

Continuity and Change

PAPERS FROM
THE BIRGITTA CONFERENCE
AT DARTINGTON 2015

Editors
*Elin Andersson, Claes Gejrot, E. A. Jones
& Mia Åkestam*



KONFERENSER 93
KUNGL. VITTERHETS HISTORIE
OCH ANTIKVITETS AKADEMIEN

MIA ÅKESTAM
Creating Space
Queen Philippa and Art
in Vadstena Abbey

PRINCESS PHILIPPA OF ENGLAND sailed into the harbour of Helsingborg in September 1406 with ten ships and four balingers. She was 12 years old, and arrived as queen of her new realms: Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Philippa had already married the King Erik of Pomerania *par procuration* in Westminster Abbey in December 1405, with the Swedish knight Ture Bengtsson (Bielke) as the king's deputy at the ceremony. Now the marriage was to be repeated in Lund, this time with the king present. Philippa showed up with a retinue of 204 named persons, all wearing uniform dress in green and scarlet, accordingly furred and lined, with embroidered white crowns and the motto 'sovereyne' on one shoulder. Each badge was embroidered in accordance with the carriers' social position.¹ The English escort exceeded 500 persons with servants and sailors included. Her *trousseaux* – the dowry – was extensive, and carefully recorded by the Royal Household. It is evident that the queen's arrival was intended to be impressive.

As an English princess, Philippa was also a representative of the Royal House of Lancaster, which naturally involved rank and power. She was the youngest daughter of King Henry IV and Mary de Bohun, born shortly before or on 4 July 1394 (her mother died that day, after giving birth to Philippa). One of her brothers was the famous king Henry V, victor at the battle of Agincourt 1415. Two other brothers served at times as English regents.

Philippa was probably introduced to the Birgittines at an early stage. Lord Henry Fitzhugh had already visited Vadstena upon arrival in Denmark and Sweden in 1406, and was a central figure in the founding of Syon Abbey. Her first recorded official visit to Vadstena occurred in January 1415.

1 Baidon 1916, pp. 170–171. All in the retinue had been provided with scarlet and green cloth for their liveries. The more distinguished persons also received pured miniver (squirrel skin).

Recently, the historian Louise Berglund launched the idea that the term ‘queen-ship’ applies to Queen Philippa; and that she convincingly highlighted her strengths as a politician and as the queen of Sweden, Denmark and Norway.² Thus, Berglund’s study of medieval queenship connects to a vivid and international field, where John Carmi Parsons, Pauline Stafford and Theresa Earenfight can be mentioned among those who have made important contributions.³ With Berglund’s argument for Philippa’s queenship as a starting point, this paper will focus on material culture, art and architecture. My aim is – with Philippa and the Birgittine monastery in Vadstena as an example – to highlight some material aspects of being a queen; various forms of manifestations as they appear in the limited written source material and preserved artefacts.⁴

Queen Philippa had a significant visual impact on Vadstena Abbey church, but does that mean that she was interested in art? I will argue that her attitude towards art and architecture was more instrumental, and related to her eminent role as queen of Sweden, Norway and Denmark – that is, to her queenship.⁵ One can say that the subject calls for a performative approach, even though I prefer the word ‘presence’. ‘Presence’, as I understand it in the following, is more directly related to person and body, while ‘performance’ suggests ceremony and ritual. Both terms concern identity. How did Philippa show her presence? I will argue that it was all about creating her space.

The first part of the paper concentrates on Philippa’s *trousseaux*, the second part focuses on her relations to the Birgittines and Vadstena Abbey church, and the third on the foundation of the Saint Anna choir. In other words, the first part deals with material culture and the use thereof, while the second part highlights art and architecture. The contribution will end in a discussion and some tentative conclusions regarding Queen Philippa’s ways of creating space.

There has been a renewed scholarly interest in the concept of ‘space’ in recent years, with its point of departure in sociology, the *Annales* school and Henri Lefebvre.⁶ The historiography and today’s positions are well summarised by Meredith Cohen and Fanny Madeline in the anthology *Space in the Medieval*

2 Berglund 2015, pp. 69–89. See also Berglund 2009. I wish to thank Louise Berglund for generously having shared these articles, even at proof stage.

3 Parsons 1994; Stafford 1997; Earenfight 2013.

4 Main sources are Philippa’s *trousseaux* in The Royal Household (Baldon 1916), the *Diarium Vadstenense*, letters in SDHK, DS, DD, DN and Örnhielm’s *Diplomatarium*, in Carlsson 1956.

5 Stafford 1997; Berglund 2015.

6 Lefebvre 1990 (1974) is central to the new development where space was regarded as medium and material that interacts with society. The *Annales* school and the writings of March Bloch

West.⁷ The problem of space has been applied to places, architecture, cartography, networks, and territories, on both concrete and abstract levels. The intellectual concept of space, as in ‘the Heavenly Jerusalem’ is also recognised. However, although both material and immaterial aspects are at hand, they have not been connected to any significant extent, and especially not when it comes to individual space. Here, I want to highlight the importance of a personal space in medieval society, from a point of view that acknowledges that materiality and agency mattered.⁸ How did Philippa create her own space? What means were needed?

Written sources are sparse and scattered. Personal belongings and material things mentioned in donations are rarely preserved. Architecture is ruined. Works of art are debated. Nevertheless, Philippa’s legacy is entirely positive, even in contemporary medieval sources,⁹ and opinions of her have not changed over time. Researchers have addressed her in different contexts, particularly in connection with Erik of Pomerania or Vadstena Abbey. Philippa’s ability to take political action, and her possession of land are documented.¹⁰ The historian Mary Everett Green included Philippa in her survey on English princesses in 1857. Later, the Swedish historian Gottfrid Carlsson wrote a short critical biography on her in 1964. New, critical biographical articles have been published in Norway and Denmark, and Marie Louise Flemberg published an extensive popular biography in 2014.¹¹ A heroic and romantic image of Philippa can be traced back to novels and plays during the 1800s,¹² as well as a stained-glass window made by the Swedish artist and pioneer of decorative art, Reinhold Callmänder, in the movement to restore Vadstena Abbey church (fig. 1 on p. 40).

A QUEEN EMERGES – PHILIPPA’S TROUSSEAUX

When the English fleet disembarked in Helsingborg, Philippa brought an extensive royal *trousseaux*, as described in the Wardrobe Account, several other documents from the English Royal Household and in Norwegian and Danish

and Fernand Braudel connected ‘space’ with society. Le Goff & Schmitt 1996, pp. 9–25 acknowledged this approach as they discussed ‘time and space’ and urban space.

7 Cohen & Madeline 2014, pp. 2–13.

8 Bynum 2011, pp. 25–28, see p. 37, for Christian materiality.

9 Jansson 1994, pp. 31, 41–42. (The Engelbrekt Chronicles, written at the end of 1430s.)

10 See for example Carlsson 1964–1966; Olesen, in Arntsen (ed.) 2005; Berglund 2009 and 2015.

11 Green 1857 (III), pp. 344–394; Baildon 1916, pp. 163–188; Höjer 1905; Carlsson 1964–1966; Arntsen, (ed.) 2005; Olesen 2000–2001; Flemberg 2014.

12 Stållberg 1849; Andersen 1851, pp. 36–50; Lagus 1875; Lundegård 1904; Ramsay 1910.

charters.¹³ It included a number of outfits, a big collection of gold- and silver-wear, a painted and gilded carriage and eight saddles with gilded harness. She even brought three beds and her own ‘cloth of estate’ (*pannus destat*) – a canopy to use when she was sitting at table, or presiding at meetings.¹⁴ All the balingers and ships were obviously needed.

Certain items are carefully described, among them the beds. The bridal bed was the most exquisite. It consisted of ‘a coverlet’ (*copertorium*) and a tester with an entire ‘celure’ lined with blue buckram. It was bound with thread ribbon and garnished with silk fringe and three curtains of red tartarin (an eastern silk fabric imported from Tartary), bound with silk ribbons and garnished with copper rings. The hanging for the head of the bridal bed is described as a cloth of gold from Cyprus (a fabric woven partly or wholly of gold threads), embroidered with ‘gold falcons and swans and furred with pured miniver *pro capite lecti*’.¹⁵ The other three hangings were of gold cloth from Cyprus, with a red and black background, adorned with embroidered thistle-flowers (*cum floribus carduum*). Several sets of pillows were ‘lined with white fustian and buckram, bound with ribbons and having silk buttons’.¹⁶ Duvets and sheets were of course included. All was carried and stored in a special sack of cloth. Two additional coverlets are mentioned, one in blue long-cloth and furred, the other in red, as well as an extra set of three curtains. Two extra mantles for winter, one furred with pured miniver, the other with ‘backs of greys’ were also provided for the queen’s bed.¹⁷

A second bed was made of blue and white silk, with six cushions covered in blue satin. The third bed, not mentioned in the main account, was made of white satin, consisting of an entire ‘ciel’ and three curtains of white tartarin all embroidered with the royal arms and six cushions. Six white ‘tapites’¹⁸ were embroidered with crowned M’s. There were also three Arras tapestries (wall-hangings) worked with gold and embroidered texts. One says *En tapicerie demonstrer*, the second *Che listore es de grat renon* and a third begins *Vees chevauchier cel vassal*.¹⁹

13 Baildon 1916, pp. 163–188; DD 26 October 1406 (<http://diplomatarium.dk/dokument/>), 14061026001; DN XIX 840, nr. 667.

14 DD 26 October 1406, paragr. 65.

15 Baildon 1916, p. 166.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Painted, embroidered or woven decorative fabrics used variously as carpets, wall hangings and for beds.

19 Baildon 1916, p. 167. The term ‘Arras’ not necessarily indicates that they were from Arras in France; it could also mean that the tapestries were decorated with a certain type of motif. The legend is not identified.



FIG. 2: Christine de Pizan presenting her book to Queen Isabeau of Bavaria. Attr. Master of the Cité des Dames, c. 1410–1414, Harley 4431, f. 3. © British Library.

The beds are not so much pieces of furniture as portable bedrooms, including wall-hangings and pillows for benches and chairs. Thus, the personal space created by the bed, canopy and curtains was extended to the place where the queen resided at any given moment.

In this context, it is worth noting that Philippa also brought her own chapel – with everything she and her confessors needed of liturgical textiles and silver. The chapel also included an altar front, a ‘contre front’, a super altar and a *prie dieu* (‘pew’).²⁰ In comparison with the beds and other textiles and silver, the chapel with equipment is scarcely mentioned, and neither the frontale nor the contre-front are described. This chapel extended Philippa’s personal space outside her bedroom.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 169.

An illumination from a Christine de Pizan manuscript provides an idea of a royal interior (fig. 2). The example is not far-fetched – the image was painted in the beginning of the 1400s, and Christine was well known in royal circles. Philippa's father, Henry IV, was a great admirer of hers. This interior, where Christine de Pizan presents her book to Queen Isabeu of Bavaria, is instructive. The wall hangings, the bed with its red canopy and the hangings worked with gold and silk fringes – in addition to the royal arms and symbols – correspond to the descriptions of Philippa's *trousseaux*. The queen and ladies in waiting wear dresses and hairstyles showing the social position at court, while Christine's dress is simple and humble. Moreover, not only does the illumination show identifiable items, it also displays the setting of a queen's space. With its style and colour it furthermore shows the aesthetic preferences in northern Europe in the early fifteenth century that, with no doubt, Queen Philippa and King Erik were familiar with and adopted.

The English royal iconography guaranteed that the message would be understood. Among the hundreds of items of gold and silver for rooms and tables, several are mentioned as adorned with motifs and arms. Here I will only mention an alms dish in the form of a boat, worked with seven standing leopards. The king of England's arms are mentioned twice, on the hangings of a bed and on a cup of gold. Blue flowers on a dress were probably forget-me-nots; Henry IV had used them as his badge. White flowers and white roses were used on gowns. Thistle flowers on the bridal bed were a Celtic symbol for both nobility of character and birth, as well as for defending the heart against external harm and attacks. Moreover, it was the national emblem of Scotland.²¹ The falcons and the white swans of the House of Lancaster were more definitely heraldic, as were the eagles on a gown and a hanap, and the seven leopards and squirrels of gold on a pair of sleeves and a mantle.

UNDER THE CLOTH OF ESTATE – DRESSES, JEWELLERY AND REGALIA

Philippa's *trousseaux* furthermore included an amount of personal clothing and necessities. The first item mentioned is the wedding dress. It comprised a tunic and mantle with a long train made of white satin, worked with white velvet embroideries (velvet brocade), it was furred with pured miniver and lined with

²¹ *The Penguin Dictionary of Symbols*, p. 990, see also Scotland's heraldry, in Encyclopaedia Britannica, Wikipedia and other sources The Stuart's motto *Nemo me impune laccesit* ('None touches me unharmed') is later.

ermine.²² Queen Philippa was married in white, which might indicate that the coronation ceremony took place in close connection to the wedding, as white was frequently used for these contexts.²³

In addition to the wedding dress, five gowns are described in detail. The first was of woven gold from Cyprus, embroidered with white flowers on a green background, furred with miniver. The second was of red velvet, embroidered with white pearls, gold and silk, in the manner of a ribbon about the sleeves and collar. A third was of red cloth woven with gold from Cyprus, worked with white roses. Number four was a long gown of cloth with gold from Cyprus, with blue flowers embroidered on a white ground. Number five was a petticoat, an open gown and a cloak with a train made of blue velvet. A sixth gown was made of green cloth lined with green tartan, perhaps a travelling dress. All gowns were trimmed with pured miniver and lined with ermine.

Alongside this she brought a large number of tunics, gowns, dresses, jackets, coats, fur hats, fur coats, shoes, three pairs of boots, four pairs of white leather shoes and a blue raincoat.

Descriptions of jewellery and regalia are rare, and come from scattered sources. From wills can be mentioned one necklace of gold with pearls, from bishop Eskil of Ribe in Denmark, and a ring with sapphires from archbishop Jacob of Lund.²⁴

Philippa obviously owned a necklace (*monile*), made as a picture of a white dog,²⁵ which was probably designed as a gold chain with accompanying jewellery in gold and white enamel. A belt of gold (*balteus aureus, videlicet kapobonadhin*) is also mentioned. This belt had a value almost as high as the queen's crown.²⁶

Regarding Philippa's crown we have unique and extensive information, which, typically, comes from an evaluation of the royal crowns.²⁷ It is worth noting that the queen's crown was worth twice as much as the king's. Two goldsmiths, one from Stockholm and one from Vadstena, describe the crowns carefully, especially the queen's. It was decorated with wreaths of leaves and roses in gold and with ten spires. The wreaths were decorated with pearls, red rubies,

22 DD 26 October 1406, paragr. 1–8; Baidon 1916, pp. 164–165.

23 The first white wedding dress recorded, to my knowledge. White was rare colour for weddings until Queen Victoria made it modern in 1840.

24 Flemberg 2014, p. 324.

25 DV 641:2, SDHK 26418, see also Carlsson 1956, p. 98.

26 Carlsson 1956, p. 98f, and add. in Örnhielm dipl., RA, Vol. X; Flemberg 2014, pp. 320–322.

27 Örnhielm dipl., RA, Vol. X, p. 477, the full text is published in Carlsson 1956. The last known record of the crowns is from Lübeck 1462, when they were pawned. See also DV, 8 January 1454.



FIG. 3: The Palatine crown, c. 1370–1380, English. For Queen Philippas sister Blanche’s wedding in 1402. Munich Residenz Museum, Treasury. © Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen.

and green emeralds of various sizes, including blue sapphires and diamonds. At the top of each spire were three big pearls and one big diamond. At the base were pearls and red rubies. The oldest surviving royal crown known to have been in England belonged to Philippa’s sister Blanche, married to Ludwig of Pfaltz (fig. 3). This crown provides a good depiction of what Philippa’s crown looked like. A comparison with the description from Vadstena shows that the sisters’ crowns were similar, albeit Philippa’s was somewhat simpler.

The queen’s space was extended through her personal canopy, the ‘cloth of estate’ (*pannus destat*), made of cloth of gold from Cyprus, lined with buckram and with a silk fringe.²⁸ A canopy protected her at meals and at meetings, and

28 Baildon 1916, p. 167. Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia: The cloth of estate was a more magnificent gold tissue, used to canopy over thrones.

showed all present who was queen from a long distance. Thus, the limits not to be exceeded were visible. In my opinion, the gowns and jewellery should not be regarded as private vanity with female overtones, but rather as an equivalent to the performances of kings and bishops.

As Louise Berglund discusses, a common interpretation presupposes that the power of medieval queens was informal and private, conducted by their spouses.²⁹ This hardly applies to Philippa. She was young, but as she approached her 20s, she came forward as a queen. She seems to have been skilled at and interested in politics, judging from the 67 entries found in the Swedish charters alone. She had a functioning secretariat and her own seal. Tomas Simonsson, dean of Strängnäs (appointed bishop in 1429) was her chancellor. Her estates had been shattered, but that changed in June 1420, when her properties were expanded and concentrated to central parts of Sweden. She acted as ruler, independent of the king, and had the ability to manage the affairs of the Kalmar Union, even as a defender in war.³⁰ This goes beyond the informal power that often is assumed, and it is therefore accurate to refer to her in terms of queenship.

PHILIPPA AND THE BIRGITTINES IN VADSTENA

Philippa was probably introduced to the Birgittines at an early stage. Lord Henry Fitzhugh followed her to her new countries, and visited Vadstena already at his arrival in Denmark and Sweden in 1406. As discussed by Virginia Bainbridge in this volume (on p. 129), he was a central figure in the founding of Syon Abbey. Furthermore, Philippa's lady in waiting the first two years was Katarina Knutsdotter (d. 1407), granddaughter of Saint Birgitta.

Philippa made her first official visit to Vadstena Abbey in January 1415, when the abbey received the queen with full official ceremonies, as recorded in *Diarium Vadstenense*.³¹ On day one she was received in the abbey church. The second day she was received in the brothers' parlour, with all the brothers present. On this occasion all the convent's relics and reliquaries were displayed for her, as she showed her devotion.³² This was a rare privilege, as they were not even shown to the king. On the third day, the following Sunday, Philippa returned to both convents, this time asking to become a *soror ab extra*. On the same occasion a

29 See Berglund 2015, p. 79.

30 Carlsson 1964–1966; Berglund 2009 and 2015.

31 DV 238, Gejrot 1996, see note p. 144. DV 147 for the wedding, see Höjer 1905, p. 307. According to DV this was her second visit.

32 DV 238, 238:2. See also Ström 2004, pp. 94, 98, 101. Ström shows that the reception of kings and queens was elaborated for many years. It had only begun forming when Erik of Pomerania visited Vadstena for the first time as king, in May 1413.

new girl, Kristina, was introduced into the convent at the queen's request and in her presence.³³

Philippa had at that time reached the age, and possessed the authority, to act independently and make an official visit in her own right. This visit to Vadstena was certainly related to the founding of Syon Abbey later in the same year, and was followed by the letter from King Henry V to Vadstena in March (see Gejrot, on p. 110 in this volume).³⁴

The importance of relics must be considered, as representatives of materiality and presence; next to the Real Presence of the Eucharist, the presence of the saints was essential, and this was mediated through relics – important matters and valuable things. The relics in the Birgittine abbey were at the centre of Philippa's first visit, and during the years she donated relics and costly reliquaries to Vadstena on several occasions. Two occasions are particularly illustrative: when Philippa sent relics of Birgitta to the Pope in 1419 in order to strengthen the Birgittine's position, as well as when she personally went to Vadstena with the donation of a valuable relic of the patron saint of Denmark, King Knud (Canute) the Holy.

Philippa's importance for the Birgittines increased from 1419, as indicated by the relic she sent to the Pope, and many letters. The bull of separation 1422 (as discussed by Elin Andersson on p. 96 in this volume) made Philippa act with force and out of true concern, and she sent a number of letters to Pope Martin V and to her two brothers in England. The *Diarium Vadstenense* explicitly says that the queen acted wiser and with more power than the king regarding the approval of the monastic rule 'with gifts and expenses'.³⁵

CREATING SPACE WITH ARCHITECTURE – THE SAINT ANNA FOUNDATION

Philippa was present in Vadstena mostly in winter and spring, when she normally stayed for a couple of months. At least eight occasions are recorded, and she stayed close to the sisters and brothers; the royal residence since long bordered on the abbey walls.³⁶

The queen also made numerous donations in Vadstena. Relics and reliquaries

33 DV 239.

34 DV 254, 21/5; SDHK 18536, SDHK 18538.

35 DV 333. See Cnattingius 1963 for the drama concerning the Birgittine Order, and the bull of 1422.

36 The old dwelling house was burnt down in a fire 1423, a new was built shortly after, further from the abbey walls, see DV 351.

are already mentioned, while another example is an agreement reached with the Birgittine Order for a daily mass ‘for all eternity’, for herself, her husband, and her parents (King Henry IV and Mary de Bohun) in March 1421.³⁷

The grandest donation, however, was the foundation of the choir dedicated to Saint Anna at the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, 25 March 1425.³⁸ This was probably meant to be a memorial and the burial place for the queen and the king from the very beginning. This foundation is alternately called a choir, a chapel or an altar in the many entries. The meaning of the different terms has been discussed on an abstract level, but they simply seem to mirror reality. A choir was built, one or more altars were installed within that space, and for sure it could be called a chapel if it was a building within the building.

Saint Anna’s altar was inaugurated on 27 December 1426 by the Archbishop of Uppsala, Johannes Haquini, at the queen’s request.³⁹ A few months later, the *Diarium Vadstenense* records that it was used for the installation of the bishop of Stavanger (in Norway), by three Swedish bishops.⁴⁰ As the chapel could host an event of this dignity it ought to have been of some size.

According to the church plan, there was plenty of room for a substantial structure in the northwest part of the nave (fig. 4 on p. 53). The galleries on both sides of the church were probably built somewhat later, and allowed the brothers to move in the room one level above the congregation; they also provided the opportunity for rows of smaller chapels at ground level. A closer look at the plan shows that the southern gallery stops at the third bay, which leaves plenty of space for the queen’s choir, if it was a major architectural structure of stone or wood, as I think it was. Number 1 in the plan is the queen’s tomb, more or less shown in its original medieval location.

A short annotation in *Diarium Vadstenense* provides information on Philippa’s participation:

In the year of our Lord 1430. During the night before twelfth night our beloved queen, mistress Philippa, died, the queen of Sweden, Denmark and Norway. She was buried here in Vadstena in the choir of Saint Anna, which she herself had founded and had built. She was the very faithful patroness of this monastery and of the whole order.⁴¹

37 DV 322; Gejrot 1996, p. 170.

38 SDHK 20459.

39 DV 274; Vadstena writes 1427, counting the new year from Christmas Day.

40 DV 379.

41 DV 406.

From this text, it seems clear that Philippa not only founded an altar for Saint Anna, but that she also built it. The same information is given in her charter for the founding in 1425. The two sources give the impression that she had already built the choir and the altar when it came to financial matters and funds for masses, priests and church.⁴² Matter was important, as Caroline Bynum has shown,⁴³ and an interpretation on an abstract level is not necessarily valid for these two written sources – a diary and a charter.

Furthermore, Philippa was buried in her choir on 6 January 1430, according to her earlier plans.⁴⁴ There are no indications of a raised and sculpted tomb in the written sources. Still, according to a source from the seventeenth century, the queen's tomb was raised, and there is reason to believe that it also had an effigy. It is unknown if that was the case during the early 1400s.⁴⁵

A conclusion from the quote from *Diarium Vadstenense* is that the queen was personally engaged in the construction of a new, extensive choir/chapel with screens made of wood or of stone, and with proper space for tombs, altars and people – a standard within church buildings in the fifteenth century. There are no original choirs and chapels of this kind preserved on Swedish ground, but a good comparison is the choirs of the cathedral in Exeter (fig. 5 on p. 54) with architectural arrangements built within an existing building.

TAKING UP SPACE – ARTEFACTS IN THE CHOIR

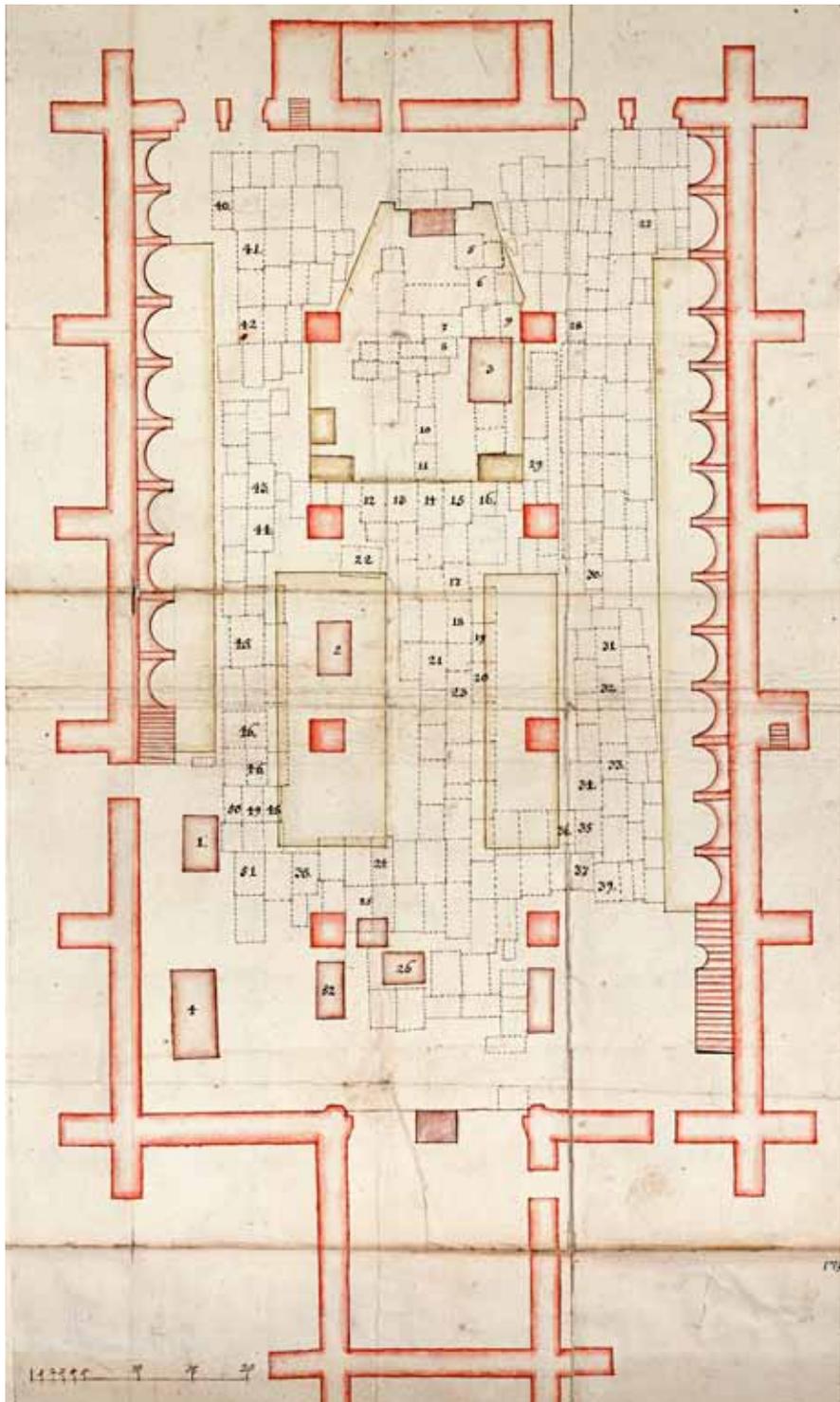
Rare information on imagery appears in connection with the donation of the royal crowns. When these, and other objects from Philippa's will, were to be valued some twenty years later, the earlier condition for the deposit was made clear: Two images (*ymagines*) depicting the Coronation of the Holy Virgin should be executed for the queen, Lady Philippa, in Saint Anna's choir. Further, it was

42 SDHK 20459, 25 March 1425, a letter issued in Vadstena, sealed by the queen's seal, the archbishop's seal and by eight other named noblemen.

43 Bynum 2011, pp. 268–269.

44 Philippa had come to Vadstena to celebrate Christmas, and died there on 5 January. She was buried in haste only the day after. Some scholars argue that Philippa suddenly fell ill in Vadstena, but the sources are silent. A plausible theory is that the tomb was already prepared. The speed with which the funeral was conducted suggests that her death was expected. King Erik arrived more than a week later, and the abbey church was inaugurated on 6 February 1430.

45 Lindblom, 1965, p. 51. King Erik financed Queen Margareta's sarcophagus in Roskilde in 1423; art historian Andreas Lindblom argues that Philippa's tomb had a similar design in the 1430s.



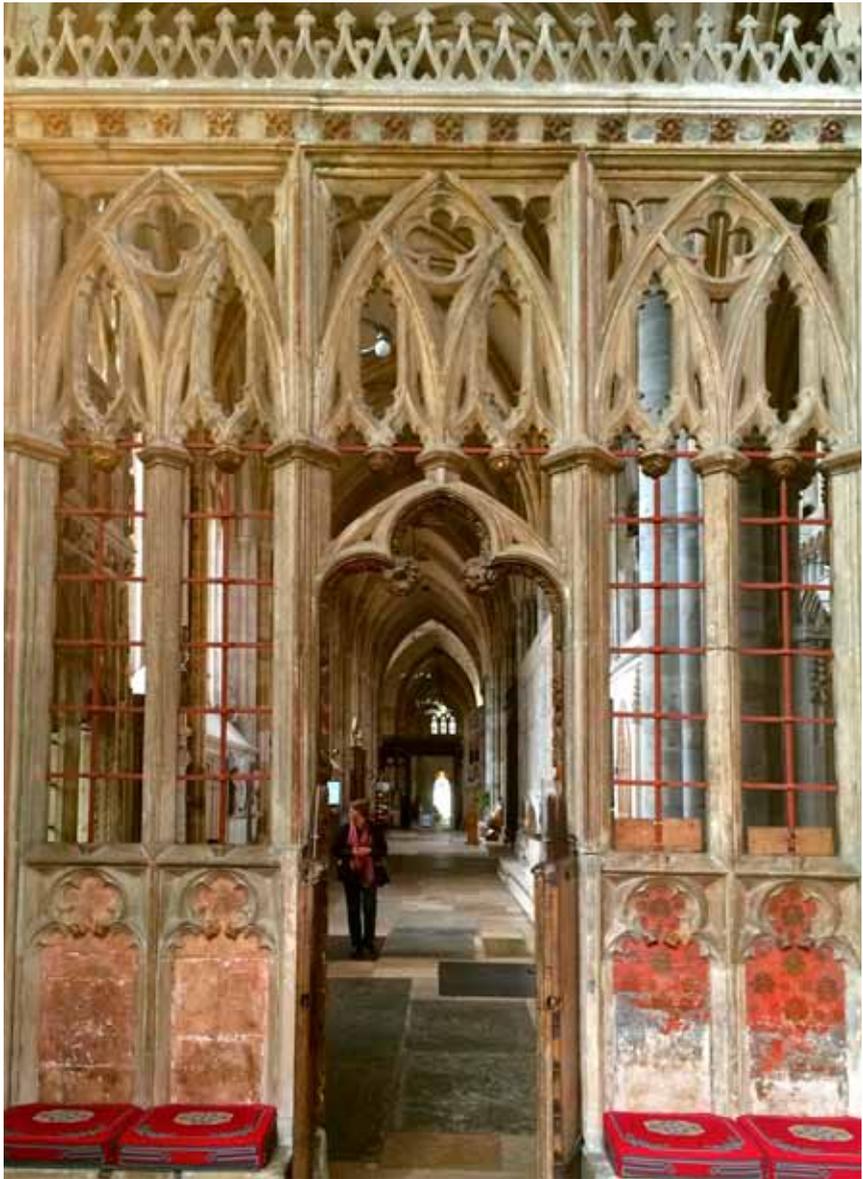


FIG. 5: Exeter Cathedral, Chapel of Saint Gabriel, limestone structure, c. 1270–1350.
Photo: The author.



FIG. 6: Coronation of the Virgin Mary, wooden sculpture in reredo, Northern Germany, c. 1450. Överselö parish church, Södermanland, Sweden. Photo: The author.

stated that a new king could borrow the crowns for his own coronation. In case of a serious emergency, the abbey was allowed to sell them.⁴⁶ In this context, *ymago* does not refer to paintings; the crowns were hardly meant to be sold for the commissioning of a painting, as some scholars have suggested.⁴⁷ In my opinion, the purpose was that the crowns should adorn an additional image intended for the queen's choir, and this must be interpreted as an altarpiece, a triptych with sculptures of Christ and the Virgin Mary enthroned in heaven. This reinforces that the choir was rather large. The Vadstena image has disappeared, if it was ever executed, but the motif was popular and commonplace at the time (fig. 6). A later source mentions an image of the Virgin in the Anna choir having a golden wreath (or coronet).⁴⁸

MATERIALITY – SAINT ANNA-GROUPS STILL IN EXISTENCE

The prebends, altars, rituals and praying demanded images, textiles and reliquaries. We do not know how the altars were adorned, or what the choir looked like, but material things were necessary. Sculptures demanded space, and had important devotional purposes. They could also be regarded as active agents, which became clear in the iconoclastic debate at the time.⁴⁹

Three sculpture groups, showing Saint Anna with the Virgin and the Child, are preserved (fig. 7, 8 & 9).⁵⁰ The first sculpture group is regarded as the masterpiece, probably commissioned from Lübeck (fig. 7). According to art historians Andreas Lindblom and Mereth Lindgren, it was probably donated by the queen for her choir, while Aron Andersson is more doubtful.⁵¹ The argument is that Philippa had the means, more than anyone else, to commission a work of this quality. This sculpture was once gilded and polychromed. The eyes are bluish-green, the carnations light, and there are traces of gold, white, red and green. The composition made high demands on the artist; Saint Anna holds her daughter – who has the proportions of an adult – in her lap, and the Virgin Mary in turn balances the Child on her left forearm. The beauty of the balanced

46 DV 641:2, at King Karl's encounter in the brothers' refectory in February 1454. SDHK 26418, see also Carlsson 1956, p. 98.

47 Cf. Berglund 2009, p. 24.

48 Silfverstolpe 1895, p. 45.

49 Bynum 2011, pp. 25–28 and 38–41. For medieval approaches to images and idolatry, see also Camille 1989 and Stanbury 2008.

50 Flemberg 2014, p. 257: the statement 'today there are two sculptures of Saint Anna in Vadstena' is incorrect.

51 Lindblom, 1965, p. 118, 1426; Attr. to Johannes Junge, in Andersson 1983, p. 32, 1410–1420; Lindgren 1990, c. 1425.



FIG. 7: Saint Anna, the Virgin and the Child, sculpture, 1410–1420, alt. 1425, Lübeck.
Photo: Lennart Karlsson, SHM.



FIG. 8, left: Saint Anna, the Virgin and the Child, domestic work, c. 1418 alt. 1420–1430. Photo: Lennart Karlsson, SHM.

FIG. 9, right: Saint Anna, the Virgin and the Child, domestic work, 1446–1466 alt. 1470s. Photo: Lennart Karlsson, SHM.

composition and the human and tender contact between the three would have been a good *imago* for devotion. Someone in the abbey appreciated this image so much that its composition was used as model for a ring of gold.

In the second sculpture, Saint Anna is depicted as a mature woman. She sits heavily, and from a distance this whole image is rather square. Although the former sculpture is more advanced in handicraft, this one is soft and tender and quite interesting – a close-up shows Anna with a gentle face, her right hand carefully holds the Virgin who is depicted as a young, slender girl. It is also worth noting that the Virgin holds a scroll over the Child's lap as a reminder of the Child as the Word. The base adds meaning to this motif and includes 'the man

in the moon' and musician angels. Lindgren argues that this second sculpture is the one mentioned in the 1418 letter (fig. 8).⁵²

A third Saint Anna-group, made in the second half of the fifteenth century and perhaps connected to the later prebend mentioned above, gives evidence that the cult prevailed long after Queen Philippa (fig. 9).⁵³ This domestic work shows Anna as a slender, rather active woman, standing with her daughter, the crowned Virgin, close by her side, and with the Child on her arm.

None of the three Saint Anna-groups can with certainty be connected to a prebend, and no reliable dating is at hand. They are, however, valuable arguments for the position of the Saint Anna cult and the queen's choir in the abbey church.

A CONTINUING CULT

The theoretical background for a Saint Anna foundation is in the Birgittine theology. Saint Birgitta's interest in Saint Anna is evident from the Revelation; Saint Anna was the Virgin Mary's mother and also 'the mother of all devout wives'. Birgitta strongly recommends that a feast for Saint Anna should be established.⁵⁴ The cult of Saint Anna was established in Vadstena from an early date, and resulted in liturgy and material things. The first reading on Wednesdays in *Sermo Angelicus* 10, Matins, is dedicated to Saint Anna and the good marriage. This can also be said of the sisters' chant, the responsorium to the readings in the *Cantus Sororum*.

Already in 1418, the bishop of Linköping had proclaimed indulgences and pledged 40 days for those who prayed before the image of Saint Anna in Vadstena: '*... vt ymago in memoriam sancte Anne, matris Marie virginis, facta et formata, que in monasterio Watzstenensi existit constituta*'.⁵⁵ The wording shows that a sculpture of Saint Anna with the Virgin Mary and the Child already existed in the church.

Thus, the cult of Saint Anna was not new in Vadstena. By her donation, the queen strengthened Vadstena as a centre for this cult, and ensured its continuity. In addition to Philippa's foundation, five prebends for Saint Anna are recorded: two in 1428, two in 1432, and one 1447–1464.⁵⁶

⁵² Lindgren 1990, p. 58, 1418; Lindblom 1965, p. 125, c. 1428; Andersson 1983, p. 34, 1420–1430.

⁵³ Lindblom 1965, p. 131, 1446–1466; Andersson 1983, p. 64, c. 1470; Lindgren 1990, c. 1470.

⁵⁴ Rev. 1:9, IV:55, V:13, VI:49, Rev. Extr. 10 and Rev. VI:104.

⁵⁵ SDHK 19064.

⁵⁶ SDHK 20954, 20980, 21707, 21802; RA (D 13), Lady Ingeborg Ivarsdotter, widow of Ivar Pederson (Tott), see Lindblom 1965, pp. 61, 64, 65 and 70; Andersson 1983, p. 64; Lindgren 1990, pp. 58–60.

Motifs from Saint Anna's legend were also applied to Birgittine textiles in Vadstena and Nådendal (Naantali) in Finland. Vadstena as a centre for the cult of Saint Anna prevailed long after Queen Philippa, and even into the sixteenth century. As late as 1520 a magnificent altarpiece, which included the legend of Anna and Joachim, was ordered from Antwerp. The Saints Anna and Joachim were a consolation to those who never had children, like the queen and king. Presumably, Saint Birgitta's idea of Saint Anna as 'the mother of all devout wives' appealed to Philippa.

Philippa was a pious queen, with a religious focus on Vadstena and the Birgittine Order. This focus on a single monastic order distinguishes her from most contemporary royalty; the standard was to spread the interests more equally among different orders and churches. Some reasons for her singular devotion can be mentioned: Her first lady in waiting was a close relative to Birgitta; the management at Vadstena was female and aristocratic, yet with humble ideals; the cult of the Virgin Mary, Saint Anna, and Saint Birgitta (who was a lady and a mother, as well as a founder and a saint) for a young queen whose task was to give birth to the king's heirs. Philippa's concern for the Birgittines can also be seen in the light of politics. When she married Erik, Vadstena had a close relation to the Kalmar Union rulers and promoters. Her family, including her brother King Henry V, supported the Birgittines already in 1406 and founded Syon Abbey nine years later. Saint Birgitta had been concerned about the Hundred years' war between France and England. In her Revelations, she had supported England's cause and the king of England, albeit she moderated her position later. Thus, Philippa had little opportunity to support any other monastic order. Vadstena and the Birgittines were central to her from an early date, as mentors and as friends, in her religious dedication and as a politician.

During her life as queen she was often present in Vadstena in person, and with her own choir and the Saint Anna foundation she created a space for her continued presence.

CREATING HER SPACE

A young queen should fulfil her representative functions, and give grace to herself, her family, the Lancastrian house, and her new kingdoms. And Philippa did. She surrounded herself with beautiful things: silver, gold, jewellery, textiles, wall hangings, carriages and horses. She had her crown, her golden belt, and her chain with a lock in the form of a white dog. This was not vanity; these were

signs of a powerful queenship. She worked fundamentally as regent. Queen Philippa and King Erik even issued their own separate letters on the same matter. She was an important queen, and skilled in both warfare and economics.

Was Queen Philippa influential regarding art? There are few indications that she took a special interest in art and architecture, even though she explicitly founded and built the Saint Anna choir, and that choir unquestionably housed several images.

Her interest was rather directed towards devotional material culture, judging from written sources. The relics to be displayed were already in the centre when she visited the abbey in 1415, and donations of relics and reliquaries were henceforth important.

The spaces discussed above were narrow and close to the body; they were personal but not private. They extended the royal body in a material way, with material means, within any building where the queen occasionally resided.

In Philippa's *trousseaux*, the three beds, the cloth of estate, the chapel and, to some extent, the carriage and harness are examples of spatial constructions that created a personal space for the queen. Her body was, as it were, not left alone and naked in her new countries. If someone approached the queen, she or he would stop outside this personal sphere and could not get closer without permission. The constructions created rooms within rooms, so that no one should forget whom and what the Queen Philippa was, not even King Erik, as he entered her chambers or the bridal bed. The iconography of the House of Lancaster reinforced this meaning.

Her space was extended through her personal canopy, the 'cloth of estate'. Her stunning, official outfits were carefully described in England, and with no doubt she appeared with very valuable jewellery. The queen's gowns, girdle and chain, and ring and seal demonstrated her prestige and were essential insignia, as she was to act with power. The material aspects of being a queen helped to protect and extend the private body and sphere to a personal space where Philippa acted. The creation of her own spaces, using beds and wall-hangings, her chapel, her cloth of estate and finally a funerary choir built within Vadstena Abbey church was fitting for a queen and ruler.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Printed sources, literature and abbreviations

- ANDERSEN, H. C. (1851), *I Sverrig* (Copenhagen).
- ANDERSSON, ARON (1983), *Vadstena klosterkyrka II, Inledning*, in *Sveriges kyrkor, Östergötland* (Stockholm).
- ARNTSEN, JON GUNNAR, ed. (2005), *Norges konger og dronninger* (Oslo).
- BAILDON, WILLIAM PALEY (1916), 'The Trousseaux of Princess Philippa, wife of Eric, king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden', *Archaeologica or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, 67, pp. 163–188.
- BERGLUND, LOUISE (2009), 'Queen Philippa and Vadstena – Royal Communication on a Medieval Media Platform', in Mats Jönsson & Patrik Lundell (eds), *Media and Monarchy in Sweden* (Gothenburg).
- BERGLUND, LOUISE (2015), 'En lysande fru: Filippa av England och den mångfacetterade drottningrollen under senmedeltiden', *Personhistorisk tidskrift*, III:1, pp. 71–91.
- BYNUM, CAROLINE WALKER (2011), *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York).
- CAMILLE, MICHAEL (1989), *The Gothic Idol, Ideology and Image Making in Medieval Art* (New York).
- CARLSSON, GOTTFRID (1956), 'De båda guldkronorna i Vadstena kloster', *Fornvännen*, 51, pp. 95–109.
- CARLSSON, GOTTFRID (1964–1966), 'Filippa', *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, 16, pp. 24–29. <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Start.aspx> [2016-03-30].
- CNATTINGIUS, HANS (1963), *Studies in the Order of St. Bridget of Sweden. 1, The crisis in the 1420's* (Stockholm).
- COHEN, MEREDITH & MADELINE, FANNY, eds. (2014), *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories and Imagined Geographies* (Farnham).
- DD = *Diplomatarium Danicum*, diplomatarium.dk.
- DN = *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 19, http://www.dokpro.uio.no/dipl_norv/diplom_felt.html [20150819]
- DS = *Diplomatarium Suecanum* (Svenskt Diplomatarium), <http://sok.riksarkivet.se>.
- DV = *Diarium Vadstenense*, see Gejrot 1988 and 1996.
- EARENIGHT, THERESA (2013), *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke).
- FLEMBERG, MARIE-LOUISE, (2014), *Filippa: engelsk prinsessa och nordisk unionsdrottning* (Stockholm).
- GEJROT, CLAES, ed. (1988), *Diarium Vadstenense. The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey*. Acta universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 33 (Stockholm).
- GEJROT, CLAES, ed. (1996), *Vadstenadiariet: latinsk text med översättning och kommentar* (Stockholm).
- GREEN, MARY ANNE EVERETT (1857), *Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest*, III (London).
- HÖJER, TORVALD (1905), *Studier i Vadstena klostets och Birgittinordens historia intill midten af 1400-talet* (Uppsala).
- JANSSON, SVEN-BERTIL, ed. (1994), *Engelbrektskrönikan* (Stockholm).
- LAGUS, GABRIEL (1875), *Drottning Filippa; skådespel i 5 akter* (Viborg).
- LEFEBVRE, HENRI (1991), *The Production of Space* (Oxford).

- LE GOFF JACQUES & SCHMITT JEAN-CLAUDE (1996), 'L'histoire médiévale', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 39, 153–154, pp. 9–25.
- LINDBLOM, ANDREAS (1965), *Kult och konst i Vadstena kloster* (Stockholm).
- LINDGREN, MERETH (1990), 'De heliga änkorna, S. Annakultens framväxt, speglad i Birgittinsk ikonografi', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, LIX, pp. 52–69.
- LUNDEGÅRD, AXEL (1904), *Drottning Filippa* (Stockholm).
- OLESEN, JENS E. (2000–2001), 'Philippa (1394–1430)', in *Danskt kvindebiografisk leksikon*, <http://www.kvinfo.dk>.
- PARSONS, JOHN CARMI, ed. (1994), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud).
- RAMSAY, EBBA (1910), *Tre af drottningarna under Kalmarunionen: Filippa af England, Dorothea af Brandenburg och Kristina af Sachsen* (Stockholm).
- SDHK = *Svenskt Diplomatariums Huvudkartotek*, www.sok.riksarkivet.se/sdhk.
- SILFVERSTOLPE, CARL, ed. (1895), *Vadstena klostrets uppbörds- och utgifts-bok 1539–1570*, (Stockholm).
- STAFFORD, PAULINE (1997), *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford).
- STANBURY, SARAH (2008), *The Visual Object of Desire in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia).
- STRÖM, PER (2004), 'Adventus regis, episcopi fratrumque. On the reception of distinguished visitors to the medieval Birgittine Abbey of Vadstena', *Birgittiana*, 18, pp. 89–105.
- STÅLBERG, WILHELMINA (1849), *Drottning Filippa: historisk roman* (Borgå).