of the six angels mentioned in the account.

There are two more likely places for the six angels that were ordered by the king. It is possible that the angels Orchard made were placed on the tomb slab supporting the effigy. Flanking the queen's effigy, two long pillars with niches with iron dowels in them, are still visible. On the tomb of Edward III, similar niches next to his effigy

were filled with angels.³⁶ This might also have been the case with Philippa's tomb, although there seem to have been four niches on either side. A last option is that the angels were placed on, or attached to, the iron railings ordered from Orchard.³⁷ In any case, it is unlikely that the angels formed a part of the genealogical programme of the funerary monument. This third source thus gives no reason to assume that King Edward III was the originator of the genealogical programme of the funerary monument. On the basis of all three sources, it is likely that Queen Philippa commissioned her own tomb. The payments from 1364 and 1366 for the tomb show that during her lifetime she was concerned with her personal dynastic memory in the form of her funerary monument. Therefore, it is likely that she also had an important role in the establishment of the genealogical programme of her tomb. To regard the programme on the monument merely as propaganda for Edward III during the Hundred Years' War does not do justice, I believe, to the role of this tomb as a 'physical expression of the ancestral worth' of the deceased queen and to its function in her liturgical commemoration.³⁸

51

Philippa's pleurants – the genealogical programme

Before analysing the programme of the tomb from the perspective of the queen, it is necessary to start with a short analysis of the heraldry displayed (table 2). When the coat of arms of the tomb of Philippa are put in a genealogical chart (figs. 5-7), it becomes clear that the persons represented can be divided into four groups. The first group consists of part of the pedigree of Philippa (her parents, grandfathers and great-grandfather) and her brothers and sisters with their progeny (Count William III, the nephew of Count William II of Hainault is the only representative of the generation that comes after Philippa and her siblings). The second group consists of Philippa's husband Edward III and her family-in-law (his brothers and sisters and their spouses), the third group consists of the progeny of Edward III and Philippa and their spouses. The last group comprises of a king and an emperor (Charles IV (?), King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, Charles II (?), King of Navarre) who do not represent

³⁶ However, the materials used and style of Edward III's monument are different from that of Philippa. On his Purbeck marble tomb is placed a gilt bronze effigy, with long hair and beard. For his monument see D.M. Palliser, 'Royal mausolea in the long fourteenth century (1272-1422)', in: W.M. Ormrod, ed., *Fourteenth Century England, III* (Woodbridge, 2004), 1-16.

³⁷ 'for making eight bars and two plates of iron, together with battlement around the said iron work, 62 s.; also for painting the same iron work with red colour, 30 s.; for six angels of copper placed around the said tomb'. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 199, 200.

³⁸ Andrew Martindale argued that the king's relations were placed on the north side and the queens on the south side. This analysis contrasts with the analysis of the tomb from the queen's perspective: these pleurants should not only be regarded as the king's relations, but also as those of Philippa by marriage. (A. Martindale, 'Patrons and minders: the intrusion of the secular into sacred spaces in the late Middle Ages', *Studies in Church History* 28 (1992), 157).

close kin. However, the fact that they appear on the tomb proves that their connection with the queen was considered important. The two largest groups on the tomb are pedigree (mostly lineage) of Philippa (group 1, twelve shields) and her progeny (group 3, twelve shields). Group 2 (family-in-law) and group 4 (king and emperor) consist of, in total, eight shields, only one-fourth of the total genealogical programme.³⁹

TABLE 2 ALL PERSONS FROM GROUP 1, GROUP 2 AND GROUP 3 ARE MARKED ON THE GENEALOGICAL CHART (FIGS 5-7)

Group 1 – Philippa's family				
1		Philippa of Hainault	N11	
2	Father	Count William I	W5	
3	Mother	Joan of Valois	S1	
4	Grandfather	Count John II of Avesnes	S6	
5	Grandfather	Charles of Valois	S10	
6	Great-grandfather	Philip III of France (McGee Morganstern: John II or Charles V of France)	W4	I would like to suggest an alternative reading of this shield (Semy of lis according to Charles) as Philip III of France, Philippa's great-grandfather.
7	Great-grandfather	Charles II, King of Naples (McGee Morganstern: Robert I, King of Naples)	E2	I would like to suggest an alternative reading of this shield (Az., semy of lis Or, a label Gu. Of 5 pts. according to Charles) as Charles II, the father of Robert I.
8	Brother	Count William II	S2 (x S11)	
9	Nephew	Count William III	S8 (nephew of S2)	
10	Sister-in-law	Joan of Brabant	S11	
11	Sister	Margaret of Hainault	S3 (x W2)	
12	Brother-in-law	Emperor Louis IV of Bavaria	W2	

³⁹ The programme on Philippa's tomb is much more elaborate than that of her husband. On Edward's tomb only his children were depicted in the form of pleurants on the side wall of the tomb. They are sorted by age, from the oldest son Edward to the youngest Thomas of Woodstock. The children were placed alternately on the north and south sides of the tomb. As such the tomb was, as McGee Morganstern called it, bilateral (*Gothic tombs*, 121).

Group 2 – Family-in-law				
1	Husband	Edward III	W3	
2	Sister-in-law	Joan of England	N1 (x E3)	
3	Brother-in-law	David II, King of Scotland	E3	
4	Brother-in-law	John of Eltham	N2	
5	Sister-in-Law	Eleanor of England	S5 (x S4)	
6	Brother-in-law	Reginald II of Guelders	S4	
Group 3 – Progeny				
1	Son	Edward Prince of Wales	W1	
2	Daughter-in-law	Joan of Kent	N3 (x W1)	
3	Son	Lionel of Antwerp	N4 (x N7)	
4	Daughter-in-law	Elizabeth de Burgh	N7	
5	Son	John of Gaunt	N6 (x N9)	
6	Daughter-in-law	Blanche of Lancaster	N9	
7	Son	Edmund Langley	N8	
8	Son	Thomas Woodstock (?)	N10	
9	Daughter	Isabel of England	N5	
10	Daughter	Mary of England	S7	
11	Daughter	Margaret of England	S9	
12	Son-in-law	Pedro I, King of Castille	E1	Was betrothed to daughter Joan of England, who is not represented on the tomb. His daughter Constanza married John of Gaunt (1371, his second marriage).
Group 4 – King and emperor				
1	Uncle by marriage	Charles IV (?), King of Bohemia and H.R. Empire	E4	
2	Cousin by marriage	Charles II (?), King of Navarre	E5	

The thesis that the tomb of Philippa was a political monument supporting Edward III's claim to France and Hainault proved problematic because there is no evidence that Edward III participated in the creation of the genealogical programme. It was, as we already saw, Philippa's lady-in-waiting who went to Paris for the (unspecified) work on the tomb; Philippa's chancery made the payments for it. The sources show that Edward III only ordered the six angels on his wife's tomb, which say nothing about the specific genealogical programme, but suggest a firm hand of the queen herself in the creation of her tomb and therefore probably also in the design of the genealogical

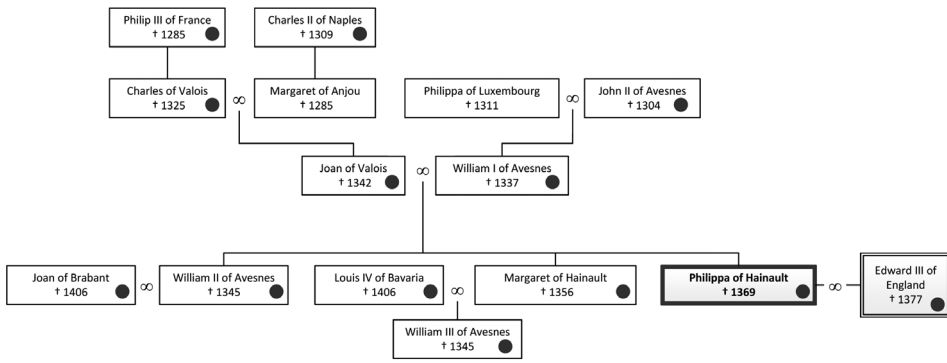


Fig. 5. Genealogical chart of Philippa, her ancestors and her brothers and sisters with their progeny. The persons with coats of arms on the tomb of Philippa of Hainault are marked with a bullet symbol (© Sanne Frequin)

54

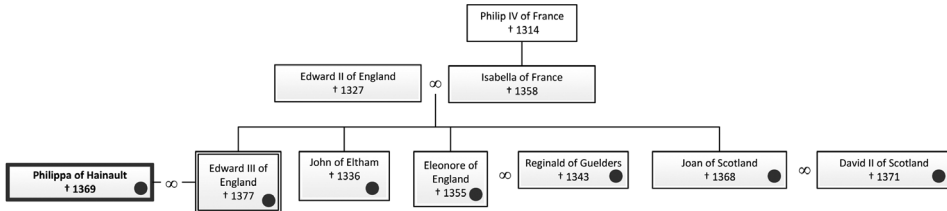


Fig. 6. Genealogical chart of Philippa's husband Edward III and her family-in-law. The persons with coats of arms on the tomb of Philippa of Hainault are marked with a bullet symbol (© Sanne Frequin)

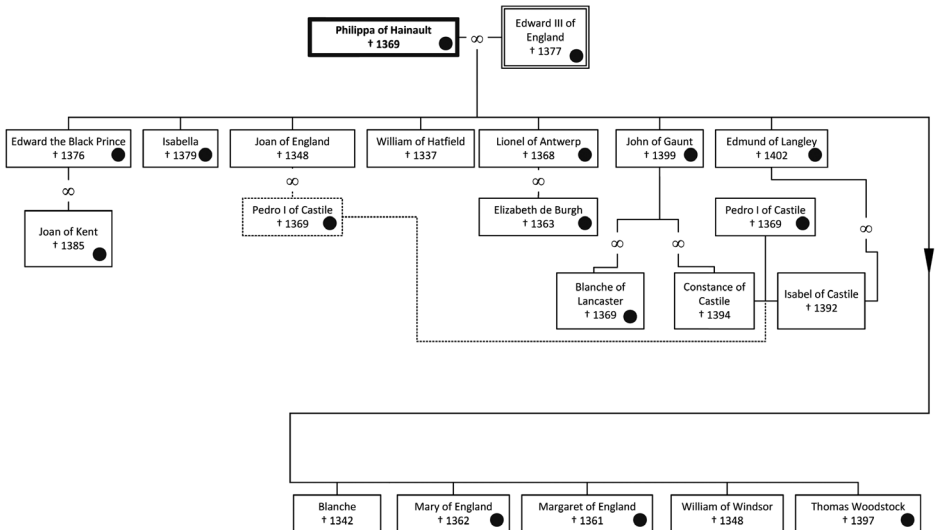


Fig. 7. Genealogical chart of the progeny of Edward III and Philippa and their spouses. The persons with coats of arms on the tomb of Philippa of Hainault are marked with a bullet symbol (© Sanne Frequin)

programme. Although the idea that it was Philippa instead of Edward who was the architect of the genealogical programme does not exclude the possibility that the programme functioned as propaganda supporting Edward's claim to the French throne, the analysis of the genealogical programme does not point in this direction. There is one issue that stands out. When the tomb is considered as political propaganda, why then is Edward's mother Isabella, daughter of King Philip IV of France (d. 1314), not represented on the monument? It was after all through her bloodline that Edward's claim to the French throne was made.⁴⁰ A visual example of the substantiation of this claim can be found in the Canterbury Roll (University of Canterbury Library, MS 1 Rare Books 125, 1429-1438).⁴¹ The central line in the diagram that shows the lineage of the kings of England is depicted in red (*gules*), which changes between Edward II and Edward III in a red and blue (*azure*) quartered line. The addition of blue to the central red line can be explained by the marriage of Edward II with Isabelle of France. Isabelle is linked to her father Philippe IV with a thin blue line.⁴² The merging of the bloodlines is thus made visible in this diagram by the merging of the two (heraldic) colours.

55

Even when taking into account that the actual format of a genealogical programme of a tomb differs from a diagram in a roll, the argumentation stays the same. That is, irrespective of the medium, it is through the marriage of Edward II and Isabella of France that their progeny could lay a claim to the kingdom of France. A lack of blood ties to her mother-in-law Isabella might be considered an argument for her exclusion from the programme on Philippa's tomb. However, several other family members with whom Philippa did not have blood ties (for example the spouses of her sisters-in-law) were part of the genealogical programme. For the support of Edward's claim, the inclusion of Isabella in the programme of the tomb would have been indispensable.

The other political explanation of the programme on the tomb by McGee Morganstern is Edward's aim to inherit the Hainault title. It is, however, not clear how serious the claim of this title was. Dick de Boer and Edward Cordfunke observed that Margaret of Hainault (Philippa's sister), as the wife of Holy Roman Emperor Louis IV of Bavaria, feudal lord of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland, had the strongest claim to the counties.⁴³ Margaret's son Albrecht of Bavaria was governor (*ruwaard*) for his brother William III after 1358 when the latter's *kranken sinne* (mental illness) prevented him from governing his counties. Albrecht's political position was firmly established, as is shown by the fact that he went on a 'crusade' to Spain.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Obviously, Philippa's relationship to the French kings was no basis for this claim. If, via Joan of Valois, any claims on the French throne could have been made, her oldest brother would be the one to make them.

⁴¹ Digital edition: C. Jones, C. Thomson, M. Shirota, E. Rolston, T. Parker, and J. Middendorf, eds, 'The Canterbury Roll – A digital edition', *The Canterbury Roll project*. Visited December 1, 2017, <http://www.canterbury.ac.nz/canterburyroll>.

⁴² M. Shirota, 'Royal depositions and the "Canterbury Roll"', *Parergon* 32 (2015) [without page numbers].

⁴³ D.E.H. de Boer and E.H.P. Cordfunke, *Graven van Holland. Middelleeuwse vorsten in woord en beeld (880-1580)* (Zutphen, 2010), 122, 123. He ended up fighting a war in Aragon.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Furthermore, the inclusion of Count William III of Hainault, nephew of William II, seems to be an anomaly in the genealogical programme. He is the only representative of the generation that comes after Philippa and her siblings. To deliberately include the rival pretendant to a political claim on a tomb does not seem to be an ideal *modus operandi*. In the light of the above it seems unlikely to me that the genealogical programme of the tomb of Philippa should be considered propaganda in the context of Edward's claim to Hainault, Holland and Zeeland.

A multi-layered genealogical message fit for the location

56 The position of the thirty-two kinship pleurants on the tomb is key to the interpretation of the programme and must be considered in relation to the position of the tomb in Westminster Abbey. Philippa's tomb is placed in St. Edward's chapel, with the north side of the tomb (or to put it differently, the queen's effigy's left-hand side) facing the chapel and the shrine of Edward the Confessor. The south side of the tomb (the effigy's right-hand side) faces the ambulatory and is not visible from within the chapel. The location of the tomb thus implies that the genealogical programme of the monument was never fully visible to the visitor of the church. It was (and is) impossible to walk around it.

The monument of Edward III was placed in the same part of the abbey – the border between the chapel and the ambulatory – to the east of Philippa's monument. The genealogical programme on his tomb was therefore also only partly visible.⁴⁵ However, no distinction was made on his tomb between the two sides and thus no account was taken of the limited visibility due to the positioning of the tomb monument.⁴⁶ In contrast to Edward's tomb, the location of the tomb of Philippa did have an influence on the genealogical programme of the queen's tomb. There is a remarkable dichotomy in the programme. On the north side, only Philippa's children and her English in-laws are depicted (group 2 and 3). The south side consists of mainly her Hainault relatives (group 1). In addition, her two recently deceased daughters (Margaret d. 1361 and Mary d. 1362) are positioned on the south side together with her sister-in-law Eleanor of England (d. 1355) and brother-in-law Reginald of Guelders (d. 1343).

The inspiration for a tomb with a dichotomy between both sides might have come from Hainault. In the Hainault town of Valenciennes, the family mausoleum of the Counts of Hainault was located in the Franciscan church. The two freestanding tombs in the choir of the church (of Philippa's grandparents, John II of Avesnes and Philippa of Luxembourg, and of her father William I of Hainault) each had an extensive programme with kinship pleurants, with no fewer than thirty pleurants per tomb. On both tombs the English queen herself was represented by a pleurant with a coat of

⁴⁵ And so were the other tombs on that position, for example those of Henry III and Eleanor of Castile.

⁴⁶ McGee Morganstern, *Gothic tombs*, 121.

arms. Philippa's sister Margaret, Holy Roman Empress and Countess of Hainault, also had a tomb in this church: her wall tomb had a programme of twelve pleurants.⁴⁷

On the tomb of William I and the tomb of John II and Philippa of Luxembourg a division was made between men (on the south side of the tombs) and women (on the northern side of the tombs). McGee Morganstern has suggested that the reason for this division was the reflection of an ancient custom of separating men and women for worship, with the ladies on the north and the men on the south side of the sanctuary.⁴⁸ On Jan van Eyck's miniature of the Requiem Mass in the *Turin-Milan Hours* this division is visible.⁴⁹ Van Eyck painted the choir of the church with, in the centre of the scene, a coffin that is covered by a *chappelle ardente*. The women are portrayed on the north side of the chapel, the men are depicted on the south side. That the intended audience for the genealogical message influenced the genealogical programme seems also to have been the case with Philippa's tomb. On her tomb it is however not a division of men and women, but of her own family versus her family-in-law and progeny.

57

Besides a division between men and women, English and Hainault relatives, a third dichotomy regarding the pleurants should be shortly addressed. The two types of pleurants – Panofsky's mourning pleurants that populate the edges of the funerary monuments as an eternal funeral cortège and McGee Morganstern's kinship pleurants that represent relatives of the deceased – stand for two different functions of the weepers. The first group has a liturgical function: they pray for the eternal salvation of the soul of the deceased and, through their portrayal of grief, also call upon the viewer to pray for their soul. The second group of family members represents the ancestral worth of the deceased and is regarded first and foremost as a political message. The dividing line between these figures is, however, not always clear. Kinship pleurants can, for example, also make gestures of mourning. An example is a pleurant from the tomb of Bishop Guy of Avesnes (a great uncle of Philippa) (fig. 8) in the Utrecht Cathedral. This pleurant was once identified by a painted coat of arms above his head and can thus be considered a kinship pleurant.⁵⁰ At the same time, he is clasping his hands in a typical mourning gesture.⁵¹ In this statue, the two types of pleurants are thus united. The combination of both functions probably also occurred on Philippa's tomb. The family members depicted on the north side of the tomb were part of the royal family. In addition to the effigy of the deceased queen, they were physically present in the chapel as perpetual pilgrims to Edward's reliquary

⁴⁷ The genealogical programmes of these tombs are analysed in my PhD thesis. S. Frequin, *Propaganda in steen* (University of Amsterdam, 2021).

⁴⁸ McGee Morganstern, *Gothic tombs*, 60.

⁴⁹ Turin-Milan Hours, ca. 1420, Manuscript (Ms. 47 fol. 116r), 284 x 203 mm, Biblioteca Nazionale Reale, Turin.

⁵⁰ S. Frequin, 'A voice from the grave. The tomb of Guy of Avesnes in Saint-Martin's cathedral in Utrecht', in: A.M.J. van Egmond and C.A. Chavannes-Mazel, eds, *Medieval art in the northern Netherlands before van Eyck: New facts and features* (Utrecht, 2014), 160-171.

⁵¹ See for similar examples of this mourning gesture on tombs: Quarré, *Les pleurants*, Pl. II, Pl. III, Pl. VI Pl. XI.



Fig. 8. An example of a pleurant from the tomb of Bishop Guy of Avesnes, great-uncle of Philippa, in the Utrecht Cathedral. Tournai stone (photo *Erfgoedfoto.nl*)

and attendees at the masses celebrated on the altar. It is conceivable that their purpose was also to recommend the salvation of their souls to St. Edward Confessor and God for prayer.⁵²

Besides its liturgical function, St. Edward's Chapel had another important function in the fourteenth century.⁵³ It was the place where the English king was crowned. For the ceremony, a high podium was built in the crossing. The king and queen entered the church through the west side, walked through the choir and then took their places on the raised podium where the rituals for the consecration of the sovereign ensued. After these rituals, mass was celebrated. The monarch and his wife descended from their podium, took communion at the high altar and then entered the chapel of St. Edward to place their regalia and crowns on the altar of the Saint, thus returning them to the custody of the abbey.⁵⁴

Binski aptly calls this ritual 'a repository of memory'. He notes that the coronation of the sovereign was 'the means by which temporal time was divided'.⁵⁵ In addition, the coronation ritual was also an important moment to emphasise the continuity of a dynasty.⁵⁶ Taking this into account, the pleurants on the north side of Philippa's tomb form an ideal audience for the ritual. The weepers represent the past (the deceased king and queen and their predecessors) and the future (the progeny of the royal couple, the generation of the heir to the throne). The appearance on the tomb of both the predecessors and the

52 For weepers as a mnemonic device see A. McGee Morganstern, 'The tomb as prompter for the chantry', in: E. Valdez del Alamo and C. Stamatis Pendergast, eds, *Memory and the medieval tomb* (Aldershot, 2000), 81-97.

53 Besides the location for royal burials, the chapel had to cater for three other important events: High Mass, the coronation and it housed the shrine of Saint Edward. P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets* (New Haven/London, 1995), 93.

54 The couple received other crowns in the church. They returned their sceptres to the Abbey after they left the church (Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 131).

55 Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 126.

56 R.E. Giesey, *The royal funeral ceremony in renaissance France* (Genève, 1960), 178, 179. The accession could take place before the coronation ritual (E. Kantorowicz, *The king's two bodies: A study in medieval political theology* (Princeton, 2016), 328-336).

progeny can be considered as a representation of the main contribution of the queen consort to the coronation ceremony: as the mother of the heir to the throne she ensured the continuity of the dynasty. This message was stressed for eternity on the tomb of Philippa by the statues. They are a permanent reminder of the contribution of a queen consort in a ceremony that represents the period of transition of power between two generations.

On the south side of Philippa's tomb mostly her Hainault family members were depicted. As I have argued above, I do not think that the depiction of these family members should be considered propaganda supporting Edward III's alleged claim to counties of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland. These pleurants instead represent her ancestral worth, the noble qualities that she passed on to her progeny and that connected them to the counties of Holland, Hainault and Zeeland.

The most important kin of Philippa was placed at the short ends of the tomb, at the head and the feet of the gisant. This is a convention in genealogical programmes on medieval tombs. On the tomb of her grandfather Count John II of Hainault and the monument of her father, Count William II, the most illustrious family members were placed at the head and feet. In Philippa's case it is important to stress that the head and the foot end were visible from both the ambulatory and the chapel.

59

Conclusion

The medieval tomb of Queen Philippa of Hainault cannot be seen separately from its exact location in St. Edward's Chapel, nor from the complex liturgical, commemorative and political rituals that accompanied it. As an object of memoria, the message of a medieval tomb was often multi-faceted. In the case of Philippa's tomb, the kinship pleurants are a good example of this. The pleurants on the north side of the tomb were the visualisation of her kin, present in stone for eternity, as the audience for the masses that were said for the salvation of Philippa's soul. Yet they also emphasised Philippa's role as guardian of dynastic continuity in St. Edward's Chapel, the location that was key in the coronation ritual. The pleurants on the south side of her tomb, her Hainault ancestors, represented Philippa's own ancestral worth; from them she inherited her noble qualities.

To consider this tomb only as a political message strengthening Edward III's claim to the French throne and the counties of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland as McGee Morganstern suggested, does not do justice to the role Philippa played as the patron of her own tomb. She was well aware of the dynastic message that could be reflected by tombs, as the mourning poem *Li Regret Guillaume* shows. With her tomb of kinship she shaped her own multilayered memory, that of a queen consort, a mother and guardian of dynastic continuity, and that of a descendant of the illustrious Hainault comital family.

Sanne Frequin

A Monument for an English Queen

The Genealogical Programme on the Tomb of Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369) at Westminster Abbey, London

The tomb of Queen Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369) presents a genealogical programme consisting of thirty-two statues of weepers (*pleurants*), placed around the tomb. They represent family members of the deceased queen (both her own family and her family-in-law) and could be identified by the coats of arms below the pedestals on which they were placed. The original heraldry on the pedestals has been lost, but older drawings and descriptions allow a reconstruction of the identity of Philippa's weepers. This genealogical programme has hitherto been interpreted as political propaganda for Philippa's husband Edward III in the Hundred Years' War and for his alleged claim (in his wife's name) to the counties Hainault, Holland and Zeeland. Philippa's own patronage of the tomb, the represented persons in the genealogical programme and the location of the tomb in Westminster Abbey suggest, however, an alternative reading. With her tomb, the queen shaped her own multifaceted memory, that of a queen consort, a guardian of dynastic continuity and of a descendant of the illustrious Hainault comital family.

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Kastelen in Zeeland, 1570-1670. Adellijke huizen en burgerlijke buitenverblijven 9

Martin van den Broeke

A monument for an English Queen. The genealogical programme on the tomb of Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369) at Westminster Abbey, London 41

Sanne Frequin

Lions or lilies? The dynastic identity of Margaret of Burgundy (1374-1441) as represented by material objects 61

Margreet Brandsma

