The Swedish Madonnas: A Comparative Study of Wooden Sculptures of the Virgin and Child between 1250 and 1350

PhD History of Art

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Alexandra Fried
Abstract

This thesis provides a new overview of the wooden, sculpted image of the Madonna and Child in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Sweden. It comprises five parts: a socio-political and economic contextualisation of the images; a critique of the existing literature in the form of an analytical bibliography; a detailed evaluation of the sculptures; a catalogue of selected material; and a bibliography.

In Chapter one, the historical examination discusses the Scandinavian context between 1250 and 1350. Scandinavia was then a thriving area, both economically and culturally, and was far less isolated and inward looking than art-historical analyses have hitherto assumed. However, Scandinavia was not a stable region in the period; borders were constantly revised as a result of political and military changes. Trade links also changed and brought with them different influences.

Building on the works of Aron Andersson, Andreas Lindblom, C.R af Ugglas, Rune Norberg, Peter Tängeberg, Lena Liepe, Carina Jacobsson and Lennart Karlsson, the bibliographical critique in chapter two will analyse earlier texts that have discussed the sculptures which are the subject of this thesis. The third chapter organizes the sculptures into two main groups, and draws comparisons with international examples. It comprises a visual analysis of Swedish and international comparative material on a scale which has not been attempted before.

The fourth chapter is a comprehensive catalogue of the 144 Madonnas dealt with in the text, sorted by region of origin.
Acknowledgements

I am grateful to many people for their help, both direct and indirect, in writing this thesis. Initially, I began research on the Madonna and Child in Scandinavian sculpture in 1998, when I accidentally spotted the Dalby Madonna in a travel documentary. I became intrigued and it led to my Master's thesis supervised by Prof. William Clark at Queens College (City University of New York). Since then I have seen several hundreds of wooden sculptures and when I first conceived this project, in 2001, my idea was to compile a comprehensive catalogue of medieval wooden sculpture from Sweden. After some initial work, I decided to concentrate on images of the Virgin and Child from c. 1250 to c. 1350 since this has provided a very substantial corpus of material with which to work.

At Leicester University I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Phillip Lindley who has been very motivating and helpful throughout these years. His enthusiasm and interest have always been extremely encouraging. Secondly I would like to thank Prof. David Ekserdjian and Dr. Matthew Potter who also read my thesis. Thirdly I would like to thank the Departmental secretary Mrs. Carol Charles for all her help.

In the course of eight years I have received tremendous help from the Statens Historiska Museum (Stockholm), National Museum (Copenhagen), and St Annen Museum (Lübeck). I would also like to acknowledge the people who have helped to measure sculptures and supplied me with important information regarding those I was not able to visit myself. I would also like to take the opportunity to thank Pr. Gail Levin and Ms Tracy Bragen who have always been incredibly inspiring and supportive. During this long journey, I have lived in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, England and
Spain, gotten married, had two children and pursued work on this (mostly self-funded) PhD. I hope this end result does not let down my family, friends and colleagues who have supported me all along this strenuous road.

Without doubt there will be errors, omissions and over-simplifications, for which I take absolute responsibility, while hoping that the material I have assembled here and the analyses to which I have subjected it will provide some useful insights in the discipline.

Alexandra Fried  
Stockholm, July 24, 2012
**List of abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GF</td>
<td>Gotlands Fornsal, Visby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVN</td>
<td>Länsmuseet Väster Norrland, Härnösand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHM</td>
<td>Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUHM</td>
<td>Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum, Lund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JLM</td>
<td>Jönköpings Länsmuseum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KLM</td>
<td>Kalmar Länsmuseum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VM</td>
<td>Västergötlands museum, Skara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Books**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Andersson</td>
<td>Romanesque and Gothic Sculpture – Medieval Wooden Sculpture in Sweden, II., 1966</td>
<td>MWSS II,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Andersson</td>
<td>English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture, 1949.</td>
<td>EINSFS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Hansson</td>
<td>Novgorod - Örebro - Lübeck: After 700 years, 2003.</td>
<td>NÖLA700Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Carsson</td>
<td>Sveriges Historia: Tiden Före 1718, 1978.</td>
<td>SHTF1718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Lindkvist</td>
<td>Det Svenska Samhället 800-1720: Klerkerna och adelns tid, 1993.</td>
<td>DSSKA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Cornell</td>
<td>Norrlands kyrkliga konst under medeltiden, Uppsala, 1918.</td>
<td>NKKUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Blindheim</td>
<td>Gothic Painted Wooden Sculpture in Norway 1220-1350, Oslo, 2004.</td>
<td>GPWSIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Jacobsson</td>
<td>Beställare och finansiärer: träskulptur från 1300-talet i gamla ärkestiftet, 2002.</td>
<td>BFT1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Jacobsson</td>
<td>Höggotisk träskulptur i Gamla Linköpings stift, 1995.</td>
<td>HTGL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.R.aF. Ugglas</td>
<td>Gotlands medeltida träskulptur till och med höggotikens inbrott, 1910.</td>
<td>GMTHI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Norberg</td>
<td>Bildkonsten i Norden: Nordisk medeltid 1, 1974.</td>
<td>BNNM1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Liepe</td>
<td>Skånsk senmedeltid och renässans: Den medeltida träskulpturen i Skåne, Produktion och förvarv, 1995.</td>
<td>SSRMTSPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Tängeberg</td>
<td>Mittelalterliche Holzkunst in Schweden, 1986.</td>
<td>MHAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Roosval</td>
<td>Medeltida skulptur i Gotlands Fornsal, 1926.</td>
<td>MSGF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.A., Nordman</td>
<td>Medeltida skulptur i Finland, 1964.</td>
<td>MSF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.K. Meinander, Medeltida altarskåp och träsniderier i Finlands kyrkor, 1908.</td>
<td>MATF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. Bergmann, Die Holzskulpturen des Mittelalters. (1000-1400), 1989.</td>
<td>DHM1000-1400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Museums**

| Statens Historiska Museum in Stockholm | SHM |
| Lunds universitets historiska museum in Lund | LUHM |
| Gotlands Fornsal | GF |
| National Museum, Copenhagen | NM |
| Göteborgs Stads Museum | GSM |
| Uppsala Universitets Konstsamling | UUK |
The Swedish Madonnas: A Comparative Study of Wooden Sculptures of the Virgin and Child between 1250 and 1350

Abstract – Summary
Acknowledgement
List of Abbreviations

List of Contents

Chapter 1: Medieval Scandinavia
1. Introduction
2. The political situation in Scandinavia
3. Scandinavia and the Church
4. Trade in Scandinavia and the Hanseatic League
5. Hanseatic Trade routes
6. Two Major Scandinavian Industries
7. Urbanisation
8. Visby
9. Skåne
10. The Hanseatic League
11. Lübeck
12. Guilds and Workshops
13. Pilgrimage
14. The Black Death
15. Conclusion
16. List of Figures, Chapter 1

Chapter 2: The Medieval Madonna in Sweden; an Historiographical Overview
1. The Heritage
2. Historiography, Scholarship in the Twentieth Century
3. The Founder of Medieval History of Art in Sweden
4. K. K. Meinander and the connection with Finland
5. Swedish Churches, an inventory and a new generation of Art Historians
6. Af Ugglas, Gotland and the French influences
7. Cornell, the very North and English influences
8. Ernst Fischer and Västergötland
9. Rydbeck, Wåhlin and Scania
10. Johnny Roosval, German and French influences on Gotland Sculpture
11. Norberg and Småland
12. Norberg and Bohuslän
13. Norberg and a General Survey
14. Lindblom and another General Survey
15. Andersson and English Influences on Norwegian Sculptures
16. Medieval Wooden Sculpture
17. England, Norway and Sweden
18. Eckerblad and dendrochronology

1
19. Tängeberg and the technical aspects  174
20. Lena Liepe and the South Scandinavian Workshop  196
21. Jacobsson and the Old Diocese of Linköping  198
22. Jacobsson and the Old Archdiocese  221
23. Signum’s Romanesque History of Art  229
24. Signum’s Gothic Art  233
25. Summary of key contributions  238
26. List of Figures, Chapter 2  242

Chapter 3: A Stylistic Evaluation of the Madonna and Child in Sweden
1. Iconography  247
2. Introduction to A and B Groups  248
3. Group A Madonnas (Definition)  249
4. Group B Madonnas (Definition)  254
5. Group A1  261
6. The mid-west and the south  264
7. Group A2 Madonnas  294
8. English and Norwegian Influences  308
9. Group A3 Madonnas  325
10. Sculptures of the mid-west  328
11. Group B1 Madonnas  336
12. Group B2 Madonnas  351
13. Group B3 Madonnas  358
14. Group B4 Madonnas  382
15. Conclusion  385
16. List of Figures, Chapter 3  392

The Catalogue  397
Bibliography  595

Word count: 96 734
Chapter 1: Medieval Scandinavia

1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the political situation in Scandinavia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: the influence of the Church, trade and the Hanseatic League, urbanisation, guilds, pilgrimage and the effects of the Black Death. In the fast growing society in Sweden these factors influenced the production, distribution and/or importation of medieval sculptures in Scandinavia. The political situation will be demonstrated by a historical overview of the monarchy and with maps indicating trade links and fluctuating borders. It will also show that there were important towns where there were organised guilds for craftsmen. The main pilgrimage routes will be illustrated and the overview will end around 1350 which coincided with the arrival of the Black Death in Sweden.

Thus, chapter one provides a political, historical, religious and social overview of Scandinavia between 1250 and 1350, setting the stage for the second and third chapters, which discuss representations of the seated Madonna and Child in Northern Europe carved from wood, with the specific focus on Swedish examples. It is essential to review the historical period in order to contextualise historically the vast number of Madonna sculptures still surviving in Sweden. In this thesis, 144 seated Madonnas will be considered in a stylistic comparative study. The survival rates of the wooden images is much higher than in contemporary England, Germany or France for example, and this affords these sculptures a particular importance.  

The political situation in medieval Scandinavia during this period was fluid and complex and has been discussed thoroughly by scholars such as Aron Andersson,  

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During the period c. 1250 to c. 1350, all the Scandinavian monarchs increased their power over their countries and the period also saw the unification of their peoples into nations. However, the relative power of Sweden, Norway and Denmark shifted several times and the countries’ borders changed accordingly. It is crucially important at the outset to understand that much of what is now Sweden was then actually part of Norway (the north and mid west) or of Denmark (the south) for most of this period; but, at the same time, the whole of Norway was controlled by Sweden for certain periods (Figs. 1-4). Visby, the trade town on the island of Gotland, was controlled by Denmark and inhabited by German merchants for long periods. Initially, then, it will be important to provide a narrative historical study. We shall see in Chapter III that the seated Madonna and Child sculptures tend to be stylistically groupable in regards to geography which in turn implies local workshops.

Scandinavia was late to convert to Christianity (ninth century); from c. 1100, Christianity became the official religion in the Scandinavian kingdoms. Five religious orders, the Benedictines, Cistercians, Augustinians, Dominicans and the Franciscans established houses in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (Fig. 15-16). In the period from 1250-1350, the clergy gained more power and were given lucrative privileges from the kings in certain parts of Scandinavia.
Figure 2. Scandinavia c. 1270
Figure 3. Scandinavia c. 1350
Figure 4. Scandinavia c. 1400
The Hanseatic League was the most powerful trade organisation in Northern Europe between 1250 and 1350.\(^5\) During this time, the Scandinavian countries made military and trade alliances against the trade organisation, but never were able to take over its strong position, and Lübeck, the capital of the Hanseatic League, was strong in most parts of the Baltic Sea, as well as in the North Sea, in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.\(^6\) The capital on the island Gotland, Visby, the most important trade town in Sweden, was mainly run by German merchants and this must have influenced the acquisition of sculptures in the churches as well as the commissioning of stained glass in their widows.


General map of Sweden
1. Skåne
2. Blekinge
3. Halland
4. Småland
5. Öland
6. Gotland
7. Östergötland
8. Västergötland
9. Bohuslän
10. Dalsland
11. Närke
12. Södermanland
13. Uppland
14. Västmanland
15. Värmland
16. Dalarna
17. Gästrikland
18. Hälsingland
19. Härjedalen
20. Medelpad
21. Jämtland
22. Ångermanland
23. Lappland
24. Västerbotten
25. Norrland

Figure 6. Provinces Sweden 2011
Figure 7. Medieval Sweden
In the second to last section, which deals with pilgrimage, it will be shown that the relics of St. Olav of Norway were the leading reason why thousands of pilgrims travelled to Nidaros/Trondheim every year; St. Olav was repeatedly represented in
wooden sculpture in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. There were certain main pilgrimage routes from Sweden, especially through Värmland and into Norway. Another saint, Saint Birgitta, whose revelations about the Virgin and about Purgatory were so famous in the late Middle Ages, would also have a major impact on pilgrimage from Northern Europe to Southern Europe (not only because of her canonisation but also because it is one of the documented sources that people were travelling up and down the continent). Unfortunately there are no wooden figures of her dating to the first part of the fourteenth century because she only died in 1373 and wasn’t canonised till 1391. I will also, although briefly, survey other local Saints but we shall only find later wooden representations of those. The last part will be a brief account of the effects that the Black Death had on Sweden.

2. The political situation in Scandinavia

The period between 1250 and 1350 was an important time for development and definition among the Northern European countries (see Maps 1-4). In regards to the Scandinavian monarchs they were trying to create stronger kingdoms and increase their power in Europe. Alliances were made and broken, while the Scandinavian Kingdoms aspired to succeed within the Hanseatic League. The Valdemars ruled Denmark, members of the Sverre house were monarchs in Norway and the Folkungs in Sweden. In Maps 1-4 one can observe some of the many territorial changes which occurred in Scandinavia between 1220 and 1400.

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7 B. Wadensjö, Pilgrimsland (Karlstad: Värmlands Turistråd, 1998), 76-77.
8 B. & P. Sawyer, 206-7.
9 I. Andersson, 44. The House of Folkung, also known as House of Bjelbo (Swedish: Bjälboätten) was a Swedish family (from Östergötland) that provided several medieval Swedish bishops, jarls and kings in the 13th and 14th centuries.
### Chronology of Monarchs in Sweden during the Folkunga Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erik Eriksson (House of Erik)</td>
<td>1222 – 1229 and 1234 – 1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birger Jarl (Statesman/jarl)</td>
<td>1248-1266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valdemar Birgersson</td>
<td>1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnus Laduläs</td>
<td>1275-1290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birger (Birger Magnusson)</td>
<td>1290-1318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mats Kettilmundsson (chieftain)</td>
<td>1318-1319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnus Eriksson</td>
<td>1319-1364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erik Magnusson (King over part of the Kingdom in opposition to Magnus Eriksson)</td>
<td>1356-1359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Håkan Magnusson (first in opposition and then co-regent with Magnus Eriksson)</td>
<td>1362-1364</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chronology of Monarchs in Norway during the Folkunga Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Håkon IV Håkonsson (b. 1204-d. 1263)</td>
<td>Sverre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnus Lagabøte (b. 1238-d. 1280)</td>
<td>Sverre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eirik Magnusson (b. 1268-d. 1299)</td>
<td>Sverre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Håkon V Magnusson (b. 1270-d. 1319)</td>
<td>Sverre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnus Eriksson (b. 1316-d. 1374)</td>
<td>Folkungaätten (Sweden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Håkon VI Magnusson (b. 1340-d. 1380)</td>
<td>Folkungaätten (Sweden)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chronology of Monarchs in Denmark during the Folkunga Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abel (b. 1218 – d. 1252)</td>
<td>Ylvingaätten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christoffer I (b. 1219 – d. 1259)</td>
<td>Ylvingaätten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erik Klipping (b. 1249 – d. 1286)</td>
<td>Ylvingaätten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erik Menved (b. 1274 – d. 1319)</td>
<td>Ylvingaätten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christoffer II (First term) (b. 1276 – d. 1332)</td>
<td>Ylvingaätten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valdemar III (1314 – 1364)</td>
<td>Ylvingaätten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christoffer II (Second term)</td>
<td>Ylvingaätten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interregnum (Denmark was mortgaged to a few German counts)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valdemar Atterdag (b. c. 1320 – d. 1375)</td>
<td>Ylvingaätten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The House of Bjelbo (Swedish: Bjälboätten), also known as the House of Folkung

Figure 9. The House of Folkung
Key reasons for Nordic instability in this period were problems within the Danish court. Valdemar II died in 1241 and his brother, Abel, assassinated Valdemar’s son, Erik Plogpenning, in 1250. Abel himself was murdered in 1252 and was succeeded by his brother, Christofer I. Christofer I ruled until 1259 when he died, and was succeeded in his turn by his son, Erik Klipping. These rapid changes generated instability and frustration and, according to Sawyer, the Danish population grew sceptical of its government.\(^\text{10}\) The conflicts were not contained within Denmark but became a Scandinavian problem because of Danish marriage alliances with Norway and Sweden. Erik Plogpenning’s daughter Ingeborg married the Norwegian King Magnus Lagböter, and another daughter, Sofia, married the Swedish King Valdemar Birgersson in 1260.\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{10}\) B. & P. Sawyer, 70.
\(^{11}\) S. Carlsson and J. Rosén, Svensk Historia: Tiden Före 1718, 167.
Scandinavia and its relationships with other areas were conditioned, in most cases, by physical geography. Sweden to the east was closer to Finland and the Baltic region, and sought to expand there. Norway developed a stronger relationship with England across the North Sea. In the thirteenth century, Norway ruled over the north provinces of Jämtland, Härjedalen, and parts of Dalarna (See no. 21, 19 and 16 in Fig. 6). Norway also ruled Bohuslän on the west coast of Sweden (See no. 9 in Fig. 6). The only place Sweden had access to the North Sea was through Göta Älv and the town of Lödöse (Fig. 11). The Danes controlled some of Småland, most of Halland, Skåne and Blekinge (See no. 4, 3, 1 and 2 in Fig. 6).\(^{12}\)

In Sweden, in contrast to Denmark, the position of the monarchy was strengthened and the power of the church increased in the middle of the thirteenth century. The Swedish king Erik Eriksson died in 1250. He was succeeded by his nephew, Valdemar Birgersson who was born in 1240. Birger Jarl (his father) and Valdemar ruled simultaneously until Birger died in 1266 when Valdemar was 26. During the reign of Valdemar (Birger Jarl is considered to have been the actual ruler), the political structure changed and a more centralised government developed. A tax system was created since the king was unable to live off his own land.\(^{13}\) Shortly after Birger’s death, Magnus (Birgersson) Ladulås overthrew Valdemar (with the support of the king of Denmark) and was elected King at the Mora stones in 1275.\(^{14}\) He reigned until 1290. In 1276, Ladulås was crowned as King in old Uppsala Church, where he promised that the Church would be exempt from tax.\(^{15}\) In order to ensure his family’s succession, his son, Birger Magnusson (b.1280) was elected successor to the

\(^{12}\) A. Andersson, *MWSS II*, 95.

\(^{13}\) I. Andersson, 42.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., 41. Valdemar had to escape to Norway in 1275 and later Denmark but returned to Sweden in 1288 and was imprisoned in Nyköpingshus by his brother Magnus where he died in 1302.
throne in 1284 but the coronation did not take place until 1302. Ladulås successfully claimed Gotland in 1285, and Sweden grew in power, due to Gotland’s importance in the Hanseatic League. Ladulås also expanded his duties as a king, and moved the political centre to Stockholm (which did not become the official capital until 1634) on Lake Mälaren (Fig. 8), in order to be a more effective ruler. Ladulås broke the royal tradition of being buried in Alvastra Monastery (in Östergötland, see no 7 in Fig. 6) and was instead buried in the Franciscan church, today Riddarholmskyrkan, in Stockholm, a sign of Stockholm’s increasingly important position.16

Ladulås’s son, Birger Magnusson, became the successor to the throne in 1290 after his father died (though still a minor) and married Märta Eriksdotter of Denmark, the sister of Eric Menved, King of Denmark, in 1298. Menved had married Birger’s sister, Ingeborg Magnusdotter, at Helsingborg Castle in 1296. These two unions created an alliance against Norway, with which Sweden had strong links prior to these events.17 Toward the end of the thirteenth century, Ladulås also kept his court on the Island of Visingsö in Lake Vättern (Fig. 11) where he died in 1329.18

In 1295, The Swedes wanted again to expand their borders and looked east, toward the Baltic States and western Russia. The expansion to the east and the trade route between Novgorod and Lübeck were of importance to Sweden: two campaigns had already taken place in an attempt to take power in these regions.19 Sweden had established the town of Viborg (Fig. 11) in 1293, and successfully expanded the kingdom further east. The founding of the town, by Marshall Torgils Knutsson of

15 M. Andersson & L. Amuré, 32.
17 I. Andersson, 41.
18 Ibid., 44.
19 T. Lindkvist & P. Hansson eds., 23.
Viborg, had cost the Swedes a tremendous amount of money.\textsuperscript{20} Marshall Knutsson belonged to a noble group that opposed the increasing power of the church.\textsuperscript{21}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{map}
\caption{Rivers, Lakes and the Seas}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 23.
\textsuperscript{21} I. Andersson, 45.
In 1295, the Swedes began their third crusade against this region. Although Knutsson pushed to obtain the river Neva route (The Neva flows from Lake Ladoga

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Figure 12. The Hanseatic League, trading links
through the western part of Leningrad Oblast and the city of Saint Petersburg to the
Gulf of Bothnia, Fig. 11), the Russians defeated his army and conquered Landskrona
Castle, which had been built by Torgils Knutsson at the mouth of the Neva River in
1300. This loss made Sweden’s territory much more restricted and the problem was
not solved until the Peace of Nöteborg in 1323. After the reign of Torgils Knutsson
and the council (1290-1298), Birger Magnusson, son of Magnus Ladulås, was
successfully crowned in 1302. At the same ceremony his two brothers became Dukes
Valdemar of Södermanland and Erik of Uppland and Finland (Finland was only
separated from Sweden in 1809 when it became an autonomous Grand Duchy within
the Russian Empire, until Finland declared independence in 1917).

From 1303, there were disruptions in the relationship between Sweden,
Norway and Denmark, and the Norwegian-Danish alliance caused King Birger to
focus on the west, rather than on the eastern territories. In 1306, Birger renewed the
church’s previous privileges and exempted all property belonging to cathedrals or
parish churches from tax. However, the Marshall, Torgils Knutsson, was assassinated
and King Birger was imprisoned in Nyköpings Hus by his brothers, Duke Valdemar
and Duke Erik on 26 September 1306. Duke Erik declared himself the monarch,
whilst the Danes ravaged Västergötland and Duke Valdemar was plundering in Skåne.
Birger was released in 1308 and left for Denmark, only to bring back Danish and
Norwegian forces. Turmoil continued in Sweden and in 1310, a meeting was held
in the then Danish Helsingborg (Fig. 18), with the Swedish King, Dukes,
Scandinavian kings and some North German princes. It was decided that Sweden
should be divided into three duchies. Duke Erik married the Norwegian princess

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Ingeborg in 1312. At Nyköping’s banquet in 1317, Birger himself invited his brothers to a dinner party, but captured and imprisoned them, allegedly starving them to death. Birger died in 1318. In 1320, crown prince Magnus Birgersson was assassinated and in the same year Sweden turned its back on Denmark and made a union with Norway.

The intertwined history of Scandinavia continued as the Norwegians allied with Sweden but later with Denmark. The severe problems began when Haakon V died in 1319, and his three year old Swedish grandson, Magnus Eriksson, became the lawful heir to the Norwegian throne as well as to the Swedish one. The Swedish and Norwegian councils met and a friendly settlement was made. Magnus was to become king over both countries when he was of legal age. Until then, a group of nobles would act as a governing council to rule Norway. The brokered deal included provision that Magnus would reside in each country for part of the year. The Swedish council members elected the child as king, as did the Haugathing (government) in Norway. However, Ingeborg, the boy’s mother, meddled in both councils; as a widow she had become very close to a Danish nobleman from Halland, Knud Porse. The two declared war on Denmark running up huge debts for Norway as they pursued the war. At last, the Norwegian nobleman, Erling Vidkunnsson, was elected to rule the council until Magnus came of age. Despite Ingeborg’s malicious behaviour, she was treated with respect and was allowed to keep the Norwegian fiefs that she had been given prior to her involvement with Knud Porse. However, when she married him, all of this was removed from her possessions and the government excluded her from

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25 Ibid., 37.
26 B. & P. Sawyer, 69.
providing any advice or having any responsibility. 28 Erling was a responsible leader, made eternal peace with Denmark, and ended a three-year on-going war with Russia.

In 1332, Magnus Eriksson was crowned king over both Sweden and Norway, but he only ever had a minimal interest in Norway. 29 The power struggle and friction between the kingdoms of Scandinavia did not end but escalated, most likely, because of the German Hanse. Denmark resented the power of the Hanseatic League, especially since Denmark controlled the Sound and the Belt between the Baltic Sea and the North Sea. An agreement had been signed between the Danish King, Valdemar Atterdag, and the Swedish King, Magnus Eriksson, at Varberg Castle in 1343, when the Swedish King renounced the territories west of Öresund and the Danish King gave up the Skåne fief. 30 The council kept on ruling Norway until Magnus’s 10-year-old son Haakon Magnusson was crowned in 1350. 31 Magnus had two sons but Erik Magnusson, who was destined to succeed his father in Sweden, grew dissatisfied with what he thought was the less honourable territory (Sweden). Magnus had to give Erik more power since his son had the support of various noble groups in Sweden, but Erik died from the plague in 1359 and Haakon was declared king of both Norway and Sweden in 1364. 32 This passage shows how closely intertwined Scandinavia was and how difficult it is to assess the sculptures as being Swedish, Danish or Norwegian.

28 K. Larsen, 193.
29 I. Wallensten, 51.
30 D. Ditchburn & A. MacKay. Eds. Atlas of Medieval Europe, (London: Routledge, 1997), 171. In the early 1360s the Danish king, Valdemar Atterdag, managed to reclaim Skåne, Gotland and Öland from Magnus Eriksson, three important areas in the Hanseatic League. The Hanseatic League reacted against Denmark’s force, and on May 24, 1370 a peace treaty was signed in Strasburg between the Hanseatic League and Denmark where Denmark again had to give up Skåne to Sweden.
31 K. Larsen, 144.
32 Ibid., 144.
3. Scandinavia and the Church

As Christianity arrived in Sweden, clergymen came to the country. Here follows a chart of the establishment of the Swedish dioceses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medieval Diocese</th>
<th>Founded</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Cathedral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archdiocese of Uppsala</td>
<td>From 1164</td>
<td>Uppland except the Southern part, County of Gävleborg</td>
<td>Uppsala Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diocese of Linköping</td>
<td>Early twelfth century</td>
<td>Östergötland, Northern Småland</td>
<td>Linköping Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diocese of Skara</td>
<td>Ninth century</td>
<td>Central and Northern parts of Västergötland</td>
<td>Skara Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diocese of Strängnäs</td>
<td>c.1100</td>
<td>Södermanland except for the North-eastern part, Närke</td>
<td>Strängnäs Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diocese of Västerås</td>
<td>Early twelfth century</td>
<td>Provinces of Västmanland and Dalarna</td>
<td>Västerås Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diocese of Växjö</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>Western and South Småland, Öland</td>
<td>Växjö Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diocese of Lund (Danish territory until 1658)</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>Scania and Halland</td>
<td>Lund Cathedral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table of the medieval dioceses in Sweden.

The Scandinavian countries had begun conversion to Christianity in the ninth century with Denmark as the pioneering force, and it seems that cathedrals were erected in Sweden and in Norway shortly thereafter (the building of Lund Cathedral, which was not Swedish at the time, started in 1060).\(^{33}\) The Swedes carried on conversion in Finland in the eleventh century.\(^{34}\) As a result of conversion, craftsmen began to visit the Northern countries in order to build or construct the first churches.\(^{35}\) Thomas Lindkvist estimated that Västergötland, the Skara diocese (see no. 8 in Fig. 6) had approximately 500 churches standing by the beginning of the thirteenth century.\(^{36}\) Hagerman and Gabrielson estimated that there were 5,750 churches erected in

\(^{33}\) I. Andersson, 32. German and English missionaries were active in Sweden earlier than 830 when the first Christian congregation was founded by Ansgar (St. Ansgar or Oscar, [796? or 801 –865, in Bremen] was an Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen.) in Birka (a Christian burial sight from the ninth century has been found in the area of Varnhem monastery.) Sweden was, because of its geographical location in northernmost Europe, not Christianized until around AD 1000, around the same time as the other Nordic countries, when the Swedish King Olof was baptized.

\(^{34}\) B. & P. Sawyer, 69.

\(^{35}\) T. Lindkvist & M Sjöberg, Det Svenska Samhället 800-1720: Klerkerna och adelns tid, (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2003), 82.

\(^{36}\) Ibid., 82.
Sweden between 1100 and 1300, most of which were built in wood.\textsuperscript{37} Although there are no known missionaries from Byzantium recorded in Scandinavia in this period some Swedes fought there in the thirteenth century and would possibly have seen new buildings and works of art.\textsuperscript{38} However there are clues that there were international influences in medieval Sweden and Larsen believed that international or internationally-trained craftsmen trained local workers and for that reason, local workshops were established and connected to the major churches and cathedrals.\textsuperscript{39} Carlsson and Rosén discussed the possibilities of influences from the East (Russia) and it is probable there was some help with conversion from the Byzantine Orthodox church. Russia was converted by the Byzantine Empire. There were vigorous trade relationships between each side of the Baltic Sea, and this implies that there might be Byzantine influences on architecture in Sweden and they mentioned Sigtuna Church (Uppland) as an example (see location of Sigtuna, Fig. 12). They further wrote that men from the Nordic region, especially from Sweden, visited the Byzantine Empire and perhaps through their journeys were able to spread the word of Christianity on their return in these early days.\textsuperscript{40} Some Byzantine style paintings have been preserved in Garde Church on Gotland (Fig. 13). Garde Church dates back to the Romanesque period, (the tower was built in the thirteenth century, and the chancel was built in the second quarter of the fourteenth century). In one of the arcade arches there is a wall painting by an unknown artist dated stylistically to the twelfth century (Fig. 13).\textsuperscript{41} The baptismal font has also been assigned to the anonymous “Byzantios” because of its stylistic imitation of Byzantine art. I do not believe that these early stylistic traces

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 93.
\textsuperscript{39} K. Larsen, 149.
\textsuperscript{40} S. Carlsson & J. Rosén, \textit{SHTF1718}, 93.
should be classified as major stylistic influences on art in Sweden at this time but rather that there was an awareness of Byzantine art and architecture among the craftsmen.
During the period of the Folkungs in Sweden (1250-1365) the power of the church increased steadily (which perhaps gave them more opportunities to invest in the decoration of the churches). As has been mentioned earlier, in the reign of Magnus Ladulás 1275/6-1290, the church was given more privileges, and was exempt from property tax.\textsuperscript{42} The increased power of the church can be seen in the building projects of churches and cathedrals. Due to the clergy’s increased power, the Swedish church was able to enforce its own laws with its own ecclesiastical courts.

The first monastic order in Sweden and Norway was that of the Cistercians.\textsuperscript{43} However, English Cistercians founded the monasteries in Norway, whilst the French Cistercians founded Sweden’s in 1143. Aron Andersson believed that “the difference in the initiative may be significant, but does not mean that the Norwegian monasteries henceforth received the spiritual nourishment from England alone, or that those in Sweden were totally dependent on France.”\textsuperscript{44} According to the same source, English, French and the Scandinavian monks exchanged ideas and worked closely together; after all, they belonged to the same order.\textsuperscript{45} As we will see in chapter 3 the stylistic division is not always according to the nationality that founded monasteries but one can detect both English and French influences on wooden sculpture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

During the thirteenth century, several Dominican and Franciscan convents were also founded, most of them in the larger towns. The Dominicans were the largest mendicant order in the first half of the thirteenth century, but a Dominican house was

\textsuperscript{42} I. Andersson, 42.
\textsuperscript{43} S. Carlsson & J. Rosén, \textit{SHTF1718}, 137. Alvastra monastery was founded by monks from Clairvaux in 1143 and at the same time the Nydala Kloster. The Varnhem kloster was founded in 1150.
\textsuperscript{44} A. Andersson, \textit{MWS S II}, 95-96.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 96.
actually founded in Stockholm as late as 1336. The Franciscan order was slightly behind, although a few houses were founded in the thirteenth century.

Figure 14. Monasteries founded before 1230

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During the 1270’s and 1280’s, the Franciscan order expanded, probably because of support from the king, Magnus Ladulås. There is a certain separation of the orders in different regions of Sweden, but in the larger towns Visby, Skara and Stockholm both orders were present. One can imagine that the arrival of the mendicants and their houses brought continental and international culture and world knowledge to the recently founded Swedish towns.

Until the beginning of the twelfth century, all of Scandinavia belonged to the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen and this undoubtedly fostered links with northern Germany. Lund became Scandinavia’s first cathedral city in 1060. The Norwegians established Nidaros as their first cathedral city in 1153 and Uppsala became the Swedish archbishopric in 1164 when the ecclesiastical headquarters was moved

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47 S. Carlsson & J. Rosén, SHTF1718, 142.
48 J. A. Hellström, 189.
49 T. Lindkvist & M Sjöberg, DSSKA, 85. Lund was then part of Denmark, 87.
50 Ibid., 87.
from Lund.\textsuperscript{51} “Regular cathedral Chapters were established; the parish subdivision received the form that, on a whole, it would retain throughout the middle ages; the ordinances of the Swedish Church were adjusted in all essentials to the continental model…”\textsuperscript{52} Sweden finally had its own archdiocese.

Both brick and stone churches were erected in Scandinavia. However, brick construction flourished in Germany and Denmark, and spread to the Scandinavian mainland where for instance Gumlösa Church in Skåne was inaugurated in 1191.\textsuperscript{53} The German influence in the choice of brick as building material for churches might have been present in Mälardalen as early as the end of the twelfth century. Both Uppsala Cathedral and St. Peter’s Church (begun in 1300 and inaugurated in 1319) in Malmö were built of brick, the latter closely related to the architecture of Lübeck (Church of St. Mary and the Lübeck Cathedral). Additionally, both Sweden and Norway had and have great resources of stone, and Gotlandic limestone was even exported (Norway, Belgium, Latvia and Denmark) for building construction.\textsuperscript{54}

In the mid thirteenth century, the newly founded Canon Law resulted in a more organised church: dioceses, parishes and congregations were established in Sweden. Soon thereafter, a massive development of church construction occurred and a hierarchic structure of bishops, priests and other clerics was implemented.\textsuperscript{55} Canon Law is sometimes thought of in relation to the Gregorian reformation and its conditions that the church should be independent from state and society. This law included all matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as in crimes of sin, for example,
adultery. Since the church was given its freedom to practise its own laws, it was also entitled to enforce penalties and collect fees for crimes committed. Judicial practices were regional and bound to their respective parishes.\textsuperscript{56} Prior to the Canon Law, the old Västgötalagen (the Law of Västgötaland) stated that the people with the approval of the king should elect the bishop and the archbishop of Uppsala was elected in 1220 according to this regulation. In 1247/48, the Papal legate, the Frenchman Wilhelm of Sabina visited Sweden. The legate advised and approved Canon Laws and argued that the election of the bishop was solely an ecclesiastical matter.\textsuperscript{57} At a meeting in Skänninge in 1248, some further points were added and included in Canon Law. As a result of this meeting, priests were forced to be celibate, and constrained to leave the church everything in their wills, regardless of their relatives. The Swedish church reached its greatest power in 1281 due to Ladulås’ generous privileges, but the ecclesiastical organisation thereafter realised the difficulty of retaining this position. The king and state had begun to feel the lack of income from the tax-exempt land that was owned by the church and an opposition, lead by Marshall Torgils Knutsson (the same person who led campaigns to the east), began to conspire. Privileges such as these were never again fully recovered after the death of Magnus Ladulås, but some were reinstated in 1310 when the former regent’s son, Birger Magnusson, succeeded Torgils Knutsson.\textsuperscript{58} The new Uppsala Cathedral began reconstruction in the 1280’s and the former king, Erik Eriksson was named the patron of what was the most important cathedral in Sweden at that time.\textsuperscript{59}

There is one documented case of an international mason that worked in Sweden in the thirteenth century. In 1258, the Pope gave his consent for the

\textsuperscript{56} T. Lindkvist, \textit{Sveriges Historia}, (Solna: Esselte studium, 1985), 70.
\textsuperscript{58} S. Carlsson & J Rosén, \textit{SHTF1718}, 136.
\textsuperscript{59} I. Andersson, 42.
construction of Uppsala Cathedral, but it was not until 1287 that it was actually begun. Swedish students in Paris sponsored or lent the French mason, Etienne Bonneuil, money to come to Uppsala. The mason is believed to have arrived in Sweden in 1289, when he is mentioned in one of the records: he was paid forty Parisian pounds in order to pay assistants for the purpose of the construction of Uppsala Cathedral. The same mason was also mentioned in Swedish records in 1291. There are no records as to how work proceeded, but it is known that the architect was back in Paris by 1300, and it is also around this time that German influences began to appear on the cathedral. It is difficult to determine how much influence one person could possibly have on a community in about a decade, however, some of his French workers might have stayed on. What is clear is that the German influences on architecture and art started to surface around the time of his departure, replacing French ones. In the case of Swedish cathedrals, it does not seem that the French Gothic style retained its pre-eminence, because Linköping Cathedral show English influence when it was reconstructed in the mid-thirteenth century. Paul Williamson further mentioned that there were influences from Westphalia and Saxony in Southern Scandinavian art in the mid to late thirteenth century, but that monumental sculpture related more closely to France. The latter could perhaps be explained by the fact that Scandinavian clergy had to study at the University of Paris. Traditionally, from the twelfth century, most of what would become the

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60 A. Lindblom, *Sveriges konsthistoria – från forntid till nutid* (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1944), 173. The first Christian church in Gamla Uppsala was probably erected in the 11th century. In the same location, a cathedral was constructed in the year 1164. The church that stands there today is only half the size of the cathedral, but traces of the cathedral can be found in the church walls. In 1270 the bishopric was moved to the village Östra Aros, which would become the town of Uppsala. The cathedral was degraded to a parish church, and received its present-day form in the 15th century.  
61 A. Lindblom, 175.  
63 Ibid., 175.  
64 A. Andersson, *MVWSS II*, 104.  
65 P. Williamson, 220.
“Scandinavian” clergy came from France or Germany. Subsequently from the thirteenth century Swedish students began to travel to the Universities of Paris and Bologna for theological and juridical studies. With the expansion of the Swedish church and the approval of the Canon Law, educated people were sought after towards the end of the thirteenth century. Additionally to Uppsala, the important cathedral towns became Lund (then Denmark), Linköping, Örebro, Skara, Västerås, Stockholm, Strängnäs, Visby and Växjö which all expanded because of their cathedral constructions.

4. Trade in Scandinavia and the Hanseatic League

Trade between the Northern European countries expanded throughout the thirteenth century. Williamson has pointed out that “where trade leads the way art is rarely far behind, and in all three countries there was great expansion of building activity, and the production of sculpture.” The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Northern Europe were dominated by the Hanseatic League (Fig. 13). Lübeck was established in 1143, where merchants from Westphalia had begun to trade some time earlier. Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, rebuilt Lübeck (on a new location) in 1158/59 after a devastating fire that ruined much of the settlement. Duke Henry invited Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Russian merchants to trade in the new town. According to John A. Gade, Hamburg maritime law considered it a matter-of-course that ships went to Norway and Scania for fish, then sailed to England, Flanders and through the English channel to the west coast of France where salt and wine would be

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66 B. & P. Sawyer, 101, 123.
67 S. Carlsson & J. Rosén, SHTF1718, 141.
69 Williamson, 220.
70 Ibid., 151.
Lübeck had trade routes that went to Bruges, London (and from there Bergen), and from Bergen to Lübeck (Fig 9), through Copenhagen and the sound and the Scanian Fairs, to Stockholm and Visby; both routes continued to Novgorod and/or Finland. The Hanseatic merchants were present in all major ports and must have traded with the local inhabitants. The trade route stretched from south to north and there were direct links to Sweden from Germany, Norway and Denmark (Fig. 12).

5. Hanseatic Trade routes

There were three major routes in use in the early fourteenth century, from east to west. From the Danish archipelago, the merchants followed the Wendish (Fig. 16) or the Baltic coastlines, as they could travel the Swedish east coast north to Roslagen to turn to Åland and sail to the Neva River. The third route (Fig. 16) was, however, the shortest, but it included the more intrepid passing of the Baltic Sea. This route went from the North Kalmar sound to the North Cape of Öland, to Gotland, and around Fårö (the island just North of Gotland) and further to the bay of Riga, Kurland (Latvia). The Norwegian kings and merchants supplied falcons and hawks to their trade customers, amongst whom were English kings. Henry III of England bought timber panelling for Windsor Castle from Norway, a purchase which suggests a close trade relationship between Norway and England. It is also known that the monk Matthew Paris visited Norway in 1248 from St. Albans. Norway had four important market towns, Bergen, Nidaros, Tönsborg and Oslo (Fig. 9) which were all situated

71 J. A. Gade, The Hanseatic Control of Norwegian Commerce During the Late Middle Ages (Leiden, 1951), 19.
73 B. & P. Sawyer, 153, 156.
74 A. Andersson, English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1950), 97-98.
Some German merchants would stay in Norway over the winter months and would sell Norwegian goods in England and sell English and continental products on the Norwegian market. According to Gade, the first foreign craftsmen who settled in Bergen were German shoemakers: this group was present before 1250 and tailors, bakers, goldsmiths and furriers followed shortly thereafter. German craftsmen were apparently more skilled and their work was of higher quality than that of the Norwegians. Germans were popular in Bergen in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The settling of highly skilled craftsmen created tension between Bergen and Lübeck. In 1247, Lübeck pirates attacked Norwegian merchants, an act that would

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75 J. A. Gade, *The Hanseatic Control of Norwegian Commerce During the Late Middle Ages*, 24.
76 Ibid., 29.
77 Ibid., 31.
78 Ibid., 31.
influence Norwegian-German trade for a long time ahead. 79 Cardinal Wilhelm of Sabina begged the officials in Bergen to release the German merchants in that city. German merchants were no longer allowed to stock up on butter, skins or cod, and this seem to have been the rule until at least 1284, when a Norwegian nobleman turned pirate captured some German merchants. The Germans now imposed a trade embargo on Norway. By the end of the thirteenth century, German ships had taken over the Norwegian trade with England. 80 It is impossible to deny Germany’s strong impact and presence in Northern Europe and its dominance must have affected society, even workshops.

6. Two Major Scandinavian Industries
In the thirteenth century Sweden had two major industries, metal working and fishing. These activities attracted competent foreign craftsmen who settled, at least for a time, in Sweden. It is not a coincidence in my opinion, that in these regions (mid-west, mid-east and the south) there is a higher number of surviving wooden Madonna figures (Figs. 16 and 17) than in others. The key reason for this new immigration was a new technique of extracting metal from the ore. The technique was introduced by Germans, and Sweden welcomed German craftsmen who were given special tax privileges. 81 The discovery of these resources led Sweden to develop coastal distribution towns where trade began and continued to blossom. Towns and settlements in and around Bergslagen, such as Arboga, Örebro and Linköping (Fig. 17) developed and expanded under German influence. Falu copper mine (in Falun) was opened in 1226 (Fig. 17) so this area had international relations and exchange from an early time. From 1275 to 1290, a more professional operation began to take

79 Ibid., 31.
80 A. Andersson, English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1950), 99.
81 I. Andersson, 41.
place in the Falu Copper mine and nobles and foreign merchants from Lübeck had taken over from farmers. Estimates show that about 50% of the copper sold in Europe came from Falun and its operations and developed methods and technology used for mining had great influence. A document from 1288 records that, in exchange for an estate, the Bishop of Västerås acquired a 12.5% interest in the mine.\textsuperscript{82} In the mid fourteenth century the mine was a vital national resource and a large part of the revenues for the Swedish state in the coming centuries would be from the mine.\textsuperscript{83} The tremendous mining resources in Bergslagen created a closer relationship with the German trading towns, and as a result Sweden grew as a power. Essentially, it was the metal industries that drove Swedish trade. Sweden was able to offer iron, silver and copper, as well as furs and skins as the main trading commodities to Lübeck.

\textbf{Figure 17. Bergslagen}

The other major industry of Scandinavia was stock-fish and herring. Ivar Andersson estimated that thousands of men worked in the fish trade along the coasts

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{82} S. Rydberg, \textit{Stora Kopparberg - 1000 years of an industrial activity}. (Stockholm: Gullers International AB, 1979), 12.
\item \textsuperscript{83} Rydberg, p. 13
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
of Norway, Sweden and Denmark.84 The German and English Salt Fleets bought the salt from France and sailed to the coastal lines of the northern countries to bring back the goods for preservation. Since the demand for herring was high, other related industries developed, and soon, according to a fourteenth-century traveller, perhaps over 30,000 men were employed within related businesses.85

84 Ibid., 41.
85 E. Cheyney, *The Dawn of a New Era: 1250-1453* (New York, 1936), 5. This number must be grossly overestimated since the whole population of Sweden has been estimated between 700 000 and 1000000 people.
7. Urbanisation

Sweden underwent some major changes in the thirteenth century when towns were founded. In the thirteenth century towns such as Arboga, Enköping, Kalmar, Linköping, Nyköping, Skänninge, Stockholm, Strängnäs, Uppsala, Västerås, Åbo and Örebro began to grow. Some towns such as Kalmar and Söderköping (Fig. 18) seem to have had their roots in the twelfth century. By 1300, there were approximately twenty-five established towns in Sweden. Stockholm became the most successful town in Sweden and reached the same important position as Bergen in Norway. Scandinavian towns, however, were relatively small, though population grew and shortly after 1250, Stockholm reached about 7,000 inhabitants. The other larger towns in Sweden held, perhaps, 1,000 in population each. By comparison, in c. 1300, Lübeck had a population of 40,000 people.

Stockholm was the main export centre for produce in Sweden, which was shipped to Lübeck and England. In the thirteenth century, there was still considerable freedom for merchants (this would change in the fourteenth century, as Gotland traders were no longer allowed to travel from the Baltic to the North Sea). In order to ensure Stockholm’s economic success, Birger Jarl gave Lübeck merchants such privileges that they were exempt from certain taxes and gave them permission to trade freely. This generous act was not merely to boost business, but for the king to ensure himself military support from the Hansa.

8. Visby

Visby was the second most important trade town after Lübeck in Northern Europe during the Hanseatic League (the number of inhabitants is not known).
town, situated on the island of Gotland, seems to have naturally developed into a trade Mecca. Farmers on Gotland began trade with foreign merchants (mainly from Lübeck) and soon merchants realised the advantages of setting up commerce in the town.

Much evidence of medieval splendour survives in Visby; for example the Gunpowder Tower in the harbour, dating to 1150; the warehouses from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the substantial city wall dating to the 1280s. Visby was a medieval metropolis with innumerable international influences. It was here that citizens from different German towns came and developed their own community. Although Denmark had an advantage because of the Belt and the Sound between the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, the Gotlanders had the advantage of preserving the Viking tradition of shipbuilding. Their boats were inspired by the Vikings in scale as well as shape (flat bottoms of the ships). This made the Gotlanders able to reach Novgorod, as they could enter the shallow harbours easily. Of course, the Hanseatic League was envious of the Gotlanders’ swift ship building skills, since many German towns had been established along the Baltic coasts between the years of 1200 and 1250. These towns had been founded because of the decrease of the Danish monarch’s importance and presence during the reign of Valdmar II.

In the 1220s, Gotland traders began to visit England and took the overland route through Hamburg and Lübeck, establishing Visby as a major trade town in the Hanseatic League. Hamburg, Bremen and Visby were rated right after Lübeck and Cologne in commercial importance. Gotland was at this time a rich island in the Baltic Sea and was ruled by Sweden. In 1237, the Gotlanders were granted special
privileges by Henry III and were permitted to conduct business on the east coast of England, mostly in the towns of Norfolk and Lincolnshire, and they were allowed to stay for unlimited time. We can only compare these sorts of privileges to the ones accorded to the merchants of Cologne. However, after the 1280s, the Gotlanders were prohibited by the Hanseatic League from travelling from the Baltic Sea to the North Sea, and on top of this, the Lübeck merchants ran a monopoly of Visby and the island’s trade. The independent republic of Gotland and the town of Visby were governed separately due to the political schism between the town and the island.

These regulations irritated some of the trading farmers: the countryside on Gotland (who lost their ability to conduct business), and the Visby merchants and their foreign allies (Germans), had to fight a civil war in 1288. The civil war started because the merchants had surrounded Visby with a city wall and driven out the peasants. This contradicted the town law of Visby which stated that anyone could do business on the shore up to 12 armfuls (the quantity that can be contained in the arms). The cause of the civil war was the termination of free commerce and the attempt to implement a trade monopoly (which also occurred with the Hanseatic League.) The Swedish King Magnus Ladulås (who had no power over Gotland) was called in for negotiations, and the people of Visby were forced to pay damages, because they had built a wall around the city without any permission.

German expansion in the Baltic Sea had begun in Visby. The Germans used the same trade routes as the natives and as the fourteenth century began, German infiltration of the industry was completed. Soon thereafter, Visby lost much of its significance in the international trade system. The Germans had already developed

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94 B. & P. Sawyer, 161.
95 Sawyer, 161.
trade centres in the Baltic States and their shipping techniques had improved drastically. They no longer needed Visby as a staging area. Lübeck and the Dutch Hanse did not have to take the route around the north cape of Jutland. Instead, they focussed on trade in the North Sea.

According to af Ugglas most of the churches that were built on Gotland in the fourteenth century display Rhenish and Westphalian influences. He further wrote that there was a trade relationship between Norway and Gotland, but that it is unknown if Gotland traded with Denmark. As stained glass became popular in Cathedrals in Europe, the trend would also reach Sweden roughly around 1225 and decorate both cathedrals and smaller churches. It is believed that all churches on Gotland had stained glass windows and that some of them show Byzantine or Westphalian influences. Lye Church has a stained glass window (See Fig 81, Chapter II) with the Virgin and a standing Christ Child. According to Andersson, these stained glass images have mainly been associated with North German painting, specifically the wall paintings (from around 1310) in Schleswig Cathedral. The stained glass window at Lye also resembles the wooden Madonnas with a standing Christ from my B3 group (which will be discussed in Chapter 3).

The period during which Gotland was an important trade centre would not last for much longer. Already on July 27, 1366, the Danish King, Valdemar Atterdag, conquered Gotland and some 2000 farmer soldiers were killed in battle. Due to the

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arrival of the Black Death and the Danish conquest Visby declined in power and lost its status as a major trade town.\textsuperscript{100}

9. Skåne

Another active trade area on the Swedish peninsula was Skåne. Skåne (see no. 1 in Fig. 5) in the south was visited by a variety of German traders, as well as those from the Flemish regions. In 1300, the southern markets were visited by English, Germans and Norwegians, as it was a perfectly situated market place. Between the two seas were Skanör and Falsterbo, which would become important markets. Both towns specialised in herring and a new trade area was developed; both towns are situated on the west part of the Falsterbo peninsula, Falsterbo sits on the southern tip, and Skanör 3 km further north and they were usually referred to as the Scania market. Skanör was of greater importance during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Foreign merchants dominated the Skåne market as the Danish Court gave foreign travellers privileges.\textsuperscript{101} A permanent Hanseatic office was set up in Skanör and Falsterbo, similar to the ones that existed in London, Bruges and Antwerp, Bergen and Novgorod. During the thirteenth century, towns such as Landskrona, Malmö, Ystad, Simrishamn and Åhus were established because of the herring markets and the area consequently flourished.\textsuperscript{102} In 1332, the Skåne territory was under German rule (Valdemar III of Denmark had pawned the area to John III of Holstein) and John of Holstein began negotiations with the Swedish king Magnus Eriksson to control the entrance and exit to the Baltic Sea. Magnus Eriksson bought the provinces for such an


\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., 8-9.

\textsuperscript{102} G. Westholm, \textit{Hanseatic Sites, Routes and Monuments} (Visby: County Administration of Gotland, 1996), 16.
enormous sum that the king had to pawn Blekinge in order to save the country’s finances.\footnote{Andersson & Amuré, 39.}

The river mouths of the provinces of Halland and Bohuslän were highly valued by the Swedes (Halland belonged to Denmark and Bohuslän to Norway) in the political trade game, as were the coastal towns of Oslo and Bergen. Norway was especially dependent on the import of grain from Germany and Flanders. The fisheries in Bohuslän were visited by a majority of North Germans merchants who had expanded their trade empire by colonising the entire eastbound coastline of Lübeck.\footnote{Gade, 22.} The Lübeck branch was aware of Norway’s dependency and took advantage of this shortcoming after Norwegian crop failures. Norway had no choice but to hand over the monopoly of trade by the sea to Lübeck.\footnote{Westholm, 16.} This action sabotaged the relationship between Norway and England for a long time ahead, and the relationship between Gotland and England was hurt when Lübeck prohibited the Gotlanders from sailing through the Belt that separates the Baltic Sea from the North Sea.\footnote{Ibid., 16.}

10. The Hanseatic League

Going back in time in order to explain the extent of the Hanseatic League, in 1157, Cologne merchants were already established in London and were followed by the merchants from Westphalia. The Gotland-traders were under Westphalian leadership and traded in Russia, Norway, England and the rest of the Baltics. The position of the Westphalian merchants was regarded slightly higher than the English and Norwegian merchants.\footnote{J. A. Gade, 16.} In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Visby was, perhaps, the leading region of art in Sweden, and influences must naturally have come

\footnotetext[103]{Andersson & Amuré, 39.} \footnotetext[104]{Gade, 22.} \footnotetext[105]{Westholm, 16.} \footnotetext[106]{Ibid., 16.} \footnotetext[107]{J. A. Gade, 16.}
from Germany, considering the numerous population of German merchants in Visby. There was some reconstruction of Visby Cathedral in the first part of the thirteenth century and af Ugglas reasoned that this would have been a prime time for foreign sculptors and artists to get work, and that stone carvers as well as wood carvers arrived in Visby. He believed that these artists were, perhaps, travellers and went where there was work, but that only a few of them actually stayed.\(^{108}\) It is possible, however, that some of them stayed permanently in a rich trading town. The Hanseatic seal had been removed from Visby as of 1299 and this implies that the importance of Visby’s international stature decreased.\(^{109}\)

11. Lübeck

Lübeck was undergoing comprehensive reconstruction in the mid thirteenth century, trying hard to establish itself as the Eastern European trade Mecca.\(^{110}\) Lübeck’s architecture inspired much of southern Swedish architecture and it would only be logical to presume that the south of Scandinavia, as well as the eastern coast, would show influences from Lübeck sculpture. However, as few sculptures survive from Schleswig Holstein from this period, it will be very difficult to prove a case.

Lübeck was one of the most prominent towns in Northern Europe after the expansion of the Hanseatic League. The town controlled much of the European trade and demonstrated its power with embargoes and warfare. Lübeck made agreements with the territories of Rügen, Mecklenburg and Pomerania in order to protect its own trade in 1242.\(^{111}\) The German Hanseatic League was present in England prior to 1281 when German merchants formed a common front against the English.\(^{112}\)

\(^{110}\) Gade, 15-16.
\(^{111}\) Ibid., 15-16.
\(^{112}\) Ibid., 15-16.
exports from England were wool, fabrics and salt. Other less important goods were furs, hawks and wax. The English visited Bergen and Denmark, but there is no sign that they traded in the Baltic region before 1251. The Wendish group was mainly active in Scandinavia but it was followed by Westphalia, Saxony, Brandenburg and Prussia. In the fourteenth century, Lübeck had control over the Lüneburg salt mines and there were approximately 37,500 men working within related industries. Due to the diminished power of Visby, Lübeck and Hamburg were given trading agreements in England. The confederation had obtained trading privileges in Sweden before 1261. The Scandinavian countries had formed the Nordic Union and competition with the Dutch and English trade in the Baltic region increased. Europe was also troubled by agricultural crises and then came the Black Death. In 1356, a meeting was called and an annual diet was subsequently planned to be held in Lübeck.

12. Guilds and Workshop

Trade guilds became popular and wide spread in the beginning of the fourteenth century in German cities, but they were not established until the second half of the fourteenth century in Sweden. The role of the guild was to protect the different groups of craftsmen in the market place and to ensure quality was maintained. They also determined how many craftsmen were to trade in one town. In Scandinavia wood carvers did not form their own guild but belonged to general craftsmen’s guilds. The numbers of members in guilds varied considerably at this time. A guild was led by an alderman who worked as a delegate between the guild

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113 Ibid., 17. In the Middle Ages, Pomerania and the surrounding areas were called Wendland or Vendland.
114 Ibid., 17.
115 Westholm, 19.
117 Westholm, 20.
and the authorities. The guild also decided how many masters there could be in a city, therefore even if a person had passed the test to become master they could still be denied the right to have a workshop if the guild considered that there were too many workshops in one town.\textsuperscript{120} The earliest date for guild in Sweden was 1356 in Stockholm and the format was copied from the German concept. It was stipulated that you had to be an apprentice or a journeyman in a master’s workshop in order to work in a field.\textsuperscript{121} Very little is known about the Swedish medieval workshop. A workshop of four people seems to have been relatively common in Northern Germany and the Baltic region in the late Middle Ages and perhaps; it is plausible to think that the Swedes followed their structure as they did with the guild structure.\textsuperscript{122} According to Bondsdorff, a master seems to have had two apprentices and one journeyman or the workshop comprised two journeymen and one apprentice.\textsuperscript{123} The best evidence for production is to be derived from the sculptures themselves: that is to say large groups in one geographical area, all assignable to c.1250-75, 1275-1300, 1300-1325 or 1325-1350. Even larger groups of loosely related sculptures might indicate different workshops. The documentary evidence is so slight that I can extrapolate only from the surviving material culture.

One interesting idea to keep in mind is, were there enough workshops located in Sweden to equip all the churches and cathedrals in every town and village, granted that each church had a minimum of approximately three sculptures each: the Patron Saint, the Holy Rood and the Madonna and Child? The answers to these questions are complex since it shapes one’s view of the scale and nature of indigenous Scandinavian production. In many cases, it is very tempting to designate a sculpture

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 119.
\textsuperscript{121} L. Magnusson, \textit{Sveriges ekonomiska historia}. (Falun: ScandBook AB, 1997), 120-125.
\textsuperscript{122} J. Bondsorff, “Kunstproduktion und Kunstverbereitung im Osterraum des Spätmittelalters” \textit{Finska Fornminnes Föreningens Tidskrift} 99, 1993, 60.
an imported piece of art, by comparing it to sculpture that exists in Sweden and the rest of Scandinavia.

13. Pilgrimage

Only forty years after the death of King Olav of Norway, pilgrims had already begun their pilgrimages to his shrine at Nidaros (now Trondheim). The roads to Nidaros were filled with foreign pilgrims, perhaps as many as 3-4,000 every summer, according to Schylberg.124

There were various pilgrimage routes to Nidaros; the main one went through Medelpad and Jämtland as it was said that the St. Olav’s springs would cure the sick.125 St. Olav’s cult was widespread: a large number of churches dedicated to St. Olav were built in Nidaros and the rest of Norway and also four in London and around fifty in Normandy, Scotland and Ireland.126 Trondheim became the Nordic area’s chief pilgrimage centre. Only the monastery at Vadstena, although later, (dedicated to St. Birgitta) would come close to the numbers visiting on pilgrimage in the Nordic regions.127 Although worshippers came from further afield than just Sweden, Norway and Denmark to St. Olav’s grave, the numbers of pilgrims could not be compared with those of Santiago de Compostella, Rome or Jerusalem. There were several ways to get to Nidaros (Figs. 21 and 22). According to Jörälv, there were four major routes through Värmland to Nidaros. The eastbound went through the

123 J. Bonsdorff, 60.
124 S. Schylberg, “Olof den Helige och Medeltidens Pilgrimståg” Jämten (1993), 26. King Olav was born in 995 in Norway. He was sent to the Baltics and England, accepted Christianity and was subsequently baptised in Rouen, Normandy. He returned to Norway in 1015 and was crowned king of Norway after the battle of Näsja, but was forced into exile in 1028, when he was defeated by Knud den Store of Denmark. Olav was married to Astrid, the daughter of Olav Skötkonung and brother-in-law to king Aund of Sweden. King Olav, upon his return from exile in Russia, travelled through Medelpad and Jämtland. On July 29, 1030, Olav was killed in the battle of Stiklestad, and was shortly thereafter considered saintly for his martyr’s death. He was officially canonized as late as 1888.
125 Ibid., 27.
126 Ibid., 28.
127 L. Jörälv, Vägen till Nidaros: Längs Medeltida pilgrimsleder genom Sverige och Norge (Värnamo: Wahlström & Widstrand 2000), 8. The Vadstena Abbey was founded by St. Birgitta as the motherhouse of the Bridgettine Order.
Klarälvsdalen, which continued up towards Trysil and into the Österdalen. Another one went from the mouth of the Norrälven through Frykdalen and Rottman and up to Österdalen. The route from Dalsland went through Järnskog where it joined the previous route through Edskogen.\textsuperscript{128} There were two southern routes that went through Värmland to Norway, another from Dalarna. A third went to Lillhärdal, where it joined with the routes from Hälsingland: the Herredal-Norway route.\textsuperscript{129} Danish and German pilgrims would arrive by boat at Lödöse at Götaälv and continue by foot along the west side of Lake Vänern.\textsuperscript{130} The regions are still full of St Olav memorials, and there were resting places in Glava; there is even a church dedicated to St. Olav in Älgå. The pilgrims, who travelled to Nidaros, through the isolated and dense forests of Scandinavia, may have had a large impact on the religious arts. It is usually believed that most thirteenth-century sculpture in the north-west regions was influenced by English and Norwegian sculpture. This idea should be reconsidered. The pilgrims that walked through these regions must have brought relics and ivories; some of these pilgrims may even have been carvers. The majority of the people who travelled came from the south of Sweden. In the south of the Scandinavian Peninsula was Lund, where the original archdiocese was located. It seems reasonable to believe that influences would come from the south, rather than from the north, since the majority of pilgrims came from that location. The Madonnas in Värmland are very similar to those that are considered to belong to the South Scandinavian workshop and the Norwegian material. Of course, as the German and Flemish immigrant craftsmen to the north- and Midwest region had come through Skåne or Gotland, this phenomenon is not that strange and implies even more strongly that direct influences came through Germany.

\textsuperscript{128} Jörälv, 49.
Another person who contributed to pilgrimage in Sweden was Birgitta Birgersdotter who was born in 1303. She became known as Saint Birgitta of Sweden or Birgitta of Vadstena (in Swedish commonly as den Heliga Birgitta), classified as a Mystic and saint, and founder of the Bridgettine Order, after over 20 years of married life before her husband died. In 1316, when Birgitta was 13, she married Ulf Gudmarsson of the family of Ulvåsa, lord of Närke, to whom she bore eight children; she gained, too, great religious influence over her husband, with whom (1341–1343) she went on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in Spain. In 1344, shortly after their return, Ulf died in the Cistercian monastery of Alvastra Abbey in Östergötland, and Birgitta then devoted herself entirely to religion and her visions increased. It was about this time that she founded the Order of St. Saviour, or the Bridgettines, of which the principal house at Vadstena was richly endowed by King Magnus Eriksson of Sweden and his queen. Around 1350 Birgitta went to Rome, partly to obtain from the pope the authorization of the new order and partly in pursuance of her self-imposed mission to elevate the moral tone in medieval Sweden. She remained in Rome until her death on July 23, 1373 and was originally buried at San Lorenzo in Panisperna before allegedly being moved to Sweden. She was canonized in the year 1391 by Pope Boniface IX, and confirmed by the Council of Constance in 1415.131

Many of her visions included the Virgin and in her 4th revelation she described the Virgin: “the head was glowing as gold and your hair as the colour of the sun, the forehead white as the cleanest of consciousnesses and the mouth as a shining lantern.”132 It is believed that she increased veneration for the Virgin in Sweden and

129 Schylberg, 28.
130 Jörälv, 50.
perhaps because of her own importance and her high regard for the Madonna and Child many of them were spared during the Reformation. However, representations of Saint Birgitta do not exist before the first part of the fifteenth century.

In addition to representations of the Madonna and Child, Holy Rood and St. Olaf and a few bishops that were represented in the medieval churches there were some local saints which could have contributed to pilgrimage in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, in wooden sculpture (or any other form) there are no surviving examples of these until the fifteenth century (St. Sigfrid, St. Helena, St. Anna, Brynolf of Skara, St. Nikolaus of Linköping and St. Erik).

Figure 19. Pilgrim Routes (through the valley of Klarälven)
14. The Black Death

The Black Death’s arrival is the natural terminus for this chapter, as it is for the thesis. The Scandinavian countries had been well-connected and rich societies but the Black Death changed the flourishing markets. The Black Death arrived in Norway in 1349 when an English ship stopped in Bergen (see Fig.12). The plague spread up through the Oslo fjord and along the coast down to Denmark. The archbishop of Trondheim was killed by the Black Death and died on October 17 the same year. The Black plague spread from Norway to Värmland which was perhaps the first region in Sweden to suffer this epidemic. As a result, a third of Sweden’s population was eliminated in a short matter of time. If the English made port at Bergen in western Norway and walked over to the western part of Sweden, the connection to England is clear. Klarälvsdalen seems to have been extremely affected by the Black Death; whole parishes were eradicated. It should also be emphasised that

133 B. & P Sawyer, 47.
134 Wadensjö, 76-77.
this was one of the major pilgrim routes to Nidaros. Entire families died out, and the land was left unused, resulting in the growth of a new population. According to T. Styffe, there is a saying that the whole river valley was completely empty, with the exception of one person in Höljes and his closest neighbour in Gräs in Sunnemo. Another history portrays the decimation of the society by saying that the forest grew right up to the church and that the people, at one point, could not find it. Sweden was harassed by the plague the following year as a new strain arrived from the South Baltics. It is uncertain how many people died from the plague but it is known that different provinces were more fortunate than others. Småland was hit harder than, for example, Närke. The diocese of Skara reported that only 54 of 500 priests survived the Black Death. The general attitude towards the plague was that it was God’s punishment, or that the Jews had poisoned the springs. There were nine men arrested on Gotland based on these accusations, and one of the accused confessed that he had poisoned the water in Stockholm, Västerås and Arboga. Since the medieval person was not aware of how contagious the plague really was, rumours were easily born.

15. Conclusion

In analysing the seated Madonna and Child produced between c.1250 and the outbreak of the Black Death in the coming chapters, it is important to emphasise that Scandinavia was under no circumstances a stable area in the period, and that borders were constantly revised (as can be seen in Figure 1 through 4.). Secondly, it is clear that the political situation in Scandinavia played an important part in the formation of national identity as well as in international relationships. The Church obviously was

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136 Styffe, 22.
137 Sawyer, 47.
138 S. Strandberg, _Ortnamn i språk och samhälle_ hyllningsskrift till Lars Hellberg (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1997), 143.
139 S. Brink, “Digerdöden och den Medeltida Jordbrukskrisen” _Jämtien_ (1993), 53. (This number is an exaggeration according to Thomas Lindkvist, 175).
an important mediator of international influences due to the many contacts between Swedish dioceses and the continent (sometimes through Lund), Visby, Uppsala and other times through Norway and England. However, I have also shown that extensive international trading operations were taking place in the period. Trade, the Church and politics are all vital factors when one considers the possible foreign influences on the “Swedish” Madonna and Child. Urbanisation also played a major part as many craftsmen must have moved into the towns; perhaps organized workshops were founded. Pilgrimage, too, must have had an enormous impact as pilgrims travelled up through Sweden to Nidaros, or the Swedes themselves journeyed to various pilgrimage sites in Europe. The end of the timeframe covered by this thesis ends with the arrival of the Black Death which drastically affected all influences on artistic production since a large part of the Swedish population died.

In Chapter 3 the seated Madonna and Child sculptures will be analysed in two stylistic groups and subsequently in sub-groups; one of which is more associated with English influence through Norway and the other one indirectly influenced by France through Germany. These aspects will be taken into consideration as the Madonnas indicate stylistic and regional groups which can possibly be explained by the factors mentioned in Chapter I.

Before we scrutinise the images ourselves, however, the second chapter will provide a review and criticism of the Swedish literature on the subject up to the present.

140 Strandberg, 145.
Figure 21. Lojsta Madonna
16. List of Figures, Chapter 1

Figure 1. Scandinavia, 1220. Map by Mattias Häggström and Alexandra Fried
Figure 2. Scandinavia, 1270. Map by Mattias Häggström and Alexandra Fried
Figure 3. Scandinavia, 1350. Map by Mattias Häggström and Alexandra Fried
Figure 4. Scandinavia, 1400. Map by Mattias Häggström and Alexandra Fried
Figure 5. Hanseatic Trade Routes c. 1370 Map by Alexandra Fried
Figure 8. Scandinavian Pilgrim Routes, http://www.pilgrim.nu/Nordiska_pilgrimsleder.htm
Figure 11. Rivers, Lakes and the Seas. Map by Mattias Häggström and Alexandra Fried
Figure 12. The Hanseatic League, trading links. Map by Mattias Häggström and Alexandra Fried
Figure 13. Garde Church, Gotland. Photo: Lennart Karlsson (SHM)
Figure 15. Franciscan and Dominican houses founded before 1300. After B. & P. Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia*. (Minneapolis: 1996).
Figure 16. The Kurland Route, Neva River Map by Alexandra Fried
Figure 17. Bergslagen. Map by Alexandra Fried
Figure 18. Major Towns. Map by Alexandra Fried
Figure 19. Pilgrim Routes (through the valley of Klarälven) Map by Alexandra Fried *After Vägen till Nidaros: Längs Medeltida pilgrimsleder genom Sverige och Norge*, (Värnamo: 2000).
Figure 20. Pilgrimage Routes (from east to west towards Norway) Map by Alexandra Fried *After Vägen till Nidaros: Längs Medeltida pilgrimsleder genom Sverige och Norge*, (Värnamo: 2000).
Figure 21. Lojsta Madonna. Photo by Alexandra Fried
Chapter 2: The Medieval Madonna in Sweden; an Historiographical Overview

1. The Heritage

In order to understand the scholarship in the twentieth century we have to comprehend the Swedish attitude to medieval sculptures and try to answer why many of these statues survived in Sweden. The Madonna and Child are not specifically mentioned in any Swedish Reformation sources. The Madonna and Child went from being highly worshipped to dust collectors in the church storage rooms and it is not until the very late nineteenth century that Swedish scholars began to take an interest in their substantial medieval inheritance. The wooden image of the Madonna and Child survives in Sweden in substantial numbers, unlike in England or even France, where so many medieval images were destroyed during periods of iconoclasm. There is a long and distinguished historiographical tradition of scholarship on the subject and this will be the subject of the present chapter, to establish the foundations on which my own study will be based, in chapter three.

The Reformation took place in the 1520’s in Sweden and its leading man, Olaus Petri [1493-1552] wrote in a publication (a pamphlet which would be published in a collection) that altars and other church inventories were merely “purely human devices but that they should not be abolished.” Other reports from the critical years of 1526-27 declare that some people were (but in some instances they were prosecuted for these actions) “injuring them, as well as organs, pictures and other contents of monasteries and churches; some they smashed and pulled to pieces, some

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they burned, and on some they mutilated noses and hands and dragged them out into market-places and streets.”³ At a Synod in Örebro in 1529 it was stated that the images were good Christian customs and should not be abolished but kept as “memories of Christ and holy persons.”⁴ In 1566 Laurentius Petri [1499-1573], published (as Sweden’s first Evangelical arch-bishop), a book describing a tolerant though sceptical attitude towards effigies and pictures being kept in churches.⁵

In 1593 the Church Assembly met and proclaimed that “useless images which take up space in the churches are to be abolished.”⁶ However, in the seventeenth century Bishop Johannes Rudbeckius [1581-1646]⁷ declared that “altar decorations and other beautiful and well-made effigies are everywhere to be preserved in their appropriate places to serve to ornament and embellish the churches.”⁸

In 1630 Johannes Bureaus [1568-1652] became Sweden’s first Antiquary Royal.⁹ A small group called the Rudbeckians published architecture and medieval sculpture in a publication called *Atlantica*. In a great volume of copperplate engravings, *Suecia antiqua et hodierna*,¹⁰ Erik Dahlberg [1625-1703]¹¹ was assigned to the impressive project to glorify Sweden. He was born into an educated family of farmers but was orphaned at an early age, educated in writing and drawing and in the military he quickly advanced in ranks. The images in the *Suecia antiqua* were mainly drawings of castles, buildings, estates and ancient monuments.

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⁴ S. kjöllerström, “Riksdagen i Vasteras 1527 och goda, gamla, kristeliga sedvänjor” (Historisk tidskrift, 960, 407) B Thordeman, 8.
⁵ B. Thordeman, 8-10.
⁷ B. Thordeman 14.
⁸ Ibid., 15.
⁹ Ibid., 15.
¹¹ B. Thordeman 15.
Although there is very little evidence as to the fate of medieval sculptures during the Reformation, an Ordinance of 1666 stated that misappropriation of church property was not permitted. Bengt Thordeman suggested the solution that “the redundant altar-pieces and other sculptures were probably not destroyed to any great extent, but were moved aside or kept in church lofts, belfries or parish store houses and sold as occasion offered.” In the eighteenth century the Antiquary Royal, Johan Peringsköld [1654-1720] wrote two volumes of the ambitious project called Sveo-Gothicorum liber primus dealing with Uppsala and the regions related to it. Similar monumental publications would be planned and written in this century and objects were starting to be transferred from the Royal Academy of Letters to the Archivum Antiquitatum which would later become the National Historical Museum.

In general, like other parts of Europe, Sweden was also influenced by eighteenth-century change in “artistic form and in human thought, a deliverance from doctrines that had become burdensome and a renewal of historical perspective, which focussed on the national and popular. In Sweden they meant a revival of Gothicism.” In the late nineteenth century we can see architectural and literary references to Gothic Revival, indicating an interest in the life and culture of the Middle Ages. It is around this time that the Swedes became more aware of their national Medieval heritage.

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12 Ibid., 15-16.
14 Ibid., 20-45.
15 Ibid., 46.
16 Ibid., 59.
In 1826 J.G. Liljegren [1791-1837] was appointed antiquarian Royal and set out to organise the archaeological collection assigned to the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities and he was succeeded by Bror Emil Hildebrand [1806-1884] who looked for support and knowledge from their counterpart in Denmark that was planning a museum based on the Musée des Monuments Francais in Paris. In 1840-41 the Swedish parliament approved the plans for a national museum which was to be formed after the British Museum and house national collections in Stockholm.

In 1856 provincial societies, made up by amateurs, were established to start collecting for the museums. It is not clear how helpful or beneficial these inexperienced groups were for medieval sculpture as many works of art were apparently sold to private purchasers or thrown out. In a fortunate turn of events the great pioneer Hans Hildebrand wrote the founding piece of scholarship Sveriges Medeltid (Medieval Sweden) which will be discussed in the historiography below.

What followed in the twentieth century was that a young generation of art historians inventoried, systemised and published material. Around the same time the massive inventory project Svenska Kyrkor was begun with the goal to publish monographs of all Swedish churches and the Statens Historiska Museum (National Historical Museum) finally opened its doors in its current location in 1943 (it had shared location with the National Museum of Art until this date). These publications will be discussed in the historiography by author.

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17 Ibid., 59.
18 Ibid., 58-59.
19 Ibid., 59-60.
20 Ibid., 59-60.
Medieval Scandinavian sculpture has been an active research subject for over one hundred years. Scholarship expanded in the twentieth century, particularly as regards the discussions of foreign influences. A detailed historiographical overview is therefore essential in analysing the category of the Madonna and Child. It is important to note that most of the secondary literature has been published in Scandinavian languages, excluding many from engaging with the material, though three authors have written in English, French or German: Aron Andersson, Peter Tångeberg and Martin Blindheim. This chapter, then, provides the first modern overview of the subject in English and will be the first synthesis of a good deal of recent research. None of the published works has provided a comprehensive study of the seated Madonna and Child image from Sweden, though many judgements and commentaries on individual images, or groups of images, have been offered. Here, I shall survey the range, and also the tradition and history of Swedish scholarship regarding the seated Madonna and Child, for the first time and will build the foundations for my own stylistic groupings which will be discussed in Chapter 3. My survey of the subject will be chronological, and I shall assess each author’s contribution to the subject. My summaries cover all the contributions to the subject, whether they are cursory and generalised in their commentary or more detailed and focussed. I shall evaluate their significance in turn, though the quality of the scholarship with which I have engaged has inevitably shaped the space I have devoted to each author and


22 In Chapter 3 I will present my groupings which will constitute the first non-regional study of the Madonna and Child in Sweden. The illustrations begin from 1 in each chapter and all sculptures are in
publication. In general terms most Swedish scholarship has focussed on international influences from Germany, France or England. Most of scholars in the end decided that the sculptures were carved by indigenous sculptors influenced by foreign images, rather than suggesting that figures were carved in Sweden by foreign sculptors. It is here I take out the loop and cast light on the discussions that scholars have had about the Madonna and Child before this study. I shall start first with an unfortunately abortive project.

3. The Founder of Medieval History of Art in Sweden

At the end of the nineteenth century, Hans Hildebrand [1842-1913], an archaeologist and historian, published five books in three volumes surveying the medieval society of Sweden up until 1500. Between 1895 and his death in 1913, Hans Hildebrand was Director-General of the Swedish Academy. He also acted as Secretary to the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities from 1879-1907 and he was a custodian of the National Heritage. On top of his multi volume monograph, Hildebrand also planned a sixth book dealing with the church inventories. This volume was never completed, but Hildebrand included some church architecture and a few church inventories in the third volume. He did not discuss the sculptures which are the subject of this thesis as works of art, but instead dealt in a very inventorial manner with the usage and function of the tabernacles in which the Madonnas were placed. Hildebrand, in fact, surveyed approximately forty sculptures (omitting Madonnas) dating between 1300 and 1500. It is unfortunate that the last

Sweden unless otherwise told. The figures which are reproduced in Ch 3 and in the catalogue are only mentioned by name in the textbox under the image.

23 B Thordeman, 68.
26 Ibid., 3:267-308.
volume dealing with church inventories was never completed since it would have been the first substantial publication of church inventories in Sweden.27

4. K. K. Meinander and the connection with Finland

As I have mentioned before, twentieth-century scholars were concerned to isolate influences from abroad and to distinguish indigenous products. It may perhaps seem strange to include a non-Swedish author but the Finnish scholar K.K. Meinander wrote an account of Finnish sculpture in 1908 and included some later Swedish Madonnas (those which I have classified as group B sculptures in Chapter 3) in his chapter discussing those with images of the Madonna from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as comparative material.28 It is important, I believe, to remember (as was mentioned in Chapter 1), that Finland was in fact part of Sweden at this time and it is therefore essential to compare the images on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia and to recognise the similarities in the fourteenth-century sculptures. Meinander correctly observed that the Finnish Madonna in the early fourteenth century was the same type as that seen in Sweden and that it underwent several changes in the course of the century (similar to the development from the Visby Madonna (Fig. 1) to the Linde Madonna (Fig. 2), as he pointed out in his discussions of the Tavastland and Hattula Madonnas (Figs 3 and 4).29 Meinander established, that the ‘Finnish’ Madonnas constituted a separate group influenced by Swedish sculpture and that they most likely were the products of indigenous Finnish sculptors. Meinander went on to discuss the seated Nousis Madonna (Fig. 5) in more detail. The image, he argued, definitely showed similarities to Swedish sculptures, especially the

27 Hildebrand’s compilation of church inventory was even carried out before the ATA’s inventories in the 1910’s to 1930’s. It would have been very interesting to read that volume, had it been completed.  
28 K.K. Meinander, Medeltida altarskåp och träsniderier i Finlands kyrkor (Helsingfors: 1908), 49-62.  
29 These two distinct types which make out my two major grouping are better explained in Chapter 3.
Linde Madonna and Lojsta Madonna (Figs 2 and 7). The Linde and Lojsta Madonnas (Fig. 2 and Fig. 7), he wrote, are two of the top quality sculptures from the island of Gotland which was then under heavy German influence (but not from Lübeck at this time, he thought): he declared that Finland probably had Gotland as a leading influence and that the Nousis Madonna (Fig. 5) should be dated to 1325 to 1350.  

Figure 1. Visby Madonna, Gotlands Fornsal (Visby), Gotland. The figure was originally situated in Visby Cathedral.

30 Meinander, 54-55.
31 Ibid., 61.
Figure 2. Linde Madonna, Statens Historiska Museum (Stockholm). The sculpture was originally situated in Linde Church on Gotland.
Figure 3. Tavastland Madonna, Tavastlands Museum, Finland.
Figure 4. Hattula Madonna, Hattula Church, Finland.
Figure 5. Nousis Madonna, (Nationalmuseum) Helsinki. The sculpture was originally in Nousis Church, Finland.
Figure 6. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, Södermanland
Meinander argued that the German influences came from a ‘school’ of sculptors that was located in the Rhineland, and that this ‘school’ was profoundly influenced by French Gothic sculpture. Another important factor to consider was the constant stream

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Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 134. The importance of this school (although earlier than the Scandinavian works) was also eloquently stated by Williamson who connected this school with Italy. He wrote “in the second quarter of the thirteenth
of emigration which had taken place from Germany to the Baltic region from the
twelfth century well into the late fourteenth century (which was established in chapter 1). Meinander said he could not find any predecessors of these Madonnas in Lübeck art and contended that the workshops in Lübeck were probably not that highly regarded in the first part of the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{33} Meinander’s stylistic links between Gotland are convincing and in my opinion, the ‘Finnish’ material needs to be integrated or at least considered in our account of “Swedish” material. Accordingly, the sculptures are considered here as “Swedish” and are included in Chapter 3.

### 5. Swedish Churches, an inventory and a new generation of Art Historians

During the first fifty years of the twentieth century medieval art and architecture in Sweden were inventoried. The material was systematically published and exhibited for the first time. The massive project \textit{Svenska Kyrkor} (Swedish Churches) was initiated and resulted in several exhibitions and publications.\textsuperscript{34} In those years, the young art historians, Sigurd Curman, Johnny Roosval and Carl R. af Ugglas were the driving forces in inventorying and documenting Swedish medieval material; their work laid the ground work for all subsequent scholarship. The first and very successful exhibition, with several contributing authors, took place in Strängnäs in 1910 and several similar exhibitions followed around the country.\textsuperscript{35} Most of these studies provided little analysis and were published in catalogue form with texts describing the exterior and interior of the churches, often only mentioning the existence of sculpture.

\begin{itemize}
\item century the influence of French, Mosan and Lower Rhenish models gradually made itself felt even as far as Brindisi.”
\item \textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 55.
\item \textsuperscript{34} “Sveriges Kyrkor – konsthistoriskt inventarium” \textit{Från romantik till nygotik. Studier i kyrklig konst och arkitektur tillägnade Evald Gustafsson}, ed. Marian Ullén (Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1992).
\end{itemize}
6. Af Ugglas, Gotland and the French influences

Map 1. Gotland with my A and B Groups

An important publication is C. R. af Ugglas' [1884-1946] regional account of the medieval sculpture on Gotland in the old diocese of Linköping: it is the first major study of the island’s sculpture and church inventories (which he compared with some

\[\text{[Image: Map showing Gotland with A and B Groups]}\]

35 S. Curman, Utställningen av äldre kyrklig konst i Strängnäs 1910 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1913).
in other parts of Sweden). In *Gotlands medeltida träskulptur till och med höggotikens inbrott: Bidrag till kännedomen i stilströmningarna i Norden under den äldre medeltiden* (Medieval wooden sculpture on Gotland until the beginning of the High Gothic Period: a contribution to the knowledge of stylistic trends in Scandinavia from the Early Middle Ages), he divided the sculptures into stylistic groups which he ascribed to masters whose names were derived from the church in which a prominent work of art was to be found. These masters, he believed, created ‘schools’ through their employment of apprentices. Af Ugglas analysed various objects from distinct periods, starting with the tenth century, and leading up to late-medieval sculpture on Gotland. He believed as Meinander also did that the sculpture on Gotland was largely French influenced (if not directly, then indirectly, via Germany). This study laid the foundation for all later research on Gotland’s sculpture and few alterations have subsequently been made to his categorisation of Gotland’s images though I will place the Madonnas in a larger context in Chapter 3.

Af Ugglas described the early thirteenth century influences on Gotland:

…it is not long before this time, after what has been said before, that the German population on the island had increased, as well as their importance in society, although they continued to maintain a close relationship with the homeland. It is also around this time that, especially in Westphalia and Saxony, German monumental sculptures are starting to appear, and where it (German Sculpture) matures and reaches the heights of the French.

Af Ugglas suggested influences also came to the island from both France and England before the thirteenth century. The idea is not farfetched considering Gotland’s strong position in the Baltic region and common dealings with those countries. These waves of international influence, he thought must have triggered

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sculpture production on Gotland. Af Ugglas suggested that, in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, goods from the Baltics, Finland and Gotland seldom reached the English ports directly, but used a route through Lübeck or Hamburg and had their destinations in Flanders, where English merchants were active. Therefore, af Ugglas implied that there was never really a direct exchange route between England and Sweden in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, making it more difficult for sculpture to have been directly influenced by English developments than, for example, those taking place in Germany or Norway.

His named masters, such as the Tingstäde master, Väte master and the Bunge master (based on connoisseurship and usually corresponding to the town with a prominent figure), have become accepted as representing the coherent oeuvres of various anonymous sculptors.

Tingstäde, Hejnum and Väte Masters

I am here going to summarize the masters whom af Ugglas named on Gotland, (names and oeuvres which have been accepted by other scholars) starting with the Tingstäde master and the Hejnum master, both of whose works reflected Byzantine influences. Although Af Ugglas referred to Byzantine influences he claimed that the seated Madonna by the Tingstäde Master (Fig. 8) was close to the French Gassicourt and Gaillac Madonnas (Figs 9 and 10), where the fabric is draped over the Virgin’s knee like in many Swedish sculptures. Af Ugglas felt that the Tingstäde and the Hejnum masters were more than just anonymous wood carvers active on the island,}

38 Ibid., 15.
39 Ibid., 18.
40 Ibid., 251
41 Ibid., 281.
and pondered the possible origins of these masters “...is it then Germany that has been the distributor of the artistic influences, perhaps even from England, or perhaps the distribution came directly from France?”\footnote{Ibid., 413 (My translation).} He further believed that at the turn of the thirteenth century there was another master who followed Saxon stylistic influences on Gotland and called him the Väte master.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{Tingstade_Madonna_Gotland_Fornsal_Visby.jpg}
\caption{Tingstäde Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Tingstäde Church, Gotland.}
\end{figure}
Figure 9. Gassicourt Madonna, Gassicourt Church, France.
Continuing with the Öja master, whom he named after the impressive Öja crucifix (Fig. 11) in Öja (Gotland), active in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, Af Ugglas believed that the Öja master was a French-born sculptor who had gone to Saxony for work and had then transported his French heritage to produce sculptures in Scandinavia (since this is an investigative and comparative study of the Madonna and
Child other images have been largely omitted). Also attributable to this master, he thought (but surely incorrectly as will be discussed in Chapter 3), were the related Tofta and Fröjel Madonnas (Figs 12 and 13). There are no overwhelming similarities with the Crucifix and the two Madonnas except for the drapery of Christ’s cloth and the drapery of the Fröjel Madonna (Fig. 13).

Figure 11. Öja Crucifix, (Öja Church) Gotland
Figure 12. Tofta Madonna, (Tofta Church) Gotland
In the early part of the fourteenth century another master arrived in Gotland, according to af Ugglas, namely the Bunge master. Af Ugglas linked some of his work
to Germany but ultimately concluded that he arrived from France and that he came to Gotland because of the extension and reconstruction of Linköping Cathedral (to which diocese Gotland belonged. These works were carried out from 1308 until the mid fourteenth century). The Bunge master was so named after a statue of St. Olav in Bunge (Fig. 14) on Gotland which church has been dated to around 1310. Af Ugglas assigned the Lojsta Madonna (Fig. 15) to his workshop, as well as the Över Selö Madonna (Fig. 16) and the Nousis Madonna (Fig. 5). The Bunge master has become the most highly regarded medieval sculptor in Sweden: or at least, the works that have been assigned to his oeuvre are amongst the highest quality to survive from the period. These sculptures, which belong to my group B, will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Figure 14. St. Olaf of Bunge, (Statens Historiska Museum), Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in Bunge Church, Gotland.

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43 Ibid., 519.
44 Ibid., 519.
Figure 15. Lojsta Madonna, Statens Historiska Museum, (Stockholm). The sculpture was originally situated in Lojsta Church, Gotland.
Figure 16. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, Södermanland.
Af Ugglas wanted to attribute as many influences from France as possible but did not place the Madonnas in groups outside of Gotland. Af Ugglas should perhaps have related the sculptures to those on the mainland without the strong implications of French stylistic influences (which has led to other scholars only commenting whether or not the sculptures appear French). The assumptions of French influence seem unconvincing when there are so many sculptures of high quality on Gotland over a long period.

A viable question which af Ugglas raised (and several others as well) was how many wood carvers and sculptors followed Etienne de Bonneuil from France to Uppsala (see Chapter 1), and how many of them stayed behind in Sweden when the master went back to France at an unknown date.45 This visit, however, hardly seems plausible as the sole reason for French influences. The presence of a master is an important question since it is the only recorded account of an international mason travelling from France to Sweden; by contrast with this individual mention, there is the evidence of the long-established trade route with Lübeck and it would seem surprising if artists did not come to Sweden through it: Visby had trade routes going to England and Norway but the strongest connection was with Lübeck (as can be seen in Chapter 1) and it is tantalizing to assume that many sculptors (or at least their images), with different backgrounds and training came to Visby at this time, as will be discussed in regards of B sculptures in Chapter 3.

Another origin of influence in the early Middle Ages was Denmark which also functioned as an important gateway from the continent to Scandinavia and had received itself both German and French impulses in the arts and architecture, as af

Ugglas contended. In this way, he said, Swedish art also received influences and he thought Denmark was partly the entrepôt for influences on Swedish art.46

Af Ugglas’ well-written and meticulous account of the sculptures on Gotland, although very focussed on the ‘French’ influences, was an excellent foundation for the scholarship succeeding it. It seems that af Ugglas was very sure of his opinion and findings and later scholars have more or less accepted his invention of masters in Swedish Art History. In Chapter 3 I shall dismantle the oeuvre assigned to the Bunge master in so far as these include the Madonnas mentioned above. Af Ugglas was an excellent connoisseur, assigning masters and creating anonymous masters and it is a shame that he did not publish a comprehensive study of Swedish material.

7. Cornell, the very North and English influences

The art historian Henrik Cornell [1890-1981] discussed sculpture in the Northern provinces and curated an exhibition in Härnösand in 1912.47 He presented the Church inventories of the Norrland region (all regions north of Uppland) and believed that influences in the sculpture of the Norrland region in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mainly came from France. He reasoned that since French sculptors had executed approximately 10,000 sculptures in the French cathedrals, their stylistic influences would extend well outside France, resulting in strong simultaneous movements in Germany as well as in England.48 Cornell’s idea was that there were sculpture ‘schools’ in Norrland and in Mälardalen (Valley of Lake Mälaren). He also mentioned, not surprisingly, that the relationships between Norwegian and Swedish images were the closest in Scandinavia, as Aron Andersson would also show in his

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46 Ibid., 23.
47 H. Cornell, Utställningen af ältere kyrklig konst i Hernönsand 1912 (Stockholm, 1914), Ibid, Norrlands kyrkliga konst under medeltiden (Uppsala, 1918), 146-220.
The stylistic influences, Cornell argued, originally came from Lincoln Cathedral (which in turn had been influenced by French sculpture) around 1250 through Trondheim, Norway (which would influence the Swedish workshops), which he believed established its own school in Mälardalen. On that premise, allowing for some delay, Cornell dated the Hög, Viblygerå and Ådalslid Madonnas to the third quarter of the thirteenth century (Figs 17-19). Cornell mentioned that these sculptures could be associated with the Trondheim workshop, but suggested that the Swedish sculptures were second rate work by comparison. Cornell’s account affirms the idea that sculptural production was not necessarily concentrated in the major towns but that there was also production taking place in Mälardalen and in Norrland and that there the sculptors may have been influenced by Norwegian workshops (which had in turn been influenced by English workshops). This regional study only deals with a few of the wooden Madonnas from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and it lacks (the contextual) connections with the rest of the Swedish sculptures. It is difficult to argue for a regional ‘school’ with so few surviving examples. We shall see in Chapter 3 that it seems probable that these regional workshops were instead situated in the more inhabited provinces of Värmland and Västergötland (see Fig. 6, Chapter 1).

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48 Ibid., Norrlands kyrkliga konst under medeltiden, 153.
49 Ibid., 157.
50 Ibid., 164. E.S. Prior and A. Gardner, An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), Figs 361 and 363.
51 Ibid., 163.
Figure 17. Hög Madonna, Hög Church, Hälsingland.
Figure 18. Vibyggerå Madonna, (Länsmuseet Västernorrland) Härnösand. The sculpture was originally in Vibyggerå Church, Ångermanland.
Figure 19. Ådalsliden Madonna, Ådalsliden Church, Ångermanland.
In 1920, Ernst Fischer [1890-1980] published his regional study Västergötlands kyrkliga konst under medeltiden (Religious Art from Västergötland in the Middle Ages). Västergötland (Fig. 6, No 8, Chapter 1) has a high number of surviving sculptures (the highest in Sweden), but at the time of Fischer's publication
most of these Madonnas had not yet been documented or inventoried and his study is based on a very limited number of them. The author himself suggested that in 1920, sculptures were still hidden away in back rooms and attics as a result of the Reformation.\(^5\) Despite the small number of sculptures in Fischer’s study (I have included 31 Madonnas from Västergötland) he wrote that the sculptures in Västergötland (Map 2) were of great importance partly because of their stylistic homogeneity and because they exhibited similar stylistic characteristics to those in other parts of Sweden.\(^4\) Fischer suggested that the predominant English influences on Swedish sculpture/art in the tenth and eleventh centuries gave way increasingly to French influence in the thirteenth century.\(^5\) He wrote that the founding of French Cistercian monasteries gave Sweden a new orientation in its art and architecture and that the Cistercians worked as artists and produced beautiful sculptures, which would reflect their knowledge and French heritage.\(^6\) The Cistercians founded in 1148 a remarkable monastery in Varnhem (Fig. 20) which retained strong connections to their home country: it was therefore not strange that the art was related to France, according to Fischer.\(^7\) The immense popularity of the seated Madonna and Child could have derived from one Madonna’s status as a miracle-working image, this being subsequently copied in the hope that others would have the same supernatural qualities.\(^8\)

Fischer divided the sculptures of Västergötland into five chronological groups, of which only two need to be mentioned in this thesis: the third group (1225-1300)

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53 E. Fischer, 123. This seems odd since the project of Svenska Kyrkor had already been started and many of the church inventories had been carried out.
54 Ibid., 123.
55 Ibid., 124.
56 Ibid., 124.
57 Ibid., 125.
and the fourth (late thirteenth century - 1450) both of which are problematic since they are incomplete.\textsuperscript{59} He only included two Madonnas from Västergötland. However, this type of Madonna constitutes the largest part of my own group A, and numbers and stylistic coherence imply strong regional workshops in Västergötland.

\textbf{Figure 20.} Varnhem Monastery, Västergötland.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 127.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 127. Here he included the \textit{Norra Lundby, Björketorp and Västerplana Madonnas} in the third group and the \textit{Korsberga, Forsby, Kymbo and Kinne-Vedum Madonnas} in the fourth group. These
Otto Rydbeck [1872 -1954] curated the Svenska Kyrkor exhibition in Lund and later edited Åldre kyrklig konst i Skåne: studier utgivna med anledning av kyrkliga utställningen i Malmö 1914 (Exhibition of Early Religious Art from Scania) containing seven essays by various authors. Rydbeck was a professor of Prehistoric and medieval archaeology at Lund’s University and was also the director of Lund’s University Museum. He doubled the museum’s collection and published extensively throughout his career. The province of Skåne has had a great importance for the rest of what would become Sweden, since it was converted to Christianity at a very early stage and Lund was considered the spiritual capital of Scandinavia for a substantial period of time (see Chapter 1). The chapter dealing with wooden sculpture was

Madonnas were omitted in this study since they should all be stylistically dated prior to 1250, see group A in Chapter 3.
In his doctoral thesis **Hans Wåhlin** analysed the Skåne material, in his *Fransk stil i Skånes medeltida träskulptur* (French Style in Scania’s Medieval Wooden
Sculpture) in 1921. Wåhlin discussed all the medieval sculpture from Skåne from all periods and described the fourteenth-century Madonna and how the image changed: he identified as key features, the disappearance of the sceptre (incorrectly, see the part about Skåne in the Catalogue), and the child’s becoming more playful and life-like. His general understanding of the sculptures was that the “ceremonious and coquettish” Madonnas often carved from stone, wood, metal or ivory were French (imported, or by a French sculptor who had moved to Sweden). He further described the Skåne sculptures, with the exception of the Östra Tommarp Madonna (Fig. 21), as ‘rough and artless’ and he convincingly argued that they should be considered the work of less talented local carvers, who worked under the influence of the school of Lund Cathedral.

![Figure 21. Östra Tommarp Madonna, (Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum) Skåne. The sculpture was originally situated in the Östra Tommarp Church, Skåne.](image)

66 Ibid.  
67 H. Wåhlin, 74.  
68 Ibid., 74.  
69 Ibid., 78. The Madonnas from Fjällie, Farstorp, Törringe, Bjällerup and Svalöv.
Surprisingly, there are no other Madonnas of the same quality as the Östra Tommarp Madonna (Fig. 21) in Skåne but its counterparts or relatives exist on Gotland as will be seen in the discussion about Group B.

Figure 22. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, Södermanland
Figure 23. Nousis Madonna, (Nationalmuseum) Helsinki. The sculpture was originally in Nousis Church, Finland.

Figure 24. Linde Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum), Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in Linde Church, Gotland.
Due to his firm belief that there were direct French influences, Wåhlin also discussed the arrival of the standing Madonna (which I will not discuss in depth in this thesis, since I am here concentrating on the huge number of seated examples), ‘la Vierge Dorée.’ Wåhlin wrote that the sculptures datable between 1250 and 1350 all have some sort of connection with French art: a few could be considered as laymen’s art, and, a very few, examples of German-influenced art. This type of Madonna became quickly popular in Sweden and its design spread rapidly. Wåhlin believed that French art became rooted in Skåne because of the Ignaberga master (whom he named) and his followers. Wåhlin described the spectrum of wooden sculptures and the role of the Ignaberga master who, he thought, was active in the mid thirteenth-century. He

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70 Ibid., 86.
argued that the sculptures’ appearance became more characterised and others followed this example. The Madonnas seem more maternal and the Christ Child seems more playful.\textsuperscript{71} In Wåhlin’s opinion, there were few correlations between Danish and Skåne sculpture, and little relationship existed between Skåne and the western regions of Sweden.\textsuperscript{72} He also claimed that there was no close connection between Skåne and its neighbouring province of Halland, an argument which I shall refute in the discussion regarding A1 and A2 sculptures in Chapter 3. In general, however, he believed that the Skåne sculptures influenced the sculptures in Småland. He also dealt with the impossibility of deciding whether or not the sculptures were made by a Frenchman opening up his own workshop or if he was active in a Swedish workshop.\textsuperscript{73} According to Wåhlin, five monasteries were founded in Skåne between 1250 and 1350 laying the grounds for international influences; he explained that the monasteries must have had close relationships with France, partly because of the Swedish priests who studied at the University of Paris, and because of business relationships. He further believed that the Bunge master might have arrived in Sweden (from France) around 1310, because of a French-born archbishop, Isarnus Morlane (1301-1310) and might have belonged to his entourage and therefore been active in Skåne and Gotland. Finally, Wåhlin would not rule out the possibility of importation of finished pieces.\textsuperscript{74} Wåhlin correctly described the Östra Tommarp Madonna (Fig. 21) as being from a Gotland workshop, and considering the high number of German craftsmen on Gotland that seems rather likely. He concluded that all French influences disappeared in Skåne after 1350.\textsuperscript{75} Perhaps Wåhlin’s contribution is one-sided especially since his argument for strong French influences

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 73.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 87.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 87-88.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 90
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 87.
rest heavily on the Östra Tommarp Madonna which may well have come from Gotland as I argue in Chapter 3 (see similar Madonnas in Figs 22-25).

10. Johnny Roosval, German and French influences on Gotland Sculpture

A prominent, internationally trained art historian and professor at Uppsala University, Johnny Roosval [1879-1965], wrote several monographs on medieval sculpture and architecture, the most significant being Medeltida skulptur i Gotlands Fornsal (Medieval Sculpture in Gotland’s Ancient Hall) published in 1925 (Map 1).\(^{76}\) Roosval divided the sculptures into periods (although his periodisation differs form that of his predecessor, af Ugglas following the connoisseurship-oriented approach of af Ugglas and providing a thorough social and historical evaluation of the island.\(^{77}\)

The arrival of the Early “Swedish” Gothic period which he classifies as c. 1260-1295, in Roosval’s opinion was connected with the date of the construction of Uppsala Cathedral (see Chapter 1). This was a period, he said, in which there were four sources of influence: West Germany, England, Burgundy and Northern France, which were respectively exemplified by the Riddarholms church in Stockholm, Linköping Cathedral, churches on Gotland, Varnhem’s Church and the transept of Uppsala Cathedral.\(^{78}\) Roosval assigned images to masters (following af Ugglas’ ideas), such as the Öja master and the Hamra master: the Öja master was in his view,

\(^{76}\) J. Roosval, Medeltida skulptur i Gotlands Fornsal (Stockholm: Tisell, 1925).

\(^{77}\) J. Roosval, 1, 8-32. The Transitional period (the first part of the thirteenth century) introduced taller buildings, but the determining leap in the architectural development was the German chancel in the Cathedral of Saint Mary (which was a German initiative) in Visby dated to 1225. Sculptures grew increasingly monumental, and this direction seems to be influenced by Westphalian sculpture, though those sculptures in turn might have been influenced by French sculpture. According to Roosval, the country’s native characteristics in sculptures and art do not disappear: the portrayal of the sculptures is Nordic, and also the treatment of the drapery has its roots in the ornamental tendency always present in Scandinavian sculpture. Roosval said that French influences on Gotland were succeeded by German ones from the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

\(^{78}\) Ibid., 50.
the superior carver, and was especially close in his style to the sculptures in the north
transept of Rheims Cathedral. The next master whom Roosval described, the Väte
Master might have been educated in Saxony or trained in Naumburg, he thought, thus
fitting into the general picture on immigration from Germany into Gotland. In
Roosval’s assessment, sculptures from the Northern provinces in Sweden had
undoubtedly been influenced by the style of early Gothic English-Norwegian
sculptures.

![Figure 26. Algutsrum Madonna, (Kalmar länns museum), Småland. The sculpture was originally in Algutsrum Church, Småland.](image)

79 Ibid., 50. Roosval linked the Algutsrum, Husaby and the Öja Madonnas (See Signum’s Gothic Art, 198).
80 Ibid., 50. Roosval pointed to German influences on Gotland sculpture. The same source of influence can be found in wall-paintings of the churches on Gotland. Lärbo church’s paintings show stylistic connections to both Strängnäs Cathedral and the Church of the Holy Spirit (the wall underneath the gallery) in Lübeck.
81 Ibid., 51. This is the extent of information supplied.
For Roosval, the High Gothic period (1295-1330) in Sweden was suffused by influences from France. There were good reasons for such influences: in 1285, the dean at Uppsala bought a house in Paris for students to live in while they attended university there. According to Roosval’s calculations, there were approximately fifty Swedish students enrolled at the University of Paris in 1329.82 Despite this, Roosval

82 Ibid., 70. He does not provide any evidence for this assertion.
believed it was difficult to point to a location for a central workshop for wooden sculptures in this period and the extant works seemed to him to stem from Gotland or Mecklenburg. The Benedictine monastery of Cismar could, he suggested, have housed a major workshop in the Lübeck area. The monastery of Cismar has a reliquary altar whose sculptures bear a slight similarity to the sculptures on the rood screen in Lübeck Cathedral, dated to 1336-1341.83

Figure 28. Cismar Reliquary, (Cismar Abbey) Cismar, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany.

83 Ibid., 87
Roosval illustrated the medieval sculptures on Gotland, an impressive picture catalogue, and provided both ideas of French and German influences, but pinpointed the German influences which coincided with the construction of St. Mary in Visby and later the influences connected with the French-led construction of Uppsala Cathedral.
A regional study Romansk träskulptur i norra Småland (Romanesque sculpture in Småland) (Map 4) was written by Rune Norberg in 1932. Småland has a high survival rate of Romanesque sculpture, and only a few images could be regarded as being of good quality. Sculpture that one would stylistically describe as Romanesque, and which would be assigned, on the continent, to the twelfth century, might in Sweden be dated well into the thirteenth century and even beyond it, as the

85 R. Norberg, 66.
Romanesque style persisted. Norberg correctly – in my view (see Chapter 3) - pointed to a “second-hand” influence from France through Germany (Saxony, Westphalia and the Rhineland) on these early works.

### 12. Norberg and Bohuslän

In 1939, Rune Norberg published another regional study called *Bohuslän's Medieval Wooden Sculpture.* The right

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86 Ibid., 78.
87 Ibid., 83. The omitted Småland Madonnas are at Höreda, Almesäkra, Svartorp, Näsby, and Öggestorp. Norberg believed (most likely correctly) that the sculptures are (early) thirteenth-century works, but that they were modernised during the 15th century.
conditions for the prolific production of church art seems to have been obtained, since
the coast dealt with lucrative herring fishing, and Marstrand (a small town just south
of Göteborg) was an important trade market from the early thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{89} The
Norwegian king, Håkan Håkonsson, he stated, had founded the Premonstratensian
monastery in Marieskog in c. 1234, Bohuslän. Disappointingly, very few sculptures
survive in this province from this period.\textsuperscript{90} He did not build a case using the
neighbouring provinces as comparative material in order to create much of a
discussion. Norberg contended that some of the sculptures might be English, for
example the \textit{Svenneby Madonna} (Fig. 30), especially because of its particularly good
quality, but adds the observation that this seems to be unlikely, since the virgin has
the Norwegian characteristics of round cheeks and looks like a very young girl and so
he assigned the sculpture to the South Norwegian workshop.\textsuperscript{91} Another Madonna in
this study was the \textit{Naverstad Madonna} (Fig. 31). Norberg compared the Madonna to
sculptures from Northern France as well as Flanders, although without any concrete
examples discussed in the text, but he mentions the possibility of the Madonna being
the work of the Norwegian Balke master, despite its old-fashioned type. And lastly,
the third Madonna he discussed which applies to this study, the \textit{Stala Madonna} (Fig.
32), is not especially distinguished but should be considered to be French
influenced.\textsuperscript{92}

I believe that if Bohuslän had more surviving sculptures it could provide
answers which might help us distinguish a South Scandinavian workshop from the
Norwegian workshops because of its geographical position, but instead we will have

\textsuperscript{89} Norberg, 4.
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., 4.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., 8.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., 8-9.
to consider the large number of Madonnas from Västergötland as comparative material in our discussion of group A Madonnas in Chapter 3.

Figure 30. Svenneby Madonna, Svenneby Church, Bohuslän.
Figure 31. Naverstad Madonna, Naverstad Church, Bohuslän

Figure 32. Stala Madonna, (Göteborgs Stadsmuseum) Bohuslän. The sculpture was originally situated in Stala Church, Bohuslän.
13. Norberg and a General Survey

In 1974, Norberg published a very general overview called Bildkonsten i Norden: Nordisk medeltid 1 (Fine art in Scandinavia: Medieval Scandinavia 1), where he discussed both Romanesque and Gothic sculpture in a very general manner.\textsuperscript{93} Norberg reasoned that Norway, Jutland and the Swedish mid-west had the liveliest contacts with England, just like Andersson, and that as a result of the prevalence of English missionaries, English art spread to more isolated areas as well. Norberg mentioned the Urnes Madonna (Fig. 33) as an example and representation of English-influenced twelfth-century sculpture.

Norberg touched on the subject of English influences in Västergötland in a discussion about the Härna/Varnum Madonna (Fig. 34) but concluded that they were the product of a local workshop. In addition, Norberg wrote that the most developed artistic area in Scandinavia was Gotland, where he mentioned that there were Byzantine and Russian influences on the sculpture.\textsuperscript{94} Norberg also believed that because of the small number of sculptures surviving in France and Germany it was, over-all, hard to determine the nationality of the sculptors responsible for the Madonnas in Sweden, but that it was possible that masters of several French “schools” emigrated and opened up workshops in Scandinavia and that French objects were also being imported.\textsuperscript{95} Norberg discounted (after af Ugglas publication from 1915) the possibility that Schleswig might have functioned as a distribution centre for sculpture in the last part of the thirteenth century. Schleswig-Holstein (which was very well situated because of the Hanseatic League) could clearly have functioned as a distribution centre (if not also a production centre) for sculpture to the North

\textsuperscript{93} R. Norberg, Bildkonsten i Norden: Nordisk medeltid 1 (Stockholm: Prisma, 1974), 112. In the intervening years he published several articles as can be seen in the bibliography.
\textsuperscript{94} R. Norberg, BNNM1, 113.
because of the area’s important position in the Hanseatic League. He further wrote, as af Ugglas and Roosval had argued as well, that local workshops of medium quality might have existed in Sweden and that French, English and German influences were mixed (see Group A1 and A2).

Figure 33. Urnes Madonna, (Historisk Museum) Bergen. This sculpture was originally situated in Urnes Church, Norway.

Ibid., 158.
He opined that some of the best sculptures from this period are to be found in the churches of Värmland, for example the Glava and the Visnum Kil Madonnas (Figs. 35 and 36).\textsuperscript{96} Norberg also, like Andersson, thought that the Norwegian Madonnas, the Hove Madonna (Fig. 37) and Öystese Madonna (Fig. 38) were mature and classically-influenced sculptures from the London school.\textsuperscript{97} Norberg wrote that the Balke School and the Balke master were important in Norwegian and Swedish sculpture production: he believed that the Balke master was highly influenced by English art, but that by the

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., 167.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., 170. See the summary of Aron Andersson’s works who dealt with the subject much more thoroughly than Norberg did.

\textbf{Figure 34.} Härna Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situates in the Härna or Varnum Church, Västergötland.
end of the thirteenth century, the art centres in Scandinavia were probably Gotland and Uppsala.⁹⁸

Figure 35. Glava Madonna, Glava Church, Värmland.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 183. Norberg wrote that German-influenced Madonnas could have been executed in Sweden following German models.
Figure 36. Visnum Kil Madonna, Visnum Kil Church, Värmland.
Figure 37. Hove Madonna, (Historisk Museum) Bergen. This sculpture was originally situated in Hove Church, Norway.
Figure 38. Head of Öystese Madonna, (Historisk Museum) Bergen. This sculpture was originally situated in Öystese Church, Norway.

14. Lindblom and another General Survey

The former director of the Nordiska Museum and art historian, Andreas Lindblom [1889-1977] published in 1944 a general study called Från forntid till nutid I (From Antiquity to Modern time I) where he dealt with Madonnas in Chapter 16. Lindblom set the stage by claiming that there was a time of prosperity in the twelfth century and that the Swedes imported a tremendous amount of sculpture: he estimated more than a thousand images had been imported (he was unable to provide documentary evidence for this contention). Lindblom believed that wooden sculptures were easy to transport on ships and the Swedish carvers swiftly learned how to copy
them. He also argued that indigenous copies, were usually adapted from miniature arts, such as ivories and manuscripts.99

Lindblom characterised (after af Ugglas and Roosval) the Tingstäde and Hejnum masters as late Romanesque carvers, but he too suggested that there could also have been a German-influenced stone carver who opened up a workshop in Västergötland to which he assigned the Härna/Varnum and Hol Madonnas (Figs 39 and 40).

[Image: Härna Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally in Härna Church, Västergötland.]

99 A Lindblom, Sveriges konsthistoria – från forntid till nutid I (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr 1944), 141.
Lindblom’s suggestion certainly supports the idea of a strong regional school in Västergötland (influenced both by England and Germany) which will be further discussed in the groups A1 and A2 in Chapter 3. Lindblom also discussed a master who he believed had been active in the Mälardalen and following af Ugglas, he believed that this sculptor, the Hölö master, came from Stockholm, to whom the Över
Järna Madonna (Fig. 41) and the figures from Hölö (Fig. 42), Toresund (Fig. 43) and a crucifix from Tumbo (Fig. 44) should be assigned.\textsuperscript{100}

Figure 41. Över Järna Madonna, Över Järna Church, Södermanland.

Figure 42. Hölö Madonna, Hölö Church, Södermanland.

\textsuperscript{100} Lindblom, 149. The Toresund Madonna should not at all be considered in this group since it is early fourteenth century in style, linked to, most likely, Gotland or a Gotland related workshop in the area of Mälardalen.
Figure 43. Toresund Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in Toresund Church.

Figure 44. Tumbo Crucifix, (Sörmlands museum) Nyköping. The sculpture was originally situated in Tumbo Church, Södermanland.
Lindblom discussed (as had Norberg and Cornell), how Norwegian and English influences were distributed in Sweden. He thought that artists themselves had travelled. The Norwegian carvers who went to Sweden and Swedish apprentices who left for Trondheim might also have been responsible for sculpture production in medieval Sweden, he contended. Finally, as had his predecessors, he believed that the sculpture schools were influenced by Saxony, Westphalia, and Schleswig-Holstein from the thirteenth century, but not yet Lübeck at that early date (thirteenth century).101

15. Andersson and English Influences on Norwegian Sculptures

The most accomplished scholar of the Swedish material in the second part of the twentieth century was Aron Andersson [1919-1984]. In 1950, he published his doctoral dissertation: English influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture in Wood 1220-1270102 where he continued and followed up on his predecessors’ work, dealing with stylistic influences, and aimed to clarify different schools based on influences from the continent and England. The five-volume publication of the medieval collection of the Statens Historiska Museum, Medieval Wooden Sculpture in Sweden103 (1964-1980) also dealt with these problems, but it is clear that Andersson was more conservative (in the volumes for which he was responsible) when it came to naming masters and schools in this later publication. Andersson’s thorough presentation has become the foundation and guide for all succeeding scholarship.

101 Ibid., 151.
102 A. Andersson, English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture in Wood 1220-1270 (Stockholm, 1950).
In English influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture in Wood 1220-1270, Andersson analysed the relationships between English and Norwegian sculptures as well as the Swedish material. The first part of the book dealt with the characteristics and development of English sculpture (drawing heavily upon Prior and Gardner’s analysis), using ‘The Wells School,’ the ‘London School of Purbeck Marble’ and the ‘Westminster School’ as examples for sources of influence in Norway and Sweden. The tympanum of the western doorway of Wells Cathedral is decorated with a Virgin and Child (Fig. 45). In the second part of his book, Andersson dealt with the issue of English influence. He stated that English influences arrived sooner in Norway than they did in Western Sweden. He also claimed that “English influence made itself felt in Norway considerably more than in Sweden, and the reasons for this are of course to a great extent the geographical position of these countries.” A thirteenth-century map of Scandinavia reveals that Jämtland and Härjedalen as well as some parts of Dalarna (Fig. 7, Chapter 1) were then still part of Norway. Andersson discussed some direct examples regarding the English influences on Norwegian sculptures, starting with the Austråt Madonna (Fig. 46).

The Trondheim School and England

Andersson discussed a probable sculpture workshop in Trondheim in the middle of the thirteenth century. He admitted that there are no sculptures (such as the Austråt Madonna, Fig. 46) of this kind surviving in the Trondheim area itself, but that what was characteristically northern European was the material, pinewood (although this was quite uncommon in Sweden at this time). The workshop should have been active after 1245, he believed, since the first corner stone of Trondheim cathedral was

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104 A. Andersson, EINSFS, 20, 54. Andersson recognized that the style of Wells school spread throughout England and especially in the western and southern parts of the country.
105 Ibid., 95.
laid in 1248. The Trondheim school might not have been directly influenced by the Wells school, he thought, but by a woodcarving school located in Eastern England. One of the finest examples of early medieval Scandinavian sculpture is the *Hove Madonna* (Fig. 47), believed to originate from the Bergen area. Andersson made the assumption that this sculpture was the production of English sculptors working on Norwegian soil, and further claimed that the *Madonna* head from Öystese (Fig. 48) is a sister to that of the *Hove Madonna*.¹¹¹

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¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 95.
¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 118.
¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 126.
¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 126.
¹¹⁰ Ibid., 127.
¹¹¹ Ibid., 129.
Figure 46. Austråt Madonna, (Videnskapsselskapets Samling) Trondheim. The sculpture was originally situated in Austråt Church, Norway.
Figure 47. Hove Madonna, (Historisk Museum) Bergen. This sculpture was originally situated in Hove Church, Norway.
Andersson related the sculptures to the Purbeck marble ‘school’ in London, to which he assigned, for example, *King John’s tomb* in *Worcester Cathedral* (Fig. 49). The connection is not impossible but highly subjective and it is difficult to argue that there

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*Figure 48. Head of Öystese Madonna, (Historisk Museum) Bergen. This sculpture was originally situated in Öystese Church, Norway.*

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112 Ibid., 134. This will not lead into a discussion of medieval English sculpture. A full review of the English sculpture schools would amount to an entirely separate thesis. One should take into account
was a school deeply influenced by the London school of ‘Purbeck marble’ in Norway/Sweden since there is little physical evidence of wood sculpture surviving in England.

Figure 49. King John’s Tomb, Worcester Cathedral, England

Andersson wrote that the Madonna from Huseby in Norway (Fig. 50) and the Svenneby Madonna (Fig. 51), in Sweden (the latter he described as an import from England), show the quality of “relatively free plastic nature.” 113 Thereafter, Andersson described the English forms and proportional conformity between the Svenneby Madonna (Fig. 51), and the Austråt Madonna (Fig. 46). 114 Although the idea is tempting, of course, to match the Svenneby Madonna with an English or a Norwegian workshop, the Svenneby Madonna is completely unlike the Austråt Madonna which is an elongated elegant figure, whilst the Svenneby Madonna is of a sturdier composition. He dated the Svenneby Madonna to either 1250 if it came from London or 1260 if it was from Lincoln. 115 The sculpture belongs in the last quarter of the thirteenth century according to my own grouping in Chapter 3.

that this is a summary of Andersson’s work and that subsequent scholarship (especially non-Swedish sources) might have reached different conclusions since this publication.

113 Ibid., 212.
114 Ibid., 214.
115 Ibid., 216.
Figure 50. Huseby Madonna, Huseby Gård, Norway.
In his dissertation, one major theme is the Balke School and its influences on Swedish figure sculpture.\textsuperscript{116} Andersson wrote “…it is very fortunate indeed that we still have a Madonna which, in all probability, may be regarded as their prototype and an English original, namely the \textit{Madonna} from \textit{Biri} (Fig. 52).”\textsuperscript{117} Andersson was careful to convey the uncertainty of his notions of sculptural origins:

“My opinion of what is English work and what is English influence in Norwegian work cannot be supported by conclusive evidence – it must necessarily be based on subjective apprehension of art. There is no absolute reason why the entire

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 217.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., Andersson believed that “the superior and well-proportioned Madonna has its ´counterpart´ in Matthew Paris’ famous Madonna drawing, 218.” See Fig. 53.
Balke workshop production could not have come from England.\footnote{Ibid., 220-221.}

\textbf{Figure 52.} Biri Madonna, (Universitetets Oldsaksamling) Oslo. This sculpture was originally in Biri Church, Norway.
He therefore wrote, the *Biri Madonna* (Fig. 52) shows a “naturalistic maturity, individuality, and refined artistry in form in a manner one might expect in England at the middle of the thirteenth century, but hardly in Norway.”\(^{119}\) To some extent this depends on one’s understanding of the other arts in Norway at the same time.
Andersson suggested the possibility that perhaps it could be the work of an Englishman who immigrated to Norway, or, less probably, carved by a Norwegian sculptor who had received his training in England.\textsuperscript{120} This is an argument that he applies to many of the sculptures and it does indeed seem more attractive that the sculptures were imported from England (but based on the high number of sculptures in Västergötland, the neighbouring province to Norway, one needs to consider a geographic school influenced by the English works as I will discuss in Chapter 3). He also pointed out, however, that high quality of sculptures does not necessarily clarify whether it is a native production or an import from England. The \textit{Langham Virgin and Child} in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 54) for example has no stylistic similarity to the \textit{Biri Madonna} (Fig. 52).\textsuperscript{121} Andersson admitted that there is no scientific proof that can determine the sculptures’ origin, merely his connoisseurship of where the boundary line between English and Norwegian works could be drawn.\textsuperscript{122} It is very difficult to be convinced by this argument since Andersson mainly used Norwegian examples to prove the English influences but there are also several examples of wooden sculpture from Germany fairly similar to the Swedish and Norwegian wooden sculptures which will discussed in Chapter 3. The trade routes were more commonly from Germany to Gotland and to mainland Sweden than they were to England (see Fig. 9, Chapter 1). Therefore it seems more sensible to assume influences from the south rather than from the west.

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 221.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 217.
\textsuperscript{121} P Williamson, \textit{Gothic Sculpture1140-1300} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 114. He dated the Langham Virgin to 1200-1220. In my opinion, a better comparison to the Biri Madonna is the Virgin and Child in the Chiesa del Crocifisso (Brindisi, Italy) which he dated to 1240-1250. See Fig. 58.
\textsuperscript{122} Andersson, 222.
Andersson pointed out stylistic similarities between the *Biri Madonna* (Fig. 52) and *Balke Madonna* (Fig. 56) and compared them to the *Naverstad Madonna* (Fig. 55). He described the *Balke Madonna* as almost identical to the *Naverstad Madonna*. The composition is almost identical, even in the position of the legs. He also believed (surely correctly) that the seated *Spydeberg Madonna* (Fig. 57) was closely related.

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123 Ibid., 222-224. Andersson described the *Naverstad Madonna* (Fig. 55) as a ‘conventionalized edition’ of the *Biri Madonna* (Fig. 52) and stated that the latter exceeded it in quality. He further questioned, whether the carver of the *Naverstad Madonna* (Fig. 55) studied in the same circle as the master of the *Biri Madonna* (Fig. 52).

124 Ibid., 225.
Figure 55. Naverstad Madonna, Naverstad Church, Bohuslän.

Figure 56. Balke Madonna, (Universitetets Oldsakssamling) Oslo. This sculpture was originally situated in Balke Church, Norway.
Figure 57. Spydeberg Madonna (Universitetets Oldsakssamling) Oslo. This sculpture was originally situated in Spydeberg Church, Norway.

Figure 58. Madonna and Child, Chiesa del Crocifisso, Brindisi, Italy.
Andersson set the date of the Balke School as early as 1250 and claimed that none of the early works should be dated after 1275 and contended that Norway’s rich artistic florescence during this phase, mainly drawing its inspiration from England, stimulated Sweden’s development in various ways. However, an especially significant role can be ascribed in this influence to the Norwegian archbishopric of Trondheim by reason of its importance as the foremost place of pilgrimage in Scandinavia, owing to the attraction of the shrine of St. Olav, the holy king of Norway. St. Olav was by far Scandinavia’s most popular saint (excluding the Virgin and Saint Birgitta) in the Middle Ages and the one most frequently portrayed in wooden sculpture. Andersson declared: “there are (were) several signs of Norwegian influence in the Early Gothic sculpture of the northern parts of thirteenth-century Sweden. Nevertheless, a Norwegian or English influence may also reasonably be assumed in the western parts of the country.” One of the main problems with Andersson’s argument is that although there seems to have been close contacts between Sweden and Norway, there is very little evidence to support the hypothesis of Norwegian sculptures in Sweden since there are no exact relatives on both sides of the borders.

16. Medieval Wooden Sculpture

The second volume of Medieval Wooden Sculpture in Sweden, also written by Aron Andersson, presented the ‘Swedish’ material mainly (and very selectively) from the collection of the Historiska Museet in Stockholm (National Historical Museum) which he discussed and contrasted with some of the other material in other

126 Ibid., 154.
127 A Andersson, English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture in Wood 1220-1270 (Stockholm, 1950), 154.
places. Andersson here brought up the subject of the sculptures in a more general way. Here again he tried to distinguish between the Anglo-Norwegian and Danish influences in the second half of the thirteenth century.

According to Andersson (following af Ugglas and Norberg), the Fröskog Madonna, as well as the Glava and the Norra Ny figures (Figs 59, 60 and 61), should perhaps be related to an East Norwegian workshop rather than to sculptural activity in the diocese of Skara.\textsuperscript{128} Despite this, Andersson observed that the Glava Madonna and the Norra Ny Madonna (Fig. 60 and 61) show common characteristics of the Danish school."\textsuperscript{129} I agree with Andersson that in the second half of the thirteenth century, the Swedish Madonnas almost became standardized and appear as mainly “functional” repetitions, lacking elegance, and they seem to emanate from strongly defined regional schools, as will be shown in Chapter 3.

It was not Andersson’s intention to argue that the entire area (Sweden) was affected by English and Norwegian influences; he actually argued that there were also influences from South Scandinavian workshops in these regions (Västergötland, Map 2, and Värmland, Map 6) but he still assigned a massive amount of these “English” sculptures to central Sweden (see A1 and A2 in Chapter 3).\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid., 159.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., 159. The characteristics are also not found in Norway, that is to say: the “mantle was draped like a shawl, crosswise on the chest.”
\textsuperscript{130} A. Andersson, Medieval Wooden Sculpture in Sweden, II (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell international, 1966), 76. See Figs. 62-68.
Map 6. Värmland with my A and B Groups
Map 7. Dalsland with my A Group
Figure 59. Fröskog Madonna and tabernacle, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally in Fröskog Church, Dalsland.
Figure 60. Glava Madonna, Glava Church, Värmland.
Figure 61. Norra Ny Madonna, Norra Ny Church, Värmland.
**Figure 62.** Molla Madonna, Molla Church, Västergötland.

**Figure 63.** Vänga Madonna, (Borås museum) Västergötland. This sculpture was originally situated in Vänga Church.
Figure 64. Ornugna Madonna, Ornuna Church, Västergötland.

Figure 65. Stenestad Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum), Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Stenestad Church, Skåne.
Figure 66. Härna Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Härnum Church, Västergötland.

Figure 67. Hol Madonna, Hol Church, Västergötland.
Andersson designated the Folkunga Period 1250-1363 (see Chapter 1) as a time marked by commerce, trade and culture.”\textsuperscript{131} He wrote, “From Lübeck and via Lübeck a West German emigration was taking place to the cities round the Baltic and the king of Sweden was granting extensive trading privileges in his kingdom to the Lübeck merchants.”\textsuperscript{132} Andersson also mentioned the importation of French and Flemish works of art, such as illuminated manuscripts, ivories and metalwork, brocades and embroideries, and that such luxury objects were appealing to the Swedes at this time.\textsuperscript{133} Although the survival rate of Lübeck sculpture is sparse and fragmentary from the Folkunga period, Andersson - unlike previous scholars –
claimed that there might be a distinct style, which could be associated with Lübeck at the beginning of the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{134}

He further believed that contemporary works of art in the Rhineland, Saxony, and Westphalia, which were themselves deeply influenced by French and Flemish art, were the impulses that triggered a new style in the Baltic region and that the style is visible in Stockholm, Visby and Åbo.\textsuperscript{135} In this period Uppsala, Västerås and Strängnäs were the most active areas for commissioning art in Sweden, it seemed to him.\textsuperscript{136} According to Andersson, the Lübeck style was present in various Swedish locations at the turn of the century (thirteenth century) and the \textit{Lohärad Madonna} (Fig. 69) and the \textit{Väversunda Madonna} (Fig. 70) belonged to this iconographical type, with the Child seated high.\textsuperscript{137} In Chapter 3 I shall agree that the group seems coherent except for the \textit{Väddö Madonna} which is not of the same exquisite quality as the other sculptures mentioned; it lacks the delicate facial features seen in the other two sculptures.

Andersson thought that if Lübeck was the place of origin of the Bunge Master, then perhaps Visby would be the natural place for the workshop (this had already been suggested by af Ugglas and Roosval). He stated that there was a close relationship between the \textit{Brandenburg Madonna} (Fig. 75) and the Bunge master. He linked the \textit{Brandenburg Madonna} to the \textit{Över-Selö Madonna} (Fig. 76) because of the

West German and Flemish markets, and architecture in Sweden was influenced by the brick architecture typical of Northern Germany.

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., 88.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., 89.
\textsuperscript{135} C.R. af Ugglas, \textit{GMTHI}, 404. C. R. af Ugglas postulated a workshop on Gotland run by an artist he named the Öja Master. He believed that the Master was a French immigrant active on Gotland. – Roosval thought the Master was a Gotlander, with French training.- Andersson "Ein Kruzifix-Typus" proclaimed that sculptures of the French style had reached Gotland through Westphalia.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., 90.
\textsuperscript{137} A Andersson, \textit{MWSS II}, 100-101.
latter’s bulbous forehead, restrained smile, lavish richness in the fall of the mantle with an emphasis on the diagonal position of the right leg, and the same ornamental volutes in the hems of the garments on the base.\textsuperscript{138}

Figure 69. Lohärad Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Lohärad Church, Uppland.

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., 124. Andersson compares the Hansühn Madonna (Fig. 71) to the Swedish material and includes the Vallstena Apostle (Fig. 71) and the St. Olaf af Bunge (Fig. 73) in the discussion.
Figure 70. Väversunda Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Väversunda Church, Östergötland.
Figure 71. Hansühn Madonna, Hansühn Church, Schleswig-Holstein.
Figure 72. Vallstena Apostle, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Vallstena Church, Gotland.
Figure 73. St. Olaf from Bunge, (Staten Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Bunge Church, Gotland.
Figure 74. Väddö Madonna, Väddö Church, Uppland.
Figure 75. Brandenburg Madonna, Brandenburg Cathedral, Germany.
Figure 76. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, Södermanland.

Figure 77. Nousis Madonna, (Nationalmuseum) Helsinki. The sculpture was originally in Nousis Church, Finland.
The *Linde Madonna* (Fig. 78), which is also close to the *Brandenburg Madonna* (Fig. 75), is ascribed to the Bunge School by previous scholars.\(^{139}\) The *Lojsta Madonna* (Fig. 79) could also and rightly so, according to Andersson, be a work from the Bunge master’s circle. The next stage of development, he wrote, was the *Långlöt Madonna* (Fig. 80), which is more elongated than the previous examples. Andersson stated that it displayed the “same noble, aristocratic figure style as the famous stained glass windows in the choir at Lye (Fig. 81) on Gotland.”\(^{140}\) The number of surviving key pieces on Gotland witness to great artistic activity in the first half of the fourteenth century.

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\(^{139}\) Ibid., 103. The face here, reminded Andersson, not too convincingly, of the *Magdeburg Madonna* (Fig. 89).

\(^{140}\) Ibid., 106 “The Lye windows are exponents of the Lübeck figure style during the 1320’s and the 1330’s. The *Långlöt Madonna* is presumably a Lübeck export from the same time.”
Figure 79. Lojsta Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum), Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in Lojsta Church, Gotland.
Figure 80. Långlöt Madonna, Långlöt Church, Öland.
While describing the Linköping cathedral workshop, Andersson claimed that English craftsmen worked on the extension of Linköping Cathedral (as early as) in the second half of the thirteenth century, and again in the fourteenth century; the latter period was when the cathedral received its decorative sculpture.\textsuperscript{141} Andersson wrote, "The cult images were probably made in a workshop whose activity can be followed

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., 108. He considered the possibility of the Svenneby Madonna being the product of such a workshop (Fig. 84).
over a long period of time under the guidance of successive masters, presumably within the city and perhaps as part of the cathedral workshop.” In addition to the Linköping Cathedral workshop, he contended that there seems to have been an independent sculptor present, who produced the Edshult Madonna (Fig. 82). He further believed that the Edshult Madonna was a native copy from a French ivory of 1300, based on its rigid and rather dead appearance. The Långlöt Madonna (Fig. 80) and the Runsten Madonna (Fig. 83) on Öland show a link to the Gotland workshops, according to Andersson.

Figure 82. Edshult Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in Edshult Church, Småland.

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142 Ibid., 109.
143 Ibid., 112. Carl af Ugglas described the Madonna as being related to French art and saw its predecessors in provincial Flemish examples, rather than in contemporary Parisian art.
144 A Andersson, MWSS II, 114.
Figure 83. Runsten Madonna, Runsten Church, Öland.
Etienne de Bonneuil

In a discussion about sculpture production in relation to cathedral building, Andersson wrote that the northernmost medieval diocese, Uppsala, appears to have been the cornerstone for the archdiocese’s sculpture production because of the ambitious cathedral construction in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Strängnäs, Linköping and Västerås were also erecting and reconstructing cathedrals in the mid-to-last part of the thirteenth century but on a much more modest scale, in the black brick tradition, the same tradition as in the larger cities in Sweden and the
North German style, and according to Andersson, no sculptural trend in the workshops of these cathedrals can be recognized.\textsuperscript{145}

Andersson contributed with a take on Etienne de Bonneuil (who was discussed in Chapter 1) and his companions who came to Uppsala for the construction of Uppsala cathedral. Andersson did not link the Uppsala sculptures with him, but rather to the cathedral workshop of Uppsala. Andersson wrote:

\begin{quote}
“Surviving statues in the porches of the north and south transept are executed in foreign limestone (French?) and seem to have been imported ready carved: it is not possible on the basis of these statues to identify any of the numerous wood sculptures in the diocese as representative of the Uppsala workshop.”\textsuperscript{146}
\end{quote}

Andersson believed that Etienne de Bonneuil had very slight influence on Scandinavian wood sculpture in the third decade of the thirteenth century. However a prominent Madonna from the northernmost diocese is the Ärentuna Madonna (the sculpture in Uppsala University Museum, Fig. 85) and Andersson related it to the same sculptor as the Crucifix of Rasbo Church (Fig. 86).\textsuperscript{147} The Madonna from Uppsala-Näs Church (Fig. 87) could, he thought, perhaps also be related to the Ärentuna Madonna (Fig. 85) on the basis of some of the details of the workmanship.\textsuperscript{148} Andersson went on to describe later sculpture and its origins, mentioning the increasing importance of Lübeck and its function as an entrepôt between Sweden and the Continent in the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{149}

\textsuperscript{145} Ibid., 122.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., 127.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 127. Andersson suggested that “la vierge dorée” from the south porch of the Amiens Cathedral was the ultimate prototype for this sculpture. See Fig. 88.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 134-136. He also placed Jumkil and Lövånger Madonnas in this group (Figs. 90-91).
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 146.
Figure 85. Ärentuna Madonna, (Uppsala Universitets konstsamling) Uppsala.

Figure 86. Rasbo Crucifix, Rasbo Church, Uppland.
Figure 87. Uppsala Näs Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in Uppsala Näs Church, Uppland.
Figure 88. La Vierge Dorée, South Porch, Amiens, France.
Figure 89. Magdeburg Madonna, Magdeburg Cathedral, Germany.
Figure 90. Jumkil Madonna, Jumkil Church, Uppland.
17. England, Norway and Sweden

In the earlier article 'England-Norge-Sverige i 1200-talets plastik,' Andersson described the stylistic development of sculptures in Northern Europe in the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{150} Andersson discussed the lack of monumental and figurative sculpture surviving in England and that in fact only fragments survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He also analysed extant works carved from Purbeck marble,

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{figure91.png}
\caption{Lövånger Madonna, Lövånger Church, Västerbotten.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{150} A. Andersson, “England-Norge-Sverige i 1200-talets plastik” Konsthistorisk Tidskrift XXIV (1955), 41-56.
found in Rochester, Salisbury and Lincoln. For us the article is important because of the seals Andersson adduced as stylistic comparisons: I shall (in Chapter 3) use these dates myself (although different examples) to discuss possible datings for A and B sculptures. According to Andersson:

“…the Purbeck marble school has explicit features, forcefully carved, heavy faces and the pleats streamlined. The closest related school of sculpture on the continent could be found in Maas and the lower Rhineland. It seems that London should be the most natural place for the workshop.”

Andersson had argued that many thirteen-century sculptures (now in Sweden) were the products of a sculptor who had been trained in the Trondheim school but that they were most likely exported from the workshop in Norway. Andersson believed that the likeliest way for the Swedes to get in touch with the English and French schools was through the Norwegians. The Västra Skrukeby Madonna (Fig. 92) was thought to be French by af Ugglas. Andersson seems to have recognized English traits in this small-scale sculpture and contended that the treatment of the pleats is close to that of the figure formerly in the Dean’s garden in Winchester (Fig. 93).

**Figure 92.** Västra Skrukeby Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Västra Skrukeby Church, Uppland.

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151 Ibid., 41. My translation
152 Ibid., 41.
153 Ibid., 46.
155 A. Andersson, “England-Norge-Sverige i 1200-talets plastik” 46. In this article, Andersson also compared the Västra Skrukeby Madonna (Fig. 92) to the Rimbo Madonna (Fig. 94) - in particular the curls, the soft cheeks, the wide-open eyes, the short nose and the pointed chin - but he argued that the later sculpture is only a mundane repetition of the Västra Skrukeby Madonna (Fig. 92).
Figure 93. Winchester Figure, Winchester Cathedral, England.
Andersson admitted that the sculptures are of different calibre, the *Västra Skrukeby Madonna* (Fig. 92) being the superior one and that the *Rimbo Madonna* (Fig. 94) was probably the most characteristic representation of the sculptural tradition in Uppland, Sweden. Andersson pointed to the Väte master as a possible sculptor, and suggested that he had used the *Västra Skrukeby Madonna* (Fig. 92) as the model.\(^{156}\) Andersson wrote that there is sparse comparative material existing

\(^{156}\) Ibid., 47.
between the Swedish, English and French wooden sculpture.\textsuperscript{157} In Chapter 3, we shall see that images of the Madonna and Child depicted on some Swedish seals indicate other dates than have been suggested before.

\textbf{Figure 95.} Seal of Henry III from 1259, (British Museum) London, England.

\section*{18. Eckerblad and Dendrochronology}

In the publication, \textit{Dendrokronologi på medeltida träskulptur}, Karl Eckerblad [1948-1986] discussed two segments out of a thesis (which was at the time of the article, a work in progress and was never published) on dendrochronology. He began discussing the meaning of dendrochronology, methods and reading techniques. He noted that the dendrochronological results concurred with sculptures that have been stylistically dated to the fourteenth century in terms of the 90 sculptures he claimed to have examined and 40 that had been dealt with dendrochronologically. However, sculptures that were dated to the thirteenth century were shifted back in time, according to Eckerblad. I am uncertain how accurate Eckerblad’s readings are since few scholars have used them (and Jacobsson pointed out the difficulty in interpreting the reading of thirteenth and fourteenth century sculpture in a dendrochronological examination because of their bad state). He places the \textit{Svenneby Madonna} (Fig. 84) in Scandinavia (which rules out English exportation) for example and the \textit{Biri Madonna}.

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., 52.
in Eastern Norway (from the same wood as the Seated and Standing Madonnas in Spydeberg). He claimed because of the quality of the wood that the Tolg and Dädesjö Madonnas are from Småland, the Linde and Över Selö Madonnas from Gotland and that the Ukna, and Västra Ed Madonnas were made from wood in Eastern Sweden. Perhaps the periods of dating, which are vague at times, can be used as indications to sculpture production in areas, especially when they span long periods of time. Eckerblad also admitted the difficulties with the readings of dendrochronology, and that the Romanesque sculptures had to be discarded since too little of a block of wood was used. The material on Gotland was also only a hypothetical chronology as there was no reference material (as there was in Norway to the Madonnas of the mid-west) known to Eckerblad.

19. Tångeberg and the technical aspects

Mittelalterliche Holzskulpturen und Altarschreine in Schweden by Peter Tångeberg [1942-], was published in 1986 and discusses the technical aspects and techniques that had been omitted by previous scholars. Even though the book ostensibly deals with sculpture from 1225 to approximately the age of the Reformation, it devotes much more attention to the later material. Tångeberg only dealt thoroughly with a handful of Madonnas and referred to them frequently; the presentations become a bit repetitious since he primarily discusses the Visby Madonna (Fig. 96), Hallingeberg Madonna (Fig. 97), Edshult Madonna (Fig. 98), Kiaby

158 K. Eckerblad, Dendrokronologi på medeltida träskulptur (Stockholm: Dendrokronologiska sällskapet, 1984), 16.
159 Ibid., 16-17.
Madonna (Fig. 99), Skog Madonna (Fig. 100), Uppsala/Ärentuna Madonna (Fig. 101) and Norra Ny Madonna (Fig. 102) as core examples. He argued that in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, there was a change in the production of wood sculpture. It was not only a stylistic change, but also saw the introduction of new materials and new working techniques. The sculptures became larger in scale, and this meant that larger pieces of wood were required. In the thirteenth century, most sculptures were carved from oak, a type of wood that was not frequently used in Sweden prior to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.162

Figure 96. Visby Madonna, Gotlands Fornsal (Visby), Gotland. The figure was originally situated in Visby Cathedral.

161 Ibid., 20.
162 P. Tångeberg, Mittelalterliche Holzskulpturen und Altarschreine in Schweden: Studien zu Form, Material und Technik (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1986), 18. An early example of oak sculpture from the Swedish mainland is the Apostle from Norra Vånga (Fig. 103), showing traces of French influence reported by Tångeberg.
Figure 97. Hallingeberg Madonna, Hallingeberg Church, Småland.
Figure 98. Edshult Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Edshult Church, Småland.
Figure 99. Kiaby Madonna, Kiaby Church, Skåne.

Figure 100. Skog Madonna, (Länsmuseet Västernorrland) Härnösand. This sculpture was originally situated in Skog Church, Angermanland.
Figure 101. Ärentuna Madonna, (Universitets konstsamling), Uppsala. This sculpture was originally situated in Ärentuna Church, Uppland.

Figure 102. Norra Ny Madonna, Norra Ny Church, Värmland.
Figure 103. Apostle Norra Vånga (Västergötlands museum) Skara. This sculpture was originally situated in Norra Vånga Church, Västergötland.

In a discussion about material used for the sculptures he mentions one of the earliest examples of a large Madonna sculpture carved from oak found in the cathedral (the original Madonna is in Gotland’s Fornsal) dedicated to the Madonna, Gotland. The *Visby sculpture*, he said, showed a direct influence from Saxon and Westphalian art. Other early examples from different parts of the country seemed, he
wrote, to belong to an Anglo-Norwegian style. It seemed that oak became a commonly used wood, regardless of where the stylistic influences came from.\textsuperscript{163}

In the thirteenth century, only a small number of woods other than oak were employed for sculpture and they can be stylistically and geographically determined. It appeared, Tångeberg wrote, that sculpture carved from pine in the western and northern parts of the country, in the late thirteenth century was, if not executed in Norway, made after the Anglo-Norwegian style in Sweden. There are also isolated examples of figures made out of beech wood, such as the Madonna (Fig. 104) and St. Olav from Bro (Fig. 105), originating from Denmark. Although oak remained the most widely used wood in the production of sculptures other kinds of wood, such as alder, started to appear in sculpture production in this century.

With regard to size, Tångeberg contended that the Visby Madonna (Fig. 106) and contemporary crucifixes cannot be treated as if they were the set standard for size since there are deviations.\textsuperscript{164} It is not possible to speak about an average dimension for the Madonna in the thirteenth century, according to Tångeberg. It seems that the demand for larger sculptures was mainly satisfied by pieces carved from oak, since that was the only wood that could be supplied in the larger dimensions required. There are a number of general examples from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which show that there was a parallel tradition of sculpture production on a small

\textsuperscript{163} P. Tångeberg, Mittelalterliche Holzskulpturen und Altarschreinein Schweden, 18.  
\textsuperscript{164} P. Tångeberg, 18. This does not appear true according to my calculations. Most sculptures of Madonnas were actually around 100cm (see table of A1 and A2 Madonnas in Chapter 3). The height of the Visby Madonna is 151 cm, and her width is 53 cm (which makes her roughly 50 cm taller than most other seated Madonnas in Sweden dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). Although other examples of the same time may not be as large as the examples on Gotland, it seems that the sculptures of the thirteenth century generally became larger than in earlier periods. However, there are also examples of very small figures, for example, the Västra Skrukeby Madonna (Fig. 92), which is only 43.5 cm tall. Apart from the unusual sizes it should also be noted here that these two sculptures are of high quality and were either imported or carved by foreign sculptors.
scale; and though for the most part, statues grew larger in size over time, not all of them did, he concluded.

Figure 104. Bro Madonna, Gotlands Fornsal, Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Bro Church, Gotland.
Figure 105. St. Olav of Bro, Gotlands Fornsal, Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Bro Church, Gotland.
In a discussion about how the sculptures were made, Tångeberg reported that the Visby Madonna (Fig. 106) was carved from a single piece of wood (except for the heads of the figures), though several parts were added on, such as a corner of the Virgin’s drapery, and a foot and an arm of the child. The hand of the Virgin is in two
pieces, and the hand is not properly attached. Tångeberg asserted that this Madonna is
typical of the Visby material in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, even though
few examples have survived. In other cases, the heads of the Virgin and Child are also
attached/added, the arms and hands, and the throne. Tångeberg mentioned the
much later *Vagnhärad Madonna* (Fig. 107) and the *Över Selö Madonna* (Fig. 108) as
assembled together by a main part (body) and several smaller pieces (head, arms,
hands). He pointed out that the head of the *Vagnhärad Madonna* was attached with a
dowel. In the case of the *Över Selö Madonna*, the upper body and head of the child
are detachable.

![Image of Vagnhärad Madonna](image_url)

**Figure 107.** Vagnhärad Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was
originally in Vagnhärad Church, Södermanland.

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165 Ibid., 19.
The *Madonna* from *Hallingeberg* (Fig. 97), he noted was mainly carved from one piece of oak. Various small pieces of other wood were attached to the face and the head. The child stands on the mother’s thigh, and was carved from the same piece of wood.¹⁶⁶ Tångeberg also noted similarities and carving and construction techniques. He compared the *Edshult Madonna* (Fig. 98), dating from the early fourteenth century, to the thirteenth-century *Visby Madonna* (Fig. 106), both carved with separate heads.¹⁶⁷

An uncommon feature which is nevertheless a way of dating seated Madonnas of the mid-thirteenth century is the construction of the Child’s head. The first of

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 20. He reported that there is a 45 mm horizontal part, where the remainder of the upper body was fastened, and with this, the arms and the head.
Tångeberg’s examples was the *Madonna of Kiaby* (Fig. 99), where the Virgin and Child are carved from the same piece of wood.\(^{168}\) In this context Tångeberg suggested the interesting notion that these Madonnas might have been produced for specific liturgical functions, when the head of the Child needed to be detachable. He also pointed out that the other loose parts had functions in order to change expressions or poses. In his opinion, sculptures which were cut from several pieces of wood were not of the same sophistication as those that were carved from the same piece of wood\(^{169}\)

The Madonnas from the mid-west of Sweden, exhibiting Anglo-Norwegian influences, were not assembled from components, nor were they made out of oak or pine. It is certain, Tångeberg stated, that they came from the European mainland, from the Netherlands or from the Rhineland, since most of them seem to be carved from one piece of wood.\(^{170}\) The custom of assembling sculptures from small pieces or adding elements to them had nothing to do with the quality of work, since the *Visby Madonna* (Fig. 106), *Edshult* (Fig. 98) and *Över Selö Madonnas* (Fig. 108) are excellent works of art, suggesting the solution that, if there was a good piece of wood available, the figure would be carved from one piece.\(^{171}\)

By the second half of the thirteenth century, the heads would be hollowed out as well, as one can see in the *Näsinne Madonna* (Fig. 109), especially by the depth of

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167 Ibid. 20.
168 Ibid., 21. Even the crown is cut from the same piece. Only the head of the Child is detachable. The head is attached to the body by a 16 cm dowel, which is fixed into the upper body of the child.
169 Ibid., 23.
170 Ibid., 23.
171 Ibid., 24, 26. He further described that figures after 1225 were not larger (as a whole) than earlier, but they have in general more volume and stronger parts, and are relatively three dimensional, for the most part semi-round. There are several examples of sculpture in the round, where the back has been sculpted as well, in contrast to previous periods, when the heads of the sculptures were not always carved round. In the second quarter of the thirteenth century too, sculptors hollowed out the sculptures. In the early stages, carvers would just remove wood from the back piece without concern for what it
the body and all the other individual parts. Figures in the round, where the back has
been shaped, bring a particular problem with the process of hollowing out. One
possibility is that the sculpture was assembled in two pieces, where one of the
respective parts could have been hollowed out according to Tångeberg. There are
cases of sculptures which have been carved from a round piece of wood and have then
been hollowed out from the back. The back would then be covered by a very thin
piece, which was shaped as the back. Also, at this time solid sculptures were
executed. Tångeberg saw a correlation between size (if they were smaller in size they
would not be hollowed out, in general) and the fact that some sculptures were never
hollowed out.172

Figure 109. Näsinge Madonna, Göteborgs stadsmuseum, Bohuslän. This sculpture was originally
situated in Näsinge Church, Bohuslän.

looked like. Later on, in the fourteenth century, the carver would spend more time in hollowing out the
sculpture echoing the shape of the outside of the sculpture.

172 Ibid., 27. For example, the Lövånger Madonna (Fig. 91), which is carved from hazelnut and is only
59 cm tall, is not hollowed out. It was believed by Tångeberg to be an import from the Rhineland
because it was completely round and solid. The unusual material as well as the small size could
possibly indicate that this sculpture was an import or it could just show that sculpture production in
Sweden was not only limited to alder and oak.
The hollowing out was meant to prevent the wood from cracking. Therefore, it is a mystery why the large sculptures were not always hollowed out. It is possible that the surfaces of the sculptures were carved even when they showed cracks and that the artist worked with the wood as it came, cracks or not. Such stretching of the “radial” cracks occurred frequently. Sometimes, the cracks were filled up with other pieces of wood, as can be seen in the Lojsta Madonna (Fig. 110). It is not unequivocally possible to determine when the cracks occurred in the process of the execution of the sculpture. It is possible that the head shape of the figure was of fresh wood and the back piece hollowed out, after which the uncompleted figure, was put down to dry. Then the cracks would develop and the figures were completed. It is also possible, however, that seasoned dried wood was used for the sculptures. It is hard to imagine that the artists always had access to fresh wood in stock for the execution of the sculpture. There is a good possibility that the usage of fresh wood was by no means uniform, and perhaps, the carver had to comply with the local supply.173

Figure 110. Lojsta Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Lojsta Church, Gotland.

173 Ibid., 28-29.
Perhaps the wood was artificially dried when there was a fire in close vicinity, Tångeberg suggested. A blackened part could be interpreted as the smoke from a fire, and is found in the hollow part of the *Stenestad Madonna* (Fig. 111). It is unclear whether this blackened part is the result of a deliberate process of drying the wood. After the wood had dried and the cracking appeared, the surface would be filled with pieces of wood and gesso to make a smooth work surface. The carver used, for the most part, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, adzes and gouges in order to hollow out the sculptures. Tångeberg thought that some of these customs, such as the choice of a bad piece of wood or the particularly crude treatment (which is not the case in the smooth unpainted Madonnas in the LHM in Skåne), seem to belong to the island of Gotland. It happens that this was the most productive period of art in this area, and the most distinguished sculptures of the Baltic region were executed there. In my opinion, it could be that the sculptor did not feel the necessity to perfect the surface of the wood since it was due to be painted.\(^{174}\) When the carving of oak was introduced the carver began to face certain difficulties. The coarse work from Gotland in the thirteenth century is conspicuous. The surface is commonly uneven, as splinters have formed in the cuts of the wood. An eloquent example, Tångeberg stated, is the *Visby Madonna* (Fig. 106). It is unknown (but most likely because the figures were not carved in-the-round), why there was, already in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a common practice of tabernacles with doors, in which the figure was seated. There are some remaining shrines from the twelfth century.\(^{175}\) It seems that the production of shrines increased in the thirteenth century and most seated figures had one of these constructions, according to Tångeberg. The canopies were often carved with trefoils on the interior, which would be visible when the doors were

\(^{174}\) Ibid., 30-31.
opened. In addition, the side doors were often decorated with relief sculpture. The tabernacles seem to have been designed in a similar manner.

Figure 111. Stenestad Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum), Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Stenestad Church, Skåne.

Usually the doors are covered with relief sculpture and consist of 4 door panels that are fastened together with hinges. The shrines are decorated somewhat differently, some have square patterned backboards, as in the Norra Ny tabernacle (Figs 112 and 113), and some have only embossed trefoils with relief sculpture. The crown of the Romanesque sculptures was usually made out of metal. These were added last, Tångeberg stated. Stones were sometimes used to decorate the Madonnas, filling the function of necklaces and other pieces of jewellery. The stones could be rock crystals and semi-precious stones.

175 Ibid., 32. The late twelfth-century Appuna Madonna still has the backboard of its original tabernacle. The top of the wall is shaped as a triangle, and the remains of hinges show that there was a canopy and doors.
176 Ibid., 34.
177 Ibid., 39-41.
178 Ibid., 39-41, 52-54.
Figure 112. Norra Ny Tabernacle, Norra Ny Church, Värmland.
Another example of a tabernacle is that one of the Fröskog Madonna (Figs 114 and 115). Tångeberg reported that the surface of the Virgin was covered with a thin layer of gesso: this was left to dry and then different tools were used to work over...
the surface. The sculptures were gilded with either pure gold or silver, which was
mixed with a yellowish pigment.\textsuperscript{179} All the sculptures were originally painted.\textsuperscript{180}

\textbf{Figure 114.} Fröskog Tabernacle, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This tabernacle was
originally in Fröskog Church, Dalsland.

\textsuperscript{179} Ibid., 72-75.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., 85-86. The blue colour was sometimes painted directly on to the white primer, but the primer
count would usually get a coat of grey, black or light blue before the final coat came on. Ultramarine
was produced from Lapis Lazuli in the 11\textsuperscript{th} century but would be exchanged for cheaper stones and
minerals in the thirteenth century, which decreased the price of ultramarine blue. In the early period
when they produced blue with Lapis Lazuli the painter would mix the pigment with oil, which would
give a glossy surface, but when they started to use azurite instead, they began to mix that pigment with
an animal fat, which came out duller when it had dried.
Figure 115. Fröskog tabernacle, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This tabernacle was originally in Fröskog Church, Dalsland.

Tångeberg gave an interesting technical explanation of sculpture production in Scandinavia, reviewing dates, size, techniques, materials, functions which this study has taken into consideration when I grouped the figures in Chapter 3. It seems odd that Tångeberg did not consult dendrochronology in his assessments of the sculptures and that he did not quote K. Eckerblad in his report.
20. Lena Liepe and the South Scandinavian Workshop

In 1992, Lena Liepe [1962-] published Skånsk medeltid och renässans: Den medeltida träskulpturen i Skåne, produktion och förvärv (The Middle Ages and Renaissance in Scania, The Medieval wooden Sculpture, Production and Purchase), a regional study on the wooden sculpture remaining in the Skåne region (Map 3). She set out to review and comment on older Swedish and Danish sources. The material is presented chronologically, and the place of execution and function are also discussed. The Madonnas dating between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were discussed in chapters 8 and 9. Liepe discussed the different aspects of sculpture production, acquisition and chronology. She discussed the sculptures separately by subject, including the Madonnas and their production. Liepe described the market in Skåne and its relationship with Denmark (of which Skåne was then part).\(^{181}\) The Scanian material is important when discussing the Swedish Madonnas, but one must not forget that the sculptures could not really be considered Swedish, since Denmark ruled the region. The sculptures declined in number (or few survived) as the fourteenth century progressed and it is really only the Östra Tommarp Madonna (Fig. 116) that (barely) survived.\(^{182}\) The early scholars, Adolf Anderberg and Hans Wåhlin believed strongly in attributing the sculptures to schools and masters but Liepe came to the conclusion that it is hard to determine the magnitude of workshops, but that Lund, Helsingborg, Trelleborg, Ystad and Åhus could have been probable places for such establishments.\(^{183}\) In the cases where there are two Madonnas in the same church, Liepe believed in the possibility (most likely correct) that one was meant for a private chapel commissioned by a patron who most likely paid for the sculpture as well.\(^{184}\) In addition to the Ignaberga master, some of the sculptures could be considered imports.

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\(^{182}\) L. Liepe, 114-5.
\(^{183}\) Ibid., 101.
from Sjealland and Northern Germany. It is not clear who imported or commissioned
the sculptures, or paid for them, but Liepe suspected that private patrons did. 185 The
material dated to the thirteenth century suggests that there was a workshop in the
Skåne province which contrasts with the modest survival rate of fourteenth-century
sculpture when the region saw a decline in production and commissions of sculpture
in wood.

Figure 116. Östra Tommarp Madonna, (Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum) Skåne. The
sculpture was originally situated in Östra Tommarp Church, Skåne.
Liepe’s study is thorough but too regional and she spends too little time on the Madonna and Child from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. One is left wondering about the entrepot from the continent to Sweden and why one of the largest religious centres in Scandinavia lacks a large body of Madonna sculptures. These Madonnas will be further discussed in Group A sculptures in Chapter 3.

21. Jacobsson and the Old Diocese of Linköping

Map 8. Östergötland with my A and B Groups
In 1995, Carina Jacobsson [1962-] published her regional study called Höggotisk träskulptur i Gamla Linköpings stift (High Gothic Wooden Sculpture in the Old Diocese of Linköping). The book dealt with sculpture datable between 1300 and 1370 in the old diocese of Linköping (Map 1, Map 8, Map 9) including the sculpture of Gotland. Jacobsson regards the period as starting in c. 1300 and ending around 1375, arguing that it is not until c.1300 that “Gothic” influences from the Continent even arrived in Sweden. Jacobsson gives a review of the development of sculpture (Early High Gothic period: c. 1300-1325 divided in two parts and Developed High Gothic Period, 1325-1350 also divided in two parts). Jacobsson’s
late dating of the Rheims sculptures would affect the dating of the French- influenced German sculpture. The *Visby Madonna* (Fig. 117) has traditionally been dated to between 1200 and 1250 but Jacobson moved the dating to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and suggested (correctly) that the bodies might have different artists from the heads (also correct).188

![Visby Madonna](image)

**Figure 117.** Visby Madonna, Gotlands Fornsal (Visby), Gotland. The figure was originally situated in Visby Cathedral.

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187 C. Jacobsson, 9.
On Gotland she also mentioned the *Slite Madonna* (Fig. 120) as having some sort of relationship to the *Sundre Madonna* (Fig. 121) which in turn had relatives on the mainland.\(^{189}\)

\(^{189}\) Ibid., 46-48. As reported by Jacobsson, the *Romfartuna Madonna* (Fig. 118) was first executed in the mid-thirteenth century and then re-worked and modernised later in the century. The head was replaced and the drapes of the folds of the Virgin’s garment were re-cut. She believed that the face resembled both the *Kumla* (Fig. 119) and the *Sundre Madonna* (Fig. 121) and dated them to the early part of the fourteenth century.

**Figure 118.** Romfartuna Madonna, Romfartuna Church, Västmanland.
Figure 119. Kumla Madonna, (Västmanlands läns museum) Västerås. This sculpture was originally situated in Kumla Church, Västmanland.

The style of the *Edshult Madonna* (Fig. 122), in Jacobsson’s opinion, was probably based on an ivory figure and the native origin is accentuated by the fact that the sculpture was carved from alder; she dates the sculpture to the first decades of the fourteenth century. According to Jacobsson, two distant relatives are the *Björke Madonna* (Fig. 123) and the *Väversunda Madonna* (Fig. 124), both Madonnas sit on similar benches. Jacobsson also likened, but very unconvincingly since the veil and treatment of the hair are radically different, the *Madonna from an unknown Church (Kalmar)* (Fig. 125) to the face of the *Tingstäde Madonna* (Fig. 126).

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190 Ibid., 52-53. Also, Marian Ullén dates the sculpture after the paintings in the former Edshult Church. These correspond with the decoration of the Dädesjö and Björnsäter churches. This means the sculpture could also be from around 1300.
191 Ibid., 58. *The Sproge and Hangvar Madonnas* also belong to this group. Jacobsson believed that the *Väversunda Madonna* is the oldest since it is early Gothic in style, after that the *Madonnas from Björke* (Fig. 123), *Tingstäde* (Fig. 126) and the *unknown Church Madonna* (Fig. 125) are likely to have been
Figure 120. Slite Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally in Slite Church, Gotland.

Figure 121. Sundre Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Sundre Church, Gotland.

executed. The Sproge (Fig. 132) and Hangvar (Fig. 131) are, for her, later. Jacobsson discussed (Figs. 127-135) in a similar way.
Figure 122. Edshult Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in Edshult Church, Småland.
Figure 123. Björke Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Björke Church, Gotland.
Figure 124. Väversunda Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in the Väversunda Church, Östergötland.
Figure 125. Madonna from unknown Church, (Kalmars Länsmuseum) Kalmar, Småland.

Figure 126. Tingstäde Madonna, Tingstäde Church, Gotland.
Figure 127. Grebo Madonna, Grebo Church, Östergötland.

Figure 128. Hannäs Madonna, Hannäs Church, Småland.
Figure 129. Gassicourt Madonna, Gassicourt Church, France.

Figure 130. Gaillac Madonna, (Centre des Monuments Nationaux), Paris. This sculpture was originally in Gaillac Church, France.
Figure 131. Hangvar Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Hangvar Church.
Jacobsson also added the *Lohärad Madonna* (Fig. 133), *Danderyd Madonna* (Fig. 134), *Roslagsbro Madonna* (Fig. 135) and *Skokloster Madonna* (Fig. 136) as
external comparative material. She supported the idea that the *Skokloster Madonna* (Fig. 138) should be dated to 1300 since the Skokloster church was consecrated then. In regards to the international Madonnas, Jacobsson wrote that the *Lemland Madonna* (Fig. 139) could be related to the East Swedish workshops, she said, active in Uppland and Gotland. Not only do several sculptures exist on the island of Åland (after Meinander) that resembles the East Swedish sculptures, but Åland belonged to the archdiocese of Uppsala until it was handed over to the diocese of Åbo in the early fourteenth century.

![Figure 133. Lohärad Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Lohärad Church, Uppland.](image)

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193 Ibid., Styffe 1894, 66 ff., Hildebrand 1895, 119, Tuulse 1967, 200. Andersson also believed that this sculpture is related to this year. Jacobsson brings up the fact that the Madonna might not have existed in the church, but if one can accept the year 1300, then all the sculptures just discussed should be from around the same time. The *Sproge* and *Hangvar Madonnas* should be dated to a few decades later.
194 Ibid., 63.
Figure 134. Danderyd Madonna, Danderyd Church, Uppland.

Figure 135. Roslagsbro Madonna, Roslagsbro Church, Uppland.
Figure 136. Skokloster Madonna, Skokloster Church, Uppland.

Figure 137. Lemland Madonna, Lemland Church, Finland.
In a further discussion she brought up the *Hansühn Madonna* (Fig. 139) and *Viöl Madonna* (Fig. 140) as predecessors of the material existing in Sweden. Jacobsson thought they were so different that it would be impossible to argue that the above mentioned Madonnas were German, she proposes instead that Swedish sculptors were influenced by German works of art.195

**Figure 138.** Hansühn Madonna, Hansühn Church, Schleswig-Holstein

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195 Ibid., 81, 86. Nordman C.A., *Medeltida skulptur i Finland* (Helsingfors, 1964), 116 f. Nordman believed that the *Linde* was made by the same carver as the *Lemland Madonna* (Fig. 137).
Figure 139. Viöl Madonna, (Städtisches Museum) Flensburg, Germany. This sculpture was originally from Viöl, Schleswig.
Developed High Gothic Period (1325-1350)

Jacobsson related the *Fogdö Saint* (Fig. 140)\textsuperscript{196} to the *Över Selö Madonna* (Fig. 141). She suggested that the sculptures could have been commissioned or purchased at around the same time, considering that the churches were situated close to one another, but in my opinion, the sculptures are very different stylistically and placing them in the same workshop would be a mistake. *The Linde Madonna* (Fig. 142) has features similar to the *Över Selö Madonna* (Fig. 141). Jacobsson dated the *Nousis Madonna* (Fig. 143), *Östra Tommarp Madonna* (Fig. 144), *Lojsta Madonna* (Fig. 145) and *Västergarn Madonna* (Fig. 146) to around 1330.\textsuperscript{197}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fogdo_saint}
\caption{Fogdö Saint, Fogdö Church, Södermanland.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{196} Ibid., 83. See image of the *Fogdö Saint.*
\textsuperscript{197} Ibid., 96. I give these sculptures a slightly wider range, starting at 1300 to 1325, a discussion which will be further pursued in chapter 3 with regard to Group B sculptures.
Figure 141. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, Södermanland.

Figure 142. Linde Madonna, Statens Historiska Museum (Stockholm). The sculpture was originally situated in Linde Church on Gotland.
Figure 143. Nousis Madonna, (Nationalmuseum) Helsinki. The sculpture was originally in Nousis Church, Finland.

Figure 144. Östra Tommarp Madonna, (Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum) Skåne. The sculpture was originally situated in the Östra Tommarp Church, Skåne.
Figure 145. Lojsta Madonna, Statens Historiska Museum, (Stockholm). The sculpture was originally situated in Lojsta Church, Gotland.
Figure 146. Västergarn Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Västergarn Church.

Jacobsson dealt with High Gothic wooden sculptures, focused on development, dating and distribution. She dated them stylistically, sometimes with the support of Eckerblad’s dendrochronological analysis.

22. Jacobsson and the Old Archdiocese

In 2002, Jacobsson published yet another regional study called Beställare och finansiärer: Träskulptur från 1300-talet i gamla ärkestiftet (Commissioners and Funding: Wooden Sculpture from the 14th Century in the Old Archdiocese). In this monograph, Jacobsson discusses over 120 High Gothic wooden sculptures from the archdiocese of Uppsala. Here she focused on dating, style and distribution as well as commissioning and funding. Chapter 5 dealt with Madonnas. Jacobsson groups the

198 C. Jacobsson, Beställare och finansiärer: Träskulptur från 1300-talet i gamla ärkestiftet (Visby: Ödins, 2002), 221-228.
Madonnas following Andersson, with the Danderyd (Fig. 147), Roslagsbro (Fig. 148), Skokloster (Fig. 149) and Lohärads (Fig. 150) Madonnas in the same group.199

Map 10. Uppland with my A and B Groups

Jacobsson confronted the challenge of discussing the Madonna in the Uppsala University Museum (also called the Årentuna Madonna, Fig 151). The Madonna has been argued about for decades, and af Ugglas went as far as to attribute her to Etienne de Bonneuil, for example.200 Jacobsson continued to compare the Uppsala Madonna

199 C. Jacobsson, 231. It is the dating that is very interesting here for according to Jacobsson, there is a medieval certificate stating that Archbishop Nils Aleson inaugurated Skokloster on August 27, 1300. Both Andersson and Jacobsson believe that the Skokloster Madonna (Fig. 149) was executed for this occasion and that it would be logical to use this date as the starting- point for similar Madonnas. It is impossible to know if the sculpture was commissioned for this event, but stylistically it fits with the date of 1300, although, it should probably be regarded as 1300-1325 (see B1 sculptures in Chapter 3).

200 Ibid., 232. Jacobsson finally accepted Andersson’s comparison with the Sacy Madonna.
(Fig. 151) with the French *Head of Madonna from Sacy* in Champagne, Burgundy (Fig. 152), a *Female Saint at Écouis* in Normandy (Fig. 153) and German examples, in particular the *Maulbronn Madonna* (the closest one in my opinion), (Fig. 154): she admitted the possibility that it could be an import or that it could have been carved by a foreign sculptor, but also contended that it could be a result of the construction of Uppsala Cathedral.  

![Figure 147. Danderyd Madonna, Danderyd Church, Uppland.](image)

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201 Ibid., 233-239.
Figure 148. Roslagsbro Madonna, Roslagsbro Church, Uppland.

Figure 149. Skokloster Madonna, Skokloster Church, Uppland.
Figure 150. Lohärad Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Lohärad Church, Uppland.
Figure 151. Ärentuna Madonna, (Universitets konstsamling), Uppsala. This sculpture was originally situated in Ärentuna Church, Uppland.

Figure 152. Head of Madonna from Sacy, Saint-Jean-les-Bons-hommes, Burgundy, France
Figure 153. Female saint at Écouis, Normandy, France
Figure 154. Maulbronn Madonna, Baden-Württemberg, Germany
If the Ärentuna Madonna (Fig. 151) is a result of the Uppsala cathedral workshop, then it needs to be dated to around 1300, considering that is the time French artisans were in Uppsala. Considering there were skilled craftsmen in Uppsala in the last decade of the thirteenth century there is no real point in assuming that most of the Madonnas were imported from France and one can certainly not deny the possibility of French influences, she said. Jacobsson further discussed the early fourteenth century Madonnas around Uppsala and related them to the international material. It makes her assessments quite hypothetical since one would have to assume that sculptures were commissioned for the date of the inauguration.

23. Signum’s Romanesque History of Art

Starting in 1995, Signum’s svenska konst historia (Signum’s Swedish Art History) was published in 10 volumes and Swedish scholars wrote on their respective fields; two volumes will be considered in this thesis. In Den romanska konsten (Romanesque Art) Lennart Karlsson [1933-] presented in a chapter a general survey of Romanesque sculpture, and a chapter on medieval sculpture techniques was written by Peter Tångeberg. The Madonnas, Karlsson said, followed the same development as the Holy Rood but there seems to have been a Romanesque standard programme, which was held on to for a long time (even until the end of the thirteenth century). Karlsson explained following Cornell, Norberg, and Aron Andersson that some of the thirteenth-century sculptures that are found in Norrland show English influences.

L Karlsson. *Den romanska konsten* (Lund: Signum, 1995), 253-259, 260-265. Karlsson has seen many of the sculptures in the Swedish churches although most of them were not included in the Signum publication but were included in the digital catalogue published by the SHM.

Ibid., 265-266. The *Lillhärdal* (Fig. 155) and *Kall* (Fig. 156) were Madonnas in the area of Norrland, which were Norwegian territories at this point. Karlsson wrote, “…we are now introduced to a new kind of Virgin, slender and elegant, aristocratic and cool, a good representation of a Knight’s ultimate female ideal.” (My translation)
Figure 155. Lillhärdal Madonna, Lillhärdal Church, Härjedalen.
The *Naverstad Madonna* (Fig. 157), dated to the mid-thirteenth century, also of English character, could have influenced the sculptures that exist along Klarälvsdalen (*Norra Ny Madonna*, see Fig. 158), according to Karlsson. These sculptures, Karlsson claimed, are interesting but little examined, strongly provincial although naively charming, and certainly underlined the close connections with Norway. Karlsson explained that although thirteenth-century France had a close

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204 Ibid., 266.
relationship with England, and that the south and east-Swedish regions were mainly influenced by Gallic art, the rest of Sweden was influenced by English art.

He claimed that no wood sculpture (except for the Langham Virgin, Fig. 54) has survived in England and that the Swedish material and comparisons were based on fragmentary stone sculpture. In any event, he continued, the South Scandinavian School had a great influence on the development in Skåne and Småland, and from there impulses reached Gotland and Mälardalen.

Figure 157. Naverstad Madonna, Naverstad Church, Bohuslän.

He claimed that no wood sculpture (except for the Langham Virgin, Fig. 54) has survived in England and that the Swedish material and comparisons were based on fragmentary stone sculpture. In any event, he continued, the South Scandinavian School had a great influence on the development in Skåne and Småland, and from there impulses reached Gotland and Mälardalen.

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205 Ibid., 267.
206 Ibid., 268-69.
24. Signum’s Gothic Art

In *Den Gotiska Konsten (Gothic Art)*, by Signum, Karlsson wrote the continuation of the Romanesque chapter. It is a general survey, starting off by describing the appearance of the Virgin and Child from the thirteenth century onward.
He wrongly stated that the child moved over to the Virgin’s right knee. He wrote that the type, which was dealt with in part three, was the foundation for what would come in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Karlsson mentioned the prejudice of styles and periods stopping when another one is starting, but believed, correctly, that different types of Madonnas were being produced simultaneously.207

The Östra Vram Madonna (Fig. 159) which type is traditionally dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century was considered by Karlsson (after Liepe’s footnote in her dissertation in regard to the denochronological survey which Eckerblad carried out in 1984) to be from the fourteenth century.

Figure 159. Östra Vram Madonna, Östra Vram Church, Skåne.

Karlsson did not evaluate the sculpture and the tabernacle as separate entities but instead argued that sculptures of this type could also be dated to the fourteenth century. In my opinion, the figure belongs to the last part of the thirteenth century like

207 L. Karlsson and others, eds., Den gotiska konsten (Lund: Signum, 1996), 212.
her sisters and cousins in Skåne and the idea that tabernacles were not always (or ever) commissioned simultaneously becomes more attractive. It is also impossible to know if a sculpture was removed or changed between tabernacles.

At the turn of the thirteenth century or the early fourteenth century a new more elaborate Madonna style came about as previous scholars have also mentioned. In Germany and other parts of Europe there are similar examples of Madonnas; most of the Gothic Madonnas that are in Sweden were probably made in Sweden but there are exceptions, Karlsson wrote.\footnote{L. Karlsson, 1996, 213-215. The exception is the Östra Tommarp Madonna, based on the fact that there was a Premonstratensian monastery in Östra Tommarp from the twelfth century. Karlsson discussed the Romfartuna (Fig. 118), Linde (Fig. 2), Östra Tommarp Madonnas (Fig. 21) and stated that most of the Early Gothic Madonnas that exist in Sweden were probably executed in the same region.} He observed that the infants in the Över Selö (Fig. 160) and the Uppsala University Museum/Ärentuna Madonnas (Fig. 161) stood up at approximately the same time and that (in general terms) the emotional relationship between mother and child increased later on in the Middle Ages.\footnote{Ibid., 216.}

![Figure 160. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, Södermanland.](image)

Figure 160. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, Södermanland.

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235
Both of Karlsson’s contributions are too general and rely too much on other scholars (with insufficient documentation). Although the material is described as geographically bound one cannot call the chapter’s overviews or broad representations of the Swedish material.

**Stone Sculpture**

**Jan Svanberg** [1935-] wrote a chapter on stone sculpture in *Den Gotiska Konsten* and interestingly he wrote that most influences were German. Svanberg wrote that there had been many local stone carvers in the Romanesque period but when the Swedes started to use brick instead these workshops ceased to exist. In the Gothic period only the richest churches on the mainland were equipped with stone sculpture (Skara, Linköping, Uppsala and Lund Cathedrals). In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Gotland became the richest province of all Scandinavia in terms of

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210 Ibid., 157.
Stone sculpture. The carvers worked mainly in limestone (which would be painted), a trend which would spread to the rest of Sweden.²¹¹ According to Svanberg, another Frenchman was cited in 1315 in Uppsala, a carver who was active in the area but also points to German and Gotland influences on the Uppsala Cathedral.²¹² He further wrote that in the thirteenth century, Gotland worked as an export centre of baptismal fonts to Europe and explains the German influences due to the high population of Germans in Visby.²¹³

Wall Paintings and Stained glass windows

Mereth Lindgren [1936-2000] wrote about the wall paintings and stained glass windows that decorated the medieval churches. Some of these wall paintings are still preserved on Gotland and Skåne. In Anga Church Gotland, there is a rune from 1250 stating that a painter Halvard had painted the wall paintings and that the farmers in the area had paid for the work. Another rune in Småland also mentioned a painter Sigmund in about 1275. There are none of these names surviving in records from the fourteenth century. In the Upland Law from 1296, it was stated that a church had been approved and the peasants had to meet and decide how much each should contribute. However, Lindgren claims that the decoration, painting or altars were paid for by donors and patrons.²¹⁴ In general the influences came from Saxony, Germany, Lindgren wrote, but also some from France.²¹⁵ In the chapter about stained glass windows that survived on Gotland. In the windows she found Westphalian influences (from Soest) but believed that there was a workshop located on Gotland. In regards of the Lye Windows from the first part of the fourteenth century, she saw influences from

²¹¹ Ibid., 158.
²¹² Ibid., 159.
²¹³ Ibid., 186.
²¹⁴ Ibid., 314.
²¹⁵ Ibid., 335.
Schleswig Cathedral and she observed that the Lye windows were close in style to other Churches on Gotland.\textsuperscript{216}

25. Summary of key contributions

The Scandinavian literature on the Madonna and Child stretches over more than a century. The different contributions deal with influences from France, Germany, England, Norway and Denmark. The connoisseurship employed tends to be limited to the figures from a specific geographical area and many of the early discussions omit large numbers of images.

O. Rydbeck edited the first publication on Scanian Madonnas and discussed their function and meaning to the Scanian population, he also curated the exhibition at the University Museum in Lund which is still intact, except for some lighting improvements. The studies are mainly in catalogue form with little text dealing with its contents. Af Ugglas’ thorough study on the sculptures on Gotland has been of value to Swedish scholarship. He invented masters which scholars accept to this day and he also discussed the French and English influences. H. Cornell published the northernmost Madonnas in a catalogue for the exhibition in Härnösand in 1912. He believed in simultaneous stylistic movements (from France, Germany and England) in the thirteenth century. He thought that there was an important workshop in the valley of Mälardalen and that this workshop was directly influenced by the Norwegian workshops. E. Fischer’s account on the sculptures from Västergötland ascertained that the wooden sculpture obtained a local character after having been influenced by Anglo Saxon and French movements. H. Wåhlin investigated the French influences on sculptures in Skåne, using the Östra Tommarp monastery as a viable reason for

\textsuperscript{216} Ibid., 418.
strong connections with France. Wåhlin further emphasised the idea of French craftsmen working in Scandinavia and that it contributed with influence on the Skåne sculptures. J. Roosval divided the Middle Ages into periods where he explored the English, French and German influences on the Gotland sculptures and demonstrated them in a handsomely illustrated catalogue. R. Norberg argued a second-hand French influence on the Småland sculptures (the region just north of Skåne). He also wrote an account of sculpture in Bohuslän where he was able to point towards English influences, as well as from northern France and Flanders without any concrete examples. A. Lindblom believed in a greater scheme of import of sculptures, most likely in the form of ivories which were copied in Sweden. He found that travelling artists could have been the reason for English and Norwegian influences on Swedish sculpture. A. Andersson continued to research, more in depth, the English influences on Norwegian and Swedish sculptures and being well acquainted with the English material, was able to make convincing, although not conclusive arguments in his thesis. He continued these arguments in later publications (mainly in articles). In his 1955 article he was able to show several seals with Madonnas portrayed in a fashion usually related to the second quarter of the fourteenth century but these Swedish seals are actually dated the late thirteenth century. P. Tångeberg dealt mainly with the technical aspects, material (type of wood and polychromy), and function. His study mainly concerned late medieval sculpture. C. Jacobsson wrote two interesting books on the medieval sculptures from Scandinavia handling the material from the dioceses of Linköping and Uppsala. She contributed to the previous scholarship. L. Liepe wrote an important book on the Scanian material reassessing many of the sculptures in the University Museum in Lund (revaluing the works of Rydbeck, Wåhlin and af Ugglas). She contemplated workshops in the larger Scanian towns and also saw the possibility of import from Denmark and Northern Germany. Signum’s Art History is
an uneven collection of several authors’ contributions, the chapters about the wooden sculpture being the weakest.

The basis of the methodology of Af Ugglas, Roosval, Wåhlin and Lindblom is a fairly basic stylistic connoisseurship, vitiated by an unwillingness to venture outside the specific regions with which they deal, and diminished in validity by the fairly rudimentary knowledge of international developments. Hitherto, these scholars' status has tended to render their opinions canonical, and they have not been tested against alternative hypotheses of stylistic evolution, regional variability, or models of influence. In the absence of primary sources directly connecting individual sculptures with specific events, dates or individuals, one must, it is true, methodologically rely on connoisseurship and models of stylistic development. Stylistic change can only be indirectly connected with larger socio-political, economic, intellectual and religious phenomena. However, this study benefits from taking a national and supra-national perspective, drawing on the whole rage of previous studies, without being limited to a specific region. I have also taken care to include a greater qualitative range of material than has been the case in previous work. Whilst other authors have also used stylistic evaluation as their means of dating material, their methods have been far from explicit, based on partial evidence or/and have been delimited geographically, or so generalised as to eschew any attempt at precision in dating and sequencing their materials. I have focussed on one image format - the Madonna and Child - over a century, to provide both the focus and the chronological range. Thus a specific type of image can be assessed in a long time period, and my dating of images will have implications for other related categories of imagery, beyond those dealt with here.
In Chapter 3, I have organized the Madonnas stylistically in two main groups (A and B) with several sub-groups, and these will show clear geographical groupings in Sweden and it will be my intention to explain these groups which imply that sculpture production in Sweden was more active and more sophisticated than has been assumed to date.
26. List of Figures, Chapter 2

Explanation
The list of figures has been abbreviated.

Figure 1. Visby Madonna, Gotlands Fornsal (Visby). Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 2. Linde Madonna, SHM (Stockholm). Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 3. Tavastland Madonna, Tavastlands Museum, Finland. Photo: Museiverket’s archive, Helsinki.
Figure 4. Hattula Madonna, Hattula Church, Finland. Photo: Museiverket's archive, Helsinki.
Figure 5. Nousis Madonna, Nationalmuseum (Helsinki). Photo: Museiverket's archive, Helsinki.
Figure 6. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church (Sö). Photo: Lennart Karlsson
Figure 7. Lojsta Madonna, SHM, (Stockholm). Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 8. Tingstäde Madonna, GF (Visby), After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby, 1995.
Figure 9. Gassicourt Madonna, Gassicourt Church, France. After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.
Figure 10. Gaillac Madonna, (Centre des Monuments Nationaux), France. Gassicourt Madonna France After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.
Figure 11. Öjå Crucifix, Öjå Church (Go). After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby, 1995.
Figure 12. Tofta Madonna, Tofta Church (Go). After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby, 1995.
Figure 13. Fröjel Madonna, GF. After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby, 1995.
Figure 14. St. Olav of Bunge, SHM. After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby, 1995.
Figure 15. Lojsta Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 16. Över Selö Madonna, After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby, 1995.
Figure 17. Hög Madonna, Hög Church, (Hä). After H. Cornell. NKKUM, Uppsala, 1918.
Figure 18. Vibyggerå Madonna, (Länsmuseet Västernorrland) Hännösand. After H. Cornell. NKKUM, Uppsala, 1918.
Figure 19. Ådalsliden Madonna, Ådalsliden Church, (Ån). After H. Cornell. NKKUM, Uppsala, 1918.
Figure 20. Varnhem Monastery, Västergötland. Map by Alexandra Fried.
Figure 21. Östra Tommarp Madonna, LUHM (Sk). Photo: Lennart Karlsson (SHM).
Figure 22. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church (Sö). Photo: Lennart Karlsson (SHM)
Figure 23. Nousis Madonna, Nationalmuseum (Helsinki). Photo: Museiverket’s archive, Helsinki.
Figure 24. Linde Madonna SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 25. St. Annen Museum Madonna (Lübeck), Germany. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 26. Algutsrum Madonna, (KLM), Småland. Photo: Lennart Karlsson (SHM).
Figure 27. Husaby Madonna, Husaby Church (Vg). Photo: Lennart Karlsson (SHM).
Figure 28. Cismar Reliquary, (Cismar Abbey) Cismar, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany.
Figure 29. Lübeck Cathedral, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 30. Svenneby Madonna, Svenneby Church, (Bo). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 31. Naverstad Madonna, Naverstad Church, (Bo). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 32. Stala Madonna, GSM, (Bo). Photo: Lennart Karlsson (SHM).
Figure 33. Urnes Madonna, Historisk Museum (Bergen), Norway. Photo: Historisk Museum
Figure 34. Härna Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 35. Glava Madonna, Glava Church, (Vr). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 36. Visnum Kil Madonna, Visnum Kil Church, (Vr). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 37. Hove Madonna, HM (Bergen), Norway. After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.

Figure 38. Head of Öystese Madonna, (Historisk Museum) Bergen, Norway. After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.

Figure 39. Härna Madonna, SHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 40. Hol Madonna, Hol Church, (Vg). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 41. Över Järna Madonna, Över Järna Church, (Sö). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 42. Hölö Madonna, Hölö Church, (Sö). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 43. Toresund Madonna, SHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 44. Tumbo Crucifix, Sörmlands museum (Nyköping) Sö. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 45. tympanum of the western doorway, Wells Cathedral, England (restored). Photo: Dr. Phillip Lindley.

Figure 46. Austråt Madonna, Videnskapsselskapets Samling (Trondheim), Norway. After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.

Figure 47. Hove Madonna, HM, Bergen. After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.

Figure 48. Head of Öystese Madonna, HM, Bergen. After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.

Figure 49. King John’s Tomb, Worcester Cathedral, England. After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.

Figure 50. Huseby Madonna, Huseby Gård, Norway. After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.

Figure 51. Svenneby Madonna, Svenneby Church, (Bo). After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.

Figure 52. Biri Madonna, Universitetets Olsaksamling (Oslo), Norway. After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.

Figure 53. Madonna and self portrait of Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum, (British Library), London.

Figure 54. The Langham Virgin (Victoria and Albert Museum) London.

Figure 55. Naverstad Madonna, Naverstad Church, (Bo). After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.

Figure 56. Balke Madonna, (Universitetests Oldsaksamling) Oslo. After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.

Figure 57. Spydeberg Madonna (Universitetests Oldsaksamling) Oslo. After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.

Figure 58. Madonna and Child, Chiesa del Crocifisso, Brindisi, Italy. After P Williamson, Gothic Sculpture: 1140-1300, New Haven, 1998.

Figure 59. Fröskog Madonna and tabernacle, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 60. Glava Madonna, Glava Church, (Vr). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 61. Norra Ny Madonna, Norra Ny Church, (Vr). Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 62. Molla Madonna, Molla Church, (Vg). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 63. Vänga Madonna, Borås museum, (Vg). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 64. Ornugna Madonna, Ornunga Church, (Vg). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 65. Stenestad Madonna, SHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 66. Härna Madonna, SHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 67. Hol Madonna, Hol Church, (Vg). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 68. Skälvum Madonna, Skälvum Church, (Vg). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 69. Lohärad Madonna SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 70. Väversunda Madonna SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 71. Hansühn Church, (Schleswig-Holstein). Photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Schleswig-Holstein (Kiel).

Figure 72. Vallstena Apostles, GF. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 73. St. Olaf from Bunge, SHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 74. Väddö Madonna, Väddö Church, (Up). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 75. Brandenburg Madonna, Brandenburg Cathedral, Germany. After A Gardner An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England, Cambridge, 1912.
Figure 76. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, (Sö). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 77. Nousius Madonna, NM. Helsinki. Photo: Museiverket’s archive, Helsinki.
Figure 78. Linde Madonna SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 79. Lojsta Madonna SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 80. Långlöt Madonna, Långlöt Church, (Öl). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 81. Lye stained glass windows, Lye Church, (Go). After Den Gotiska Konsten, Stockholm, 1996.
Figure 82. Edshult Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 83. Runsten Madonna, Runsten Church, (Öl). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 84. Svenneby Madonna, Svenneby Church, Bohuslän. After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.
Figure 85. Ärentuna Madonna, Uppsala Universitets Konstsamling (Up). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 86. Rasbo Crucifix, Rasbo Church, (Up). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 87. Uppsala Näs Madonna, SHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 89. Magdeburg Madonna, Magdeburg Cathedral, Germany. After C.R af Ugglas, Gotlands medeltida träskulptur till och med höggotikens inbrott. Stockholm, 1915.
Figure 90. Jumkil Madonna, Jumkil Church, (Up). Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 91. Lövånger Madonna, Lövånger Church, (Vb). Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 92. Västra Skrukeby Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 93. Winchester Saint, Winchester Cathedral, England. After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.
Figure 94. Rimbo Madonna, SHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 96. Visby Madonna, GF. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 97. Hallingeberg Madonna, Hallingeberg Church, (Sm). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 98. Edshult Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 99. Kiaby Madonna, Kiaby Church, (Sk). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 100. Skog Madonna, LV. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 101. Ärentuna Madonna, UUK. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 102. Norra Ny Madonna, Norra Ny Church, (Vr). Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 103. Apostle Norra Vånga, Västergötlands museum, (Skara). After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby 1995.
Figure 104. Bro Madonna, GF. After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby 1995.
Figure 105. St. Olav of Bro, GF. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 106. Visby Madonna, GF. After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby 1995.
Figure 107. Vagnhärad Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 108. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, (Sö). GF. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 109. Näsinge Madonna, Göteborgs stadsmuseum, (Bo). After P. Tängeberg MHAS, Stockholm 1986.
Figure 110. Lojsta Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 111. Stenestad Madonna, SHM. After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.
Figure 112. Norra Ny Tabernacle, Norra Ny Church, (Vr). Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 113. Norra Ny Tabernacle, Norra Ny Church, (Vr). Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 114. Fröskog Tabernacle, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 115. Fröskog Tabernacle, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 116. Östra Tommarp Madonna, LUHM. Photo: Bengt Almgren.
Figure 117. Visby Madonna, GF. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 118. Romfartuna Madonna, Romfartuna Church, (Vä). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 119. Kumla Madonna, Västmanlands läns museum (Västerås). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 120. Slite Madonna, GF. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 121. Sundre Madonna, GF. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 122. Edshult Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 123. Björke Madonna, GF. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 124. Väversunda Madonna SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 125. Madonna from unknown Church, Kalmars Länsmuseum (Sm). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 126. Tingstäde Madonna, Tingstäde Church, (Go). GF. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 127. Grebo Madonna, Grebo Church, (Ög). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 128. Hannäs Madonna, Hannäs Church, (Sm). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 129. Gassicourt Madonna, Gassicourt Church, France. After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.
Figure 130. Gaillac Madonna, (Centre des Monuments Nationaux), Paris, France. After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.
Figure 131. Hangvar Madonna, GF. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 132. Sproge Madonna, Sproge Church, (Go). After J. Roosval, Medeltida skulptur i Gotlands Fornsсл. Stockholm, 1925.
Figure 133. Lohärad Madonna SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 134. Danderyd Madonna, Danderyd Church, (Up). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 135. Roslagsbro Madonna, Roslagsbro Church, (Up). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 136. Skokloster Madonna, Skokloster Church, Uppland. After C. Jacobsson, BFT1300, Visby 2002.
Figure 137. Lemland Madonna, Lemland Church, Finland. Photo: Museiverket's archive, Helsinki.
Figure 138. Hangebn Madonna, Hansohn Church, (Schleswig-Holstein). Photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Schleswig-Holstein (Kiel).
Figure 139. Viöl Madonna, Städtisches Museum (Flensburg), Germany. After H. Wentzel, Lübecker Plastik bis sur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1938.
Figure 140. Fogdö Saint, Fogdö Church, (Sö). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 141. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, (Sö). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 142. Linde Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 143. Nousis Madonna, NM (Helsinki). Photo: Museiverket's archive, Helsinki.
Figure 144. Östra Tommarp Madonna, LUHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson (SHM).
Figure 145. Lojsta Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 146. Västergarn Madonna, GF. After J. Roosval, Medeltida skulptur i Gotlands Fornsсл. Stockholm, 1925.
Figure 147. Danderyd Madonna, Danderyd Church, (Up). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 148. Roslagsbro Madonna, Roslagsbro Church, (Up). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 149. Skokloster Madonna, Skokloster Church, (Up). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 150. Lohärad Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 151. Årentuna Madonna, UUK Photo: Lennart Karlsson SHM.
Figure 152. Head of Madonna from Sacy, Saint –Jean-les-Bons-hommes, (Burgundy), France. After C. Jacobsson, BFT1300, Visby 2002.
Figure 153. Female saint at Écouis, (Normandy), France. After C. Jacobsson, BFT1300, Visby 2002.
Figure 154. Maulbronn Madonna, (Baden-Würtenberg), Germany. After C. Jacobsson, BFT1300, Visby 2002.
Figure 155. Lillhärdal Madonna, Lillhärdal Church, (Hä). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 156. Kall Madonna, Kall Church, (Jä). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 157. Naverstad Madonna, Naverstad Church, (Bo). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 158. Norra Ny Madonna, Norra Ny Church, (Vr). Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 159. Östra Vram Madonna, Östra Vram Church, (Sk). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 160. Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, (Sö). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 161. Ärentuna Madonna, UUK. Photo: Lennart Karlsson (SHM).
Chapter 3 : A Stylistic Evaluation of the Madonna and Child in Sweden

"Thy praise, O Most Holy Virgin, surpasses all laudation, by reason of the God who received the flesh and was born man of thee. To thee every creature, of things in Heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, offers the meet offering of honour. For thou hast been indeed set forth as the true cherubic throne." (The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D, Vol II)

1. Iconography

The seated Madonna with the Christ Child on her lap was common in Western Europe and Sweden in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and is also called the Throne of Wisdom. The Madonna often serious in demeanour and with the Christ Child posed frontally on her left arm in the thirteenth century, becomes more activated and more intimate in the last quarter of the century, and a more playful mother and child relationship appears by the fourteenth century.¹ The Madonna sometimes holds a sceptre (alternatively an orb or a flower stalk) in her right hand. The Christ Child has more variety in his iconographical attributes. He sometimes holds a book with one hand and has his other hand raised. Sometimes the Christ Child holds an orb in his hand. Furthermore, in the Roman Catholic Church the serpent is a symbol of Sin or Satan but when it is underneath the Virgin’s foot it means "she shall bruise thy head."² Over all, these are the iconographical attributes (except for the barefoot Grebo Madonna and the Virgo lactans found in the Edshult Madonna both of which I shall discuss later on in this chapter). Before every group I have created a table where the iconographical attributes are carefully listed. My groupings of the seated Madonna and Child are more extensive than any previously published (some sculptures have never been mentioned before): I have selected and included a total of 144 seated Madonnas and organised them into these groups (and sub-groups) based on stylistic criteria, the groupings are essentially geographically based within the broad divisions A or B. Thus, the basis of this analysis is one of critical

² Ibid 24.
connoisseurship, inflected by an awareness of the topography of medieval Sweden. Although my groups are more substantial and original, I am building, of course, on the work of other scholars, whose publications I have examined in Chapter 2. Their work has been considered geographically or by medium (wooden sculptures) and never before has such a comprehensive study of the seated Swedish Madonna and Child been conducted. By focusing on images of the Madonna, we shall be able to assign them to stylistic groups and allocate them to Swedish schools or production centres operating between approximately 1250 and 1350. The groupings I have created are chronologically and geographically defined and thus I posit regional production centres, of different sizes and different durations. The definitions of the groups will follow below.

2. Introduction to A and B Groups

The image format - the Madonna and Child – is here going to be evaluated in a time period of approximately one hundred years. This specific representation was chosen in order to provide both the focus, the chronological range, and because it sees the generation of a new format and also because the corpus of material is large enough by this period for me to be able to draw some general conclusions. In Sweden, there are over 400 medieval wooden sculptures (seated and standing Madonnas, Saints and Bishops) roughly dating between 1250 and 1350. Although, I limited the study to one medium, I was able to find two distinctly different styles of the seated Madonna and Child. I am aware of the limitations regarding studies only dealing with one iconographical type. This chapter sets out to assess and reassess wooden images of the seated Madonna and Child sculptures from Sweden and they will be divided into two main groups, A (c. 1250-1300) and B (c. 1300-1350). In both cases, the date termini are approximate, not

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absolute: what I shall try to do, however, is to allocate sculptures into these two broad groupings based on old-fashioned connoisseurship, which I am applying to the survivors of a geographically widely spread group, of a particular genre, almost all examples of which have lost their original surface treatment. These groups will in turn have sub-groups and will focus on arranging the images within typological sequence: the chronologies assigned to them will therefore not be absolute, but relative. Thus, if an image is assigned to a date c.1250-75 and another to c.1275-1300, this does not mean that the first image was definitely carved between 1250 and 1275 nor that the other was definitely produced between 1275 and 1300, but rather that the first image is typologically earlier than the other one. However, in the absence of unequivocal evidence of dates for the production of these images, it is important to arrange them in terms of stylistic sequence. The groups build on my own evidence (sometimes supported in the literature) that there are two broadly distinct different types of Madonna dating from c. 1250 to 1350 and by applying my methodological tools, principally a critical-informed connoisseurship, I have been led to the conclusion that the images can be divided into two main groups, which are themselves sub-divided. My work builds on that of others, but also on a personal study of selected images.

3. Group A Madonnas (Definition)

I shall argue that Group A Madonnas usually belong to the second half of the thirteenth century and were mainly produced in the south and the mid-west (presumably because there were workshops and cathedral workshops of the cathedral towns of Lund, Västerås, Skara, Trondheim and Bergen). In the south regions (Skåne, Blekinge and Småland, Fig. 6, chapter 1) and in the mid-west regions (Närke, Dalsland, Värmland and Västergötland, Fig. 6, chapter 1), I found sculptures belonging to homogeneous groups that can be assigned to local production due to their vast numbers and remote locations (although in the Middle Ages,
these areas were the former locations for the seat of the Swedish government and intersecting pilgrimage routes to Trondheim).

I have subdivided the group A Madonnas into three groups based on their stylistic differences which in turn created large regional groups and in this sense my work directly relates to Chapter 2. In A1, the *Knista Madonna* (Fig. 1) is the key work around which I have grouped the others because of its stylistic criteria (and because it has not been subjected to over painting in a recent renovation or used as the central image in a stylistic grouping before). I shall show that in most cases, A1 Madonnas are located in south and the mid-west of Sweden and are dated to c. 1250-1275. These flat (almost relief-like) sculptures are carved with angular edges (with some variation on the drapery over the legs). The magnificent *Visby Madonna* (Fig. 2) is the nucleus of group A2. Here we see a rounder and more life-like Madonna and Child. The A2 Madonnas are usually datable to 1275-1300 (i.e. they belong to a stylistically later group than A1, and the differences seem to justify a differentiation of approximately a quarter century) and the Madonna is normally seated on a bench with the mantle draped more heavily over one shoulder and draped over the thighs and underneath the Christ Child. These figures also reveal a greater diversity dependent on geography which indicated that the type was popular in all of Sweden. The A3 Group will contain miscellaneous Madonnas which do not belong to A1 or A2 but are reminiscent of those and should be dated to the second part of the thirteenth century. The A3 Madonnas are more difficult to date with any confidence, most of the time because they are copies of A1 or A2 or because they are different from one another or lack any particularly helpful contextual information. In general of all A sculptures, exhibit immense qualitative and stylistic variety.
In Chapter 1, I discussed the nature of guilds and workshops and how these were structured in the mid-fourteenth century. In terms of workshops in the last half of the thirteenth century very little is known and it is difficult to determine the magnitude of workshops, but the larger towns, especially with a cathedral, should have been a probable place for such an establishment. In regards to the A1 Group there seems to be two points of production, however I am not willing to limit these points to towns but to regions; Skåne and Västergötland. In the A2 Group, similar regions stand out such as Gotland and Västergötland and concerning the heterogeneous A3 Group it is impossible to establish workshops as these figures are not necessarily related at all. In the A1 and A2 Groups I found that some of the Madonnas could have been from the same workshops. Sometimes it is tempting to assign sculptures to travelling craftsmen, especially those that are situated along pilgrim routes but it seems that most of the A1, A2 and A3 sculptures were made locally.
Figure 1. Knista Madonna, Örebro läns museum, (Örebro), Närke. The figure was originally situated in Knista Church, Närke.
Figure 2. Visby Madonna, Gotlands Fornsal (Visby), Gotland. The figure was originally situated in Visby Cathedral.
4. Group B Madonnas (Definition)

Group B Madonnas signify the new type of Madonna which Meinander discussed and arrive in the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century; they are all stylistically related. These sculptures are located in the most prosperous areas of medieval Sweden, the island of Gotland and the mid-east (around the cathedral town, Uppsala, and the capital, Stockholm). The quality of sculptures in group B also varies tremendously: some are even of international standard and others are inspired by those of greater stature or are just poor replicas.

Group B1 contains sculptures which seem to be concentrated in the mid-east of Sweden and seem to date to around 1300: the Väversunda Madonna (Fig. 3) is one example. The mainly, regional and chronological B2 group should be dated from 1300 to 1350 and all works come from Gotland (for example the Linde Madonna, Fig. 4) except for the Östra Tommarp Madonna (Fig. 5) which is situated in Skåne. They are of very high quality, in comparison to the rest of the Swedish material. The contemporary B3 group has one major factor in common, the standing Christ Child (Sundre Madonna, Fig. 6), and may be contemporary and even morphologically related to B1 and B 2. The B4 group only includes two Madonnas and is a geographical and chronological group from Gotland dating to about the mid fourteenth century.

Finally, group B Madonnas have traditionally been dated to after 1325 but Swedish seals show that identical images to B3 Madonnas existed as early as 1281. In Eckerblad's interesting (but overlooked) dendrochronological findings we should perhaps consider the earliest possible date more seriously, and contemplate the possibility that group B

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4 K.K. Meinander, Medeltida altarskåp och träsniderier i Finlands kyrkor (Helsingfors: 1908), 54-55.
extends from c.1280 to c.1350 and overlaps with A2 and even some of A1. This means that the homogenous stylistic groupings chart broad stylistic trends with the possibility that images may be actually later or earlier than I have placed them.

The B Group is smaller in number but they are more similar to one another. Of the workshops, that we know nothing of factually, it can only be hypothesised that there was at least a leading workshop on Gotland which exported to the mainland, but I am not contending that most of these sculptures were by the same hand or only came from this workshop. It is extremely difficult to assess if any of the craftsmen were foreign, or foreign trained but I do find that the carvers had some knowledge of international material (if we look at the Hansühn Madonna). However, I am not arguing that these sculptures were exported from Germany, or only made by foreign carvers or even copied after German or French examples, but that there was an awareness of the international examples that I will bring up here in Chapter 3.

Figure 3. Väversunda Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Väversunda Church, Östergötland.
Figure 4. Linde Madonna, Statens Historiska Museum (Stockholm). The sculpture was originally situated in Linde Church on Gotland.
Figure 5. Östra Tommarp Madonna, (Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum) Skåne. The sculpture was originally situated in Östra Tommarp Church, Skåne.

Figure 6. Sundre Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Sundre Church, Gotland.
Figure 7. Tracings of main characteristics in Group A to B.
Figure 8. A map showing the location of Al Madonnas. Most of the production took place in the south and mid-west of Sweden.
5. Group A1 Madonnas

The 41 Madonnas that have I placed in A1 constitute a coherent group based on their stylistic characteristics. The Knista Madonna (Fig. 9) is the archetype around which this group will be built, although there is great variation of quality throughout the Swedish peninsula.

Figure 9. Knista Madonna
The stylistic characteristics are relatively easy to recognize: the Madonna is seated on a bench with the Child on her left thigh, she wears a dress with a round collar (sometimes with a thick trim as in the Brösarp Madonna, Fig. 10), and a robe draped symmetrically over her shoulders and arms. The dress and mantle are full length and only the tips of her shoes are shown on top of the flat base.

These Madonnas once held an object (most likely a sceptre) but many of the right hands and forearms are missing. In all these cases, there is a clear indication that an arm has been attached, for example, a dowel sticking out from the upper arm, or a mortice for the arm to be plugged in, or the sculpture has been restored and the forearm has been replaced into its supposed original appearance or given a new pose.⁶ The Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left hand holding an orb and his right arm and hand raised in benediction (in those

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⁶ This would support Tångeberg’s idea that the Madonnas had different functions and had several liturgical purposes but he only mentions this idea in relationship to the figures heads. P. Tångeberg, *Mittelalterliche Holzskulpturen und Altarschräne in Schweden: Studien zu Form, Material und Technik* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1986), 23.
cases where these parts have been preserved). The Christ Child’s feet are also placed similarly in many cases when one foot rests on the Virgin’s thigh and the other one commonly dangles between her thighs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1 Madonnas</th>
<th>Height (cm)</th>
<th>Attribute of the Madonna</th>
<th>Attribute of the Christ Child</th>
<th>General remarks on Condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bälinge Madonna</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berg Madonna</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>The Christ Child’s right hand is raised in benediction.</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berga Madonna</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brismere Madonna</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brösarp Madonna</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drev Madonna</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>The Christ Child’s right hand is raised in benediction</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edestad Madonna</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eljaröd Madonna</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
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<td>Fröskog Madonna</td>
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<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Good</td>
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<td>120</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glava Madonna</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
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<td>Gylle Madonna</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
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<td>Hädene Madonna</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hagshult Madonna</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemsjö Madonna</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Sceptre, slightly broken off</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinneryd Madonna</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Sceptre (slightly broken off)</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Högsrum Madonna</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyssna Madonna</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>Flower</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiaby Madonna</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
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<td>Knista Madonna</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Molla Madonna</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munkarp</td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. The mid-west and the south

One problem which needs explanation at the outset, is that there are stylistically very similar sculptures in both the mid-west and the south. This was one of the initial problems that I came upon in this study and in this part we shall see that there is a group from the mid-west and one from the south, and we find them in vast numbers. Other scholars have written about the South Scandinavian School as well as the Norwegian Schools but they have not grouped as many Madonnas as I have done. For example, the Knista Madonna (Fig. 7) from Närke is an important representative for the A1 group because here the figure is stripped down to its basic elements, and one can see the development of the idea in the more inventive and
developed sculptures. Furthermore the *Knista Madonna* resembles sculptures of the mid-west region but its closest counterpart is in the south. The sculpture in question is the poorly preserved and headless *Madonna from Edestad* (Fig. R:11) which is very close to the *Knista Madonna* (Fig. L:11). The robes on their upper bodies are almost identical, with thin creases, a round neckline and a v-shape front with thick borders. The robes are beautifully carved and the fabric flows gracefully over the figures' rigid poses. The positions of the Christ Child are also consistent, and although the Christ Child of the *Edestad Madonna* (Fig. R:11) is badly damaged, one can see the similarity in the position of the feet. The Madonnas left hand is positioned slightly higher on the *Edestad Christ Child*, the drapery between the legs and at the sides are also different.

![Figure 11](imageurl) (L) Knista Madonna, (R) Edestad Madonna (Blekinge Länsmuseum, Karlskrona) Blekinge. The sculpture was originally situated in the Edestad Church.

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*U. Karregård, Från hieratiskt till höviskt: en studie av fem medeltida Madonnabilder från Närke (Örebro: Örebro Länsmuseum, 1995), 87, 88. According to Karregård in the Örebro Länsmuseum, the *Knista Madonna* (Fig. 1) could be of local execution, most likely from the end of the 13th century. The damaged surface could tell us that the sculpture has been stored outside for a period of time. The Virgin’s frontal position is a feature surviving from the Romanesque era, though the soft folds of her dress enhancing the shape of her body recall the characteristics of the early Gothic period.*
In the past, the *Knista Madonna* (Fig. L:12) has been related to the *Sköldinge Madonna* (Fig. 12), from around the Valley of Mälaren, although the *Knista Madonna* is much more rigidly designed than the *Sköldinge Madonna* (Fig. C:12), whose face is more detailed and where the hem of the dress is handled more freely and the shallow rippling draperies are different. It is possible that the *Knista* is the earlier of the two since its body is flatter and poor in decoration and ornamentation as the folds and creases of the garment are more subtle and sparse in comparison to the *Sköldinge Madonna* (Fig. 12). The two figures must be related, even their bases are similarly decorated with flowers. The *Sköldinge Madonna* (Fig. C:12), in my own observation, is also close to the *Stala Madonna* (Fig. R:12) with its ankle-long dress, and robe draped with straight pleats. The later head in the *Stala Madonna* has to be discounted from the comparison. Here we have four Madonnas from four vastly different places but the resemblances are remarkable.

![Image](image.png)

*Figure 12.* (L) *Knista Madonna* (C) *Sköldinge Madonna*, *Sköldinge Church*, Södermanland. (R) *Stala Madonna* (Göteborgs Stadsmuseum) Bohuslän. The sculpture was originally situated in the Stala Church, Bohuslän.

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8 C.R. af Ugglas, *Strängnäs stifts medeltida träskulptur: Utsållning af äldre kyrklig konst från Strängnäs stift* (Stockholm: 1910), 34. He thought the *Knista Madonna* was executed later.
Two mid-western sculptures have been compared before; af Ugglas described the *Stala Madonna* (Fig. L:13) as being carved in a “pronounced thirteenth-century style, just like the *Näinge Madonna* (Fig. R:13).”⁹ It is true that the *Stala Madonna* and the *Näinge Madonna*, also from Bohuslän, are of the same type, but their differences are more striking than any similarities. It is correct that the two sculptures are from the same area (see map of Bohuslän in the catalogue) and the figures could also have been executed relatively closely together in date and also that the Näinge is the earlier one. The design of the robes is not alike: the *Näinge Madonna* (Fig. R:13) has slope-shaped ridges across her chest, a collar which stands up and extends into a veil and thinner draperies. It seems unlikely that they could have come from the same workshop as af Ugglas suggested.

![Figure 13. (L) Stala Madonna, (R) Näinge Madonna (Göteborgs Stadsmuseum) Bohuslän. The sculpture was originally situated in the Näinge Church, Bohuslän.](image)

Again looking south, in regards to the *Stala Madonna*, despite the geographical difference, it is more plausible to find a closer relative in the *Edestad Madonna* (Fig. R:14),

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⁹ af Ugglas, *GMTHI*, 171.
whose robes follow the same design and the Christ Child wears an identical dress. The *Näsinge Madonna* should certainly be considered a more primitive version of the *Knista Madonna, Stala Madonna* and *Edestad Madonna* which are very reminiscent of each other despite of the geographical differences.

![Figure 14. (L) Stala Madonna, (R) Edestad Madonna](image)

A group of Madonna and Child sculptures in Skåne belong to Group A1. To start with, the *Gylle* and *Munkarp Madonnas* (Fig. L and R:15) should be assigned to this group and although the *Gylle figure* (Fig. L:15) is more compact than the *Knista Madonna* (Fig. L:11) it is essentially the same.
Figure 15. (L) Gylle Madonna (Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum) Skåne. The sculpture was originally situated in Gylle Church, Skåne. (R) Munkarp Madonna (Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum) Skåne. The sculpture was originally situated in Munkarp Church, Skåne.

The Munkarp Madonna’s (Fig. R:16) body is relatively close to that of the Näsinje Madonna (Fig. L:16): the collar trimming of the opening of the robe stands up and the draperies of the left side over the legs are most similar, but the face of the Munkarp Madonna (Fig. R:16) is carved in a more feminine and girlish manner and has more common features with the Knista Madonna (Fig. L:11). It is the drapery at the back, over the throne which strikes me as quite different and ‘later’ stylistically. Despite the inconsistency of the position of the Christ Child, the sculpture resembles the Gylle and Edestad Madonnas (Figs. L:15 and R:14).  

10 J. Barfod, Die Holzskulptur des 13. Jahrhunderts im Herzogtum Schleswig (Husum: Druck.-Verl.gesellsch., 1986), 115. Barfod pointed out that several examples of the same Madonna type (e.g. the Selsö Madonna), with
One of the few examples of Danish comparisons that Jörn Barfod brought up with thirteenth-century Skåne Madonnas was the *Selsö Madonna* (Fig. R:17). Liepe argued that the *Ravlunda Madonna* (Fig. L:17) differed from the other Skåne Madonnas mentioned in this context; that it was more naturalistic but, in my observation, it is unlikely that the *Ravlunda Madonna* should have more to do with *Selsö Madonna* than any other Skåne Madonna as she

few differences (actually there are many), are situated in Skåne as well as Denmark, for example the *Edestad-, Munkarp-, and Ravlunda Madonnas.*
believed.\textsuperscript{11} As a matter of fact, there are other Madonnas that are just as similar to the \textit{Selsö Madonna}, and if the sculpture had been located in Sweden it would have been considered an A1 Madonna.

\textbf{Figure 17}. (L) Ravlunda Madonna (Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum) Skåne. The sculpture was originally situated in the Ravlunda Church, Skåne, (R) Selsö Madonna, Selsö Church, Denmark.

\footnote{L. Liepe, \textit{Skånsk medeltid och renässans: Den medeltida träskulpturen i Skåne, Produktion och förvärv} (Lund: Lund University Press, 1992), 259. Liepe also compared the Kiaby, Brösarp and Munkarp Madonnas with one another and concluded that the \textit{Ravlunda Madonna} deviates from these three, with its relatively free and naturalistic modelling of its features; she further claimed that the small numbers of surviving Madonnas makes it difficult to decide on their place of execution, and that the clear similarities with the \textit{Selsö Madonna} could indicate the origin of the \textit{Ravlunda Madonna}. The \textit{Simlinge Madonna} should also be considered in this context despite its poor condition.}
The *Selsö Madonna* (Fig. 18) seems more similar, in my opinion, to the *Munkarp Madonna* (Fig. 18) because of the likeness of the drapery of the clothing as well as facial expressions in spite of their different hairstyles.

Although the faces are different, the design of the robes in front of the legs is comparable. In this sense, the *Selsö Madonna* (Fig. R:19) also resembles the * Näsinge Madonna* (Fig. L:19) and
even the *Hemsjö Madonna* (Fig. R:20) although the last is a cruder version (clumsy proportions, poor handling of drapery and anatomy) of the first two.

There are some further interesting examples of A1 sculptures in Skåne. The sculptures are still rigid and schematic, but are fuller in figure. This trait is a regional characteristic; they must all be close in date of execution. The *Brösarp Madonna* (Fig. R:21) is a good example of this type. Af Ugglas wanted to date this sculpture to c. 1300 but I suggest that it should be placed c.1275-1300 by comparison with the Madonnas just discussed, which we can assign to c.1250-75. Another Madonna from Skåne, which bears a close resemblance to that of *Brösarp Madonna* (Fig. R:21), is the *Östra Vram Madonna* (Fig. L:21). This sculpture has been placed in a tabernacle which may not belong with the sculpture. The sculpture is of the same style as the

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other A1 sculpture and belongs to around c. 1275 to 1300 but the tabernacle with its delicate decorations around the canopy belongs to a later date.\textsuperscript{13} This might be a reminder that within my stylistic groupings, the A1 group may last much longer than twenty-five years and could easily overlap with A2 although the latter group, typologically speaking, is later. However, the type is seen in the few tabernacles surviving from Värmland, Norway and Dalsland.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Figure 21.} (L) Östra Vram Madonna, Östra Vram Church, Skåne. (R) Brösarp Madonna.

\textsuperscript{13} af Ugglas, \textit{GMTHI}, 171. Actually, Ugglas believed that the Madonna also should be dated to around 1300. Liepe \textit{SSRMTSPF}, 97. According to Liepe, in 1976, there was a dendrochronological examination of the sculpture which produced the date 1313 +/- 5. In 1992, the same examination was again carried out and arrived at the same result. However, the examination was not carried out on the sculpture, but on the shrine doors and there is no reason, therefore, to associate this date with the Madonna, which seems stylistically to date to c. 1275.

\textsuperscript{14} Andersson, 1966, 159. C.A Nordman, \textit{Medeltida skulptur i Finland} (Helsinki: 1964), 83-84. Nordman correctly assessed the \textit{Eljaröd Madonna} (Fig. 22) as belonging to the same group as the Madonnas from Orlunda, Sällstorp, Kiaby, Östra Vram, Brösarp, Munkarp, Ravlunda, Sienestad and Selsö despite the differences in physical traits.
The *Eljaröd Madonna* (Fig. 22), another Madonna from Skåne, belongs to the same group and should also be associated with south and mid-west Madonnas. It is fairly close to the *Brösarp Madonna* (Fig. R: 21) and the *Östra Vram Madonna* (Fig. L:21). The drapery of the Madonnas are similar as well as the benches. The *Eljaröd Madonna’s* head deviates form the other Madonnas however and could easily be c. 1300, perhaps the whole figure is, carved in a retardataire style.

![Figure 22. (L) Eljaröd Madonna (Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum) Skåne. The sculpture was originally situated in Eljaröd Church, Skåne. (R) Stenestad Madonna Statens Historiska Museum (Stockholm). The sculpture was originally situated in Stenestad Church, Skåne.](image-url)
One of the best examples of A1 sculptures in the Skåne province is the Stenestad Madonna (Fig. R:22).[^15] According to my own observation the face of the Stenestad Madonna is less round and girlish in comparison with the other two and projects a more modern style, as is the case of the Brösarp Madonna (Fig. L:23). The treatment of the garment of the Stenestad Madonna is more elegant and appears to be more gracefully carved than the other examples in the area of the Skåne. It is very tempting to suggest that this sculpture was imported. In my view it is more likely that this is one of the best examples of A1 sculptures in Skåne which would further suggest a high quality workshop in the South. The Stenestad Madonna (Fig. R:23) should therefore, despite qualitative differences be placed with the Brösarp-and the Östra Vram figures because of their stylistic accordance.

![Figure 23. (L) Brösarp Madonna, (R) Stenestad Madonna](image)

[^15]: Andersson, *MWSS II*, 54. Andersson wrote that: “the school (the South Scandinavian) is most frequently represented in the diocese of Lund, where one of the main centres was presumably located…and the monumental Madonna from Stenestad still has many sisters within the diocese.” L. Karlsson, *Den Gotiska Konsten* (Stockholm: Signum, 1996), 212. Karlsson describes the sculpture as being close to the Brösarp Madonna, but not as provincial, and that it should be dated to the mid-thirteenth century. P. Tångeberg, *Mittelalterliche Holzskulpturen und Altarschreine in Schweden*, 26. The sculpture is carefully hollowed out according to Tångeberg.
Other Madonnas with strong A1 characteristics are the *Kiaby Madonna* (Fig. L:24) and her sister in the nearby province, Småland, called the *Berga Madonna* (Fig. R:24). It is necessary to assign them to the same sculptor or at least to the same workshop, although the *Berga Madonna* (Fig. R:24) is of slightly better quality. Their robes are identically carved with softly curved pleats in front. Further, the fabrics are draped over the arm forming a loop before they are draped over the lap and under the Christ Child. Both figures have the same zig zag drapery of the robe on to the side of the bench and the robe ends at the ankles and the dress is draped.

*Figure 24.* Kiaby Madonna, Kiaby Church, Skåne . (R) Berga Madonna, Berga Church, Småland.
onto the round base.\textsuperscript{16} The \textit{Kiaby Madonna} (L:24) shares the same flowing design of the garment (especially the drapery around the right arm) and the inventive composition on the sides of the Madonna indicate that this sculpture should be dated later.

Some other Madonnas from Skåne’s neighbouring province Småland also deserve attention. Ullén correctly described the \textit{Drev Madonna} (Fig. C:25) as “a provincial sculpture probably from the mid thirteenth century.”\textsuperscript{17} The \textit{Hyssna Madonna} (Fig. L:25) is close to the \textit{Drev Madonna} because of the treatment of the fabric on the sides of the bench, but it is also similar to the \textit{Brösarp Madonna} (Fig. R:25) due to the robe and the thick collar but there are some major obvious differences too. The face of the \textit{Hyssna Madonna} (Fig. L:25) is younger.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure25.jpg}
\caption{(L) Hyssna Madonna, Hyssna Church, Västergötland. (C) Drev Madonna, Drev Church, Småland. (R) Brösarp Madonna.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{16} Liepe \textit{SSRMTSPF}, 97. Liepe wrote that the reciprocal variation of the Madonnas can be used as a starting point for chronological differentiation, for example, the hieratic frontality in the \textit{Kiaby Madonna}. Liepe deliberated that it could be dated to the first part of the thirteenth century, but concluded it more likely to the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century. Tångeberg, \textit{MHAS}, 22-23. Tångeberg’s technical explanation stated that the head of the Christ Child is attached by a wooden dowel and that other Madonnas like this are the (later) \textit{Ignaberga}, \textit{Ravlunda} and \textit{Selsö} Madonnas. Here all these works seem to be products of the South Scandinavian (Danish) workshops.

\textsuperscript{17} I. Ullén, \textit{Drev och Hornaryd, Småland} (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1968), 104.
and more girlish than the *Drev* and the *Brösarp Madonnas* (Fig. C and R:25). The *Drev Madonna* is similar to the *Orlunda Madonna* (Fig. L:26) and should be associated with the South Scandinavian Workshop.¹⁸ The *Orlunda* and *Vårkumla Madonnas* (Fig. L and C:26) are both carved after the idea of the *Edestad Madonna* (Fig. R:26) but the *Orlunda* and *Vårkumla Madonnas* are of better workmanship and possibly more recent than the *Edestad Madonna*.

![Figure 26](image)

Figure 26. (L) Orlunda Madonna Statens Historiska Museum (Stockholm). The sculpture was originally situated in Orlunda Church, Östergötland. (C). Vårkumla Madonna, Vårkumla Church, Västergötland, (R) Edestad Madonna.

In Småländ there is a *Madonna* in *Hagshult* (Fig L:27) that resembles the *Hudene Madonnas* (Fig. R:27) from Västergötland. The robes are similarly and elegantly draped over the shoulders, but the *Hudene Madonna* resembles two other Madonnas from the south of A1 group, look at the immense similarity of the drapery of the Kiaby and Berga Madonnas (L and R:24).

¹⁸ Ibid., 104.
The Torpa Madonna (Fig. L:28) also follows the same pattern, (although its iconography is slightly different as the Virgin holds an orb in her right hand), and should be associated with these Madonnas; in my opinion the Töreboda Madonna (Fig. R:28) could also be placed in A1, because of the robes and rigid poses, although their poor condition makes commentary difficult.

Although the Näsinge Madonna (Fig. L:29) has been placed in the same group as the Knista and Sköldinge Madonnas (Fig. L and R:12) by af Ugglas there are better matches for
this peculiar sculpture.\textsuperscript{19} The \textit{Hinneryd Madonna} (Fig. CL:29) and the \textit{Glava Madonna} (Fig. CR:29) are similar because of the design of their robes which are not straight vertical pleats but more intricate and geometric shaped folds. There is also a similar sculpture in Halland called the \textit{Sällstorp Madonna} (Fig. R:29), which should be included in the same stylistic context.

\textbf{Figure 28.} Torpa Madonna, Torpa Church, Småland. (R) Töreboda Madonna Töreboda Church, Västergötland.

\textsuperscript{19} C.R af Ugglas, \textit{GMTTHI}, 171. R. Norberg, "Bohusläns medeltida träskulptur," \textit{Göteborgs och Bohusläns forminnes förenings tidsskrift} (1939): 13. Norberg wanted to recognise the influence of English, Schleswig or Jutland sculpture in the \textit{Näsinge Madonna} (Fig. 16). He strangely compared the shape of the head to that of the figure of the \textit{Tympanum of the western doorway at Wells Cathedral} (Fig. 45, Chapter 11). Andersson, \textit{MWSS II}, 64. According to Andersson, this was possible because the Danish school influenced the workshops in Växjö, Skara and Linköping dioceses, and that its influence extended to eastern Norway. Andersson believed that the Skåne/South Scandinavian style (for example the Selsö Madonna) was represented in other parts of the country. Andersson wrote that the forms of the south Scandinavian school sculptures can also be observed in wooden sculpture in other parts of the diocese (Skara), whether in the form of possible imports such as the \textit{Madonnas} at Molla and Vänga or more or less primitive native productions, of the same type as the \textit{Stenestad Madonna}, of which there are probably some twenty specimens extant.
A relative to the Näsinge Madonna, but of higher quality is the Glava Madonna (Fig. CR:29) located in Värmland (the region next to Bohuslän): note the close similarity in the design of the robe. The qualitative superior Glava Madonna’s face (Fig. L:30) bears a different expression, one of more regal elegance, in comparison to the Näsinge Madonna (Fig. R:30) whose face is fuller and more Childish.

Three Madonnas which are not situated that far apart from each other are the Torsåker Madonna, Norra Ny Madonna and Vänga Madonna (Fig. L,C and R:31). These mid-western sculptures all wear corresponding double layer robes, although the Vänga Madonna
(Fig. R:31) is slightly closer to the *Norra Ny Madonna* (Fig. C:31) and could, with high probability, have been carved in the same local workshop.

Another Madonna which should be brought up in this context is the *Fröskog Madonna* (Fig. R:32) whose tabernacle and the figure do not match (Fig. L:36) in regards of style or dimension. In the case of the *Fröskog Madonna* (Fig. R:32) and the *Norra Ny Madonna* (Fig. L:32) the appearances of the figures are in fact, very different. The *Fröskog Madonna* (Fig. R:32) wears a long sleeved dress and the *Norra Ny* (Fig. L:32) wears a robe with a dress underneath it, to point out just one major dissimilarity. The hem is lower on the

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20 af Ugglas, *GMTHI*, 362-363. Af Ugglas attempted to explain the discrepancy between the tabernacles and figures, arguing that the tabernacles might have been ordered separately even from abroad. Andersson, *MWSS II*, 74. Andersson, who did not approach the sculpture and tabernacle as separate entities wrote that “the Madonna shrine from Fröskog is indeed one of the coarsest examples of the type from the point of view of quality and, besides, is marred by a crude over painting from later days, but at the same time it is the most completely preserved specimen of these Scandinavian Madonna shrines.”

21 The tabernacles will no be discussed in depth in this thesis since it is hugely unlikely (in these cases) that the sculptures were actually commissioned at the same time as the tabernacles.

22 Norberg, “Det medeltida Madonna skåpet från Fröskog Kyrka och några av dess anförvanter,” *Fornvännen* (1932): 15 note 1. In 1932, Norberg claimed that the people of Norra Ny still believed in the miracles of this
dress of the *Fröskog Madonna* and the position of the Christ Child is different, since the *Fröskog Christ* is turned to the right.

![Figure 32](image)

*Figure 32.* (L) Norra Ny Madonna, (R) Fröskog Madonna, Statens Historiska Museum (Stockholm). The sculpture was originally situated in Fröskog Church in Dalsland.

There are three similarities between the two Madonnas; the double layer of the Virgin’s dress over the shins; the Madonnas are placed in tabernacles; and both depictions of the Christ Child have raised right arms in benediction. Two figures which should also perhaps be connected, not only because of their similarly painted faces but also their peculiarly protruding ears, are the *Hädene Madonna* (Fig. R:33) and *Fröskog* (Fig. L:33).²³

²³ *Ibid.*, 76. Andersson suggested that the *Fröskog shrine* and some other Madonna shrines in the neighbourhood, at *Glava* and *Norra Ny*, may perhaps have a closer link with the East Norwegian workshop that has been associated with the Komnes altar frontal, than with the specific development of sculpture in the centre of the diocese at Skara.
The Norra Ny Madonna (Fig. L:34) can be stylistically related to the Madonnas in the south and the mid-west; the Fröskog Madonna (Fig. R:32) has no close relatives in Sweden or elsewhere (with the exception of the Hädene Madonna (R:33) with its protruding ears and frontality for its time. The benches are also of different styles, the Norra Ny Madonna’s (Fig. L:34) looking much like the Knista Madonna’s (Fig. R:34) and the Fröskog Madonna’s (Fig. L:35) is more similar to those benches from Gotland. In Sweden there are Madonnas in tabernacles from Fröskog, Norra Ny and Östra Vram (Fig 36).24

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24 A. Andersson, English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure sculpture in wood (Stockholm: 1949), 154, 159, (illustration in H. Fett, “Skulptur og Malerkunst I middelalderen,” Norsk Kunshistorie I (Oslo, 1925), 218. Andersson questioned whether Norwegian sculpture of this kind was influenced by Danish art circles and he pointed out that “the Madonnas of the two shrines from Värmland as well as the related Madonna from Tomter belong to a Madonna type characteristic of the Danish school but practically non-existent in Norway: with the mantle draped like a shawl crosswise on the chest.”
Figure 35. (L) Fröskog Madonna (bench) and (R) Hangvar Madonna (bench), Gotlands Fornsal, Visby. The sculpture was originally situated in Hangvar Church on Gotland.

Figure 36. (L) Fragments of Fröskog Tabernacle, (C) Norra Ny tabernacle, (R) Östra Vram Tabernacle.

According to Andersson, the instances of similar sculptures in the mid-west and south could be explained because the Danish school influenced the workshops in Växjö, Skara and Linköping dioceses, and that its influence extended to eastern Norway. Andersson believed that the Skåne/South Scandinavian style (for example Selsö Madonna) was represented in other parts of
the country. Andersson wrote that the forms of the south Scandinavian school sculptures can also be observed in wooden sculpture in other parts of the diocese (Skara), whether in the form of possible imports such as the Madonnas at Molla and Vänga (Fig. L and R:37), or more or less primitive native productions, of the same type as the Stenestad Madonna (Fig. R:37), of which there are probably some twenty specimens extant. Since Lund was the first cathedral town in the South of Sweden, a good workshop was with certainty situated there and it seems plausible that the influences would come from there and spread to the mid-west. This does not mean that the Madonnas in Västergötland where made in Skåne but that workshops influenced by this style were present in the mid-west.

Along the pilgrimage route of Klarälvsdalen the Norra Ny Madonna (Fig. R:38) is found and not too far away one finds a Madonna, the Stora Kil Madonna (Fig. L:38), in my assessment, from the same province. The latter has clearly been inspired by the Norra Ny
Madonna (Fig. R:38), Stora Kil is cruder and less graceful but its clothing has the same design as that of the Norra Ny Madonna (L:38). The little towns are only 150 km apart, on the pilgrimage route to Nidaros. A travelling sculptor or a local one could have carved these sculptures. In the villages there are no other sculptures that seem to be related to the Madonnas but that does not mean that they were not there at the time. I believe that the Norra Ny Madonna was carved by a more accomplished carver than that of the Stora Kil Madonna and I can place neither in a large regional workshop, only in a broad stylistic context. It seems more likely, because of the locations of the villages, that a pilgrim or a travelling woodcarver would have offered his services, most likely around 1275.

Figure 38. (L) Stora Kil Madonna, Stora Kil Church, Värmland, (R) Norra Ny Madonna.
To my eye, there are two crowned relatives in Västergötland: one is the Bälinge Madonna and the other the Öra Madonna (Fig. L and R:39). The heads are covered by veils which fall down the sides of their faces and extend down on to their shoulders. The vertical pleats on the front of the robes also correspond. The fabric in front of the knees is arranged differently: the Bälinge follows the Knista (Fig. L:40) design, while the Öra Madonna (Fig. R:40) exhibits more innovative and fluid drapery.

Figure 39. (L) Bälinge Madonna, Bälinge Church, Västergötland. (R) Öra Madonna, Öra Church, Västergötland.
The Hemsjö Madonna (Fig. L:41), is also very reminiscent of the Öra Madonna (Fig. R:41) despite its missing veil which increases the more elegant appearance of the Öra Madonna.
The faces are fairly similar as well as the pleats and borders on the front robe of both figures. Is it possible that the Öra Madonna (Fig. R:41) was inspired the Hemsjö Madonna (Fig. L:41).

After all the villages are not far apart. Andersson believed that the Madonna from Härna/Varnum belonged to the same group as the Madonna from Hemsjö (Fig. 41) and the Madonna from Skälvum (see catalogue nr. 132) He found the Härna Madonna (see catalogue nr. 117) interesting because of the iconographic detail of the two postulants at the Virgin’s feet. I have placed the Härna/Varnhem Madonna and the Skälvum Madonna in A2 as they have
more stylistically in common with the *Dalby Madonna* (see catalogue nr. 101). Perhaps they are early results of one of the workshops present in Västergötland from around the mid-thirteenth century.

The A1 sculptures should be dated to the third quarter of the thirteenth century (1250-1275). The considerable amount of sculptures in this group also adds to the idea that there were several workshops working at the same time in several locations after the same references. The cathedral constructions that were mentioned in the beginning of the chapter must have increased sculpture production. The influences have traditionally been regarded as English but there is one similar sculpture in Denmark (*Selsö Madonna*).

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25 Andersson, *MWSS II*, 78, 79. Ibid., 76. Andersson also proclaimed the *Öra Madonna* (Fig. R:41) as a good example of local production.
Figure 42. Group A2 Madonnas The Map shows the location of A2 Sculpture, we can see that most of these are situated in the mid-west and mid-east.
7. Group A2 Madonnas
The A2 group shows 31 Madonnas progressing from hieratic figures to rounder and stronger looking ones, which should be dated between c. 1275 and 1300. The group is built around the Visby Madonna which was most likely carved around the time as the reconstruction of the Visby Cathedral in the 1260’s. The group is large but the type is more or less the same. There is a clear internal consistency, even though the Madonnas which are stylistically earliest look quite similar to the A1 group, and it is possible, even probably, that there is a good deal of chronological overlap between them. In most cases the mantle covers the Madonna’s left shoulder but not the right side, where the mantle is draped over her arm. Another variation is that the mantle stands up like a collar on both shoulders. The folds of the cape make deep, falling folds, sometimes with U-or-V shaped creases between the knees of the Virgin. This group varies tremendously in quality, representations are mainly concentrated in Västergötland and around Lake Mälaren; these figures have been largely ignored in other publications. Andersson and Cornell discussed some of these Madonnas in regards of English and Norwegian influences. Af Ugglas and Roosval handled the Gotland Madonnas in their monographs. However the stylistic group is much larger than regional studies and one has to look at them in a national and supra-national perspective.

<table>
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<th>Attribute of the Madonna</th>
<th>Attribute of the Christ Child</th>
<th>General remarks on Condition</th>
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<td>Good</td>
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<td>Poor</td>
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<td>Good</td>
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<th>Note</th>
<th>Quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Härna/Varnum Madonna</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hejnum Madonna</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hjärtlanda Madonna</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hög Madonna</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hol Madonna</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husby Sjuhundra Madonna</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kall Madonna</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kullings-Skövde Madonna</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrkås Madonna</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludgo Madonna</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misterhult Madonna</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naverstad Madonna</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ornunga Madonna</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Övansjö Madonna</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Över Järna Madonna</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nora Madonna</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Räng Madonna</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>The Christ Child’s right hand in raised in benediction</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimbo Madonna</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romfartuna Madonna</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>The Christ Child’s right hand is raised in benediction</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runtuna Madonna</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skälvum Madonna</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>The Christ Child is holding an orb and his right hand is raised in benediction</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Södra Råda Madonna</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Svenneby Madonna</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torbjörnstorp Madonna</td>
<td>c.120</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Västra Skrukeby Madonna</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visby Madonna</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>Stalk</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Poor</td>
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</tbody>
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We shall start with the highest quality sculptures, situated on the island of Gotland. The quality which these two sculptures represent did not spread to the mainland.
though the stylistic type did. It is possible that the *Hablingbo Madonna* and the *Visby Madonna* (Fig. L and R:43) are sisters and belong to the same workshop and their dates should be considered around 1275, perhaps even a little bit earlier in order to allow for influence on other sculptures (such as the *Dalby Madonna*, a simplified and commonly produced version of its relatives) in my unique group. The *Visby* and the *Hablingbo Madonnas* are the results of some of the fine workshops of Gotland which would become extremely prominent at the end of the thirteenth century.

![Figure 43](image)

*Figure 43.* (L) Visby Madonna. (R) Hablingbo Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Hablingbo Church, Gotland.

An important iconographic detail in the Madonna and Child from this period is that the virgin is trampling the head of the serpent underfoot. This iconography is seen in some contemporary

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27 af Ugglas, *GMTHI*, 237. The sadly damaged *Hablingbo Madonna* (Fig. R:43) reminded af Ugglas of the finest Byzantine ivory Madonnas. J. Roosval *Medeltida skulptur i Gotlands Fornsal* (Stockholm: Tisell, 1925), 38. Roosval correctly placed the *Hablingbo Madonna* (Fig. R:43) very close to the *Visby Madonna* (Fig. L:43) and believed that the *Hablingbo Madonna* was modelled on the Visby Madonna, dating the latter to around 1235.
representations of the Virgin, as af Ugglas noted, though he only knew the Hablingbo and Visby Domkyrka Madonnas (Fig. R and L:43) as ‘Scandinavian’ representations of this type.\(^{28}\)

He did not believe that the Visby Madonna had any direct relationship with the sculptures in the east doorway of the north transept at Chartres (Fig. 44), although he referred to the wooden Madonna in Gassicourt and another Gaillac Madonna (Fig. L and R: 45), as he had the wall painting in Garde church on Gotland (Fig. 46) in mind.\(^{29}\) Roosval continued this notion saying that the Madonna is a prime example of the majestically German-influenced transitional style. He believed this sculpture to be carved by the Tingstäde Master. However, he dated the Visby Madonna too early, to the construction of the chancel at 1225. Roosval further wrote that it is not direct observation that has inspired the new German style, but admiration for certain Byzantine patterns with soft natural forms that were available in Saxony at this time, perhaps in the form of relief sculpture.\(^ {30}\)

Another idea would be to consider the Visby Madonna (Fig. L:43) as an import or carved by a foreigner which almost seems necessary if one considers the immense progression from the earlier A1 group (see the almost relief-like sculptures in the previous group) and the Madonna’s unusually large size. In my opinion the sculptor of the Hablingbo and the Visby Madonnas (Fig. L and R:43) were most likely of German descent and the explanation is that Visby was inhabited by many Germans due to its important standing in the Hanseatic League and that they funded much of the construction of St. Mary in Visby. Although the Cathedral

\(^{28}\) af Ugglas, GMTHI, 228.

\(^{29}\) Ibid., 254. The similarities in the drapery may have its origin in Byzantine art, he thought.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 256. Af Ugglas thought the sculptor German or Saxon: there is a Mater Dolorosa in Freiburg (Fig. 47) which reminded him of the Visby Madonna and Hejnum Madonna. Roosval, MSGF, 10, 33, 34, 78-79. G. Svanström, Visby Domkyrka Inredning, “SvK Go vol 202” (Stockholm: 1986), 25. Svahnström agreed with Roosval and dated the sculpture to the second quarter of the thirteenth century and thought it had been executed by a Saxon artist, namely the Tingstäde Master. C. Jacobsson, HTGL, 37 n 12. Jacobsson believed that the sculpture is most likely Swedish made or imported from Saxony. She also suggested that a carver trained in the old school might have adopted modern techniques and carved the sculpture. Another theory is that the heads were made by another carver altogether.
was inaugurated in 1225, major additions were made in 1250-1260\textsuperscript{31} and a German craftsman could have carved these sculptures at this time. Af Ugglas and Roosval also believed this woodcarver to be from Saxony but I have not been able to find a close comparison from the thirteenth century.

\textbf{Figure 44.} Transept Chartres, East doorway. France.

\textsuperscript{31} Gunnar Svahnström, \textit{Sveriges Kyrkor Gotland} band 175, 1978.
Figure 45. (L) Gassicourt Madonna, Gassicourt Church Mantes-la-Jolie, Il-de-France, France. (R) Gaillac Madonna, (Centre des Monuments Nationaux), Paris. This sculpture was originally in Gaillac Church, Midi-Pyrénées, France.

Figure 46. Wall painting in Garde Church, Gotland.
Figure 47. Mater Dolorosa, Altertümer Museum, Dresden. This sculpture was originally situated in Freiburg Cathedral, Germany.
Another Madonna from Gotland is the damaged *Hejnum Madonna* (Fig. L:48) which is also an example of the early Gotland workshop. A similar German sculpture is the thirteenth-century *Salzwedeler Madonna* (only some 200 km south of Lübeck) in the Johann-Friedrich-Danneil-Museum (R:48); it should also be considered as an influence to the *Hejnum Madonna* (L:48). Yet, another German Madonna, the closest relative to the *Hejnum Madonna* is the *Viöl Madonna* (Fig. C:48) from Schleswig, Germany. One finds a robust Madonna seated confidently on a bench, much like the *Hejnum Madonna* (Fig. L:48), also note that she is treading the serpent. It will not be the first time that we see echoes of the Gotland Madonnas’ style on the Swedish mainland: the *Svenneby Madonna* (Fig. L:49), the *Misterhult Madonna* (Fig. C:49) and the *Ekeskog Madonna* (Fig. R:49) manifest the same regal pose and stature but are clearly of much lesser quality in my opinion. It seems that the development of the A2 sculptures went from the *Visby Madonna* (Fig. L:43) to a more generic Madonna. The *Visby Madonna* (originally from the Visby Cathedral) has surely been the source of inspiration for many of the sculptures in central and western Sweden.

An example of such result is the *Naverstad Madonna* (Fig. L:50) whose appearance would become the most popular type of Madonna for some 25 years. A crude copy of the *Naverstad Madonna* can be found in the *Svinhult Madonna* (Fig. C:50). Regardless of the disproportionally long arms it follows the same format as the *Naverstad Madonna* with the exception that the *Svinhult Madonna* has the mantle covering her shoulders and belongs in the A3 Group. Another one of these rather crude variants is the *Hög Madonna* (Fig. R:50).

32 af Ugglas, *GMTHI*, 233. Its quality made it the work of a master according to Af Ugglas who also related it to the *Freiburg Madonna* (Fig. 47). Roosval, *MSGF*, 40, 41. Roosval, after af Ugglas, also ascribed the sculpture to the Hejnum Master.


35 Andersson, *EINSFS*, 222. Andersson believed it could have been an import because of its high quality despite the crude overpainting.

There is nothing stylistically, in my view, to support Karlsson’s late date of the *Hög Madonna*, with so many of the comparisons evidently late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century. Karlsson wrote that it was either a thirteenth-century sculpture re-carved in the late Middle Ages, or alternatively that it is a fifteenth-century sculpture. The fact that it is situated in the north of Sweden could indicate that a local sculptor produced the sculpture after an already existing model or it could be that the Madonnas was commissioned from elsewhere. There are some other sculptures in Hög from the fifteenth century but cannot be stylistically related to the Madonna, which must be the result of a commission from elsewhere, most likely Västergötland. The Madonnas is difficult to place because of the crude restoration (of the crown and the head of the Christ Child). It makes it look more naïve than it was intended to look by the thirteenth-century sculptor.

Figure 48. Hejnum Madonna, Hejnum Church, Gotland. (C) Viöl Madonna (R) Salzwedeler Madonna
Another Madonna which is not completely unlike the Naverstad Madonna (Fig. R:51) is the Romfartuna Madonna (Fig. L:51), bearing in mind the fact that the sculpture received a new head some time in the Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{37} The thin creases on the upper body, the belt, and the round neckline of the dress are almost identical to the Naverstad Madonna.\textsuperscript{38} Andersson believed that the “Madonna from the mid-thirteenth century or thereabouts was decapitated during the High Gothic period, as well as her Child, and was given a new face, certainly more amiable than the earlier one and framed in the hair style typical of the Bunge Master’s time (the first part of the fourteenth century, Gotland). On Norwegian territory there is a slightly earlier Madonna at Grong (Fig. 59, which is related. Andersson thought that certain peculiarities in the mantle draping such as the fin-like projecting folds and the folds like

\textsuperscript{37} Andersson, \textit{MWSS II}, 122. The head is glued on to the torso and the break is just below the neck.

\textsuperscript{38} Andersson, \textit{MWSS II}, 122. n 2. Andersson wrote that the stylistic attribution of the torso of the Romfartuna Madonna (Fig. 61) is problematic.
stretched straps around the lower legs are reminiscent of Norwegian sculpture under English influence."\textsuperscript{39}

\textbf{Figure 50.} (L) Naverstad Madonna (C) Svinhult Madonna (A3), (R) Hög Madonna

\textbf{Figure 51.} (L) Romfartuna Madonna, Romfartuna Church, Västmanland. (R) Naverstad Madonna, Naverstad Church, Bohuslän.

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 122. n 2.
It is absolutely true that the *Romfartuna Madonna* (Fig. L:51) shares many similarities to the *Naverstad Madonna* (Fig R: 51), including the iconography of the serpent (described in the beginning of this chapter) and the detail of the cushion on the bench. The much more sophisticated *Romfartuna Madonna* should be considered in the same group as the *Naverstad Madonna*. Yet another example of this kind of bench with a large cushion is found in the *Runtuna Madonna* (Fig. R:52). Another Madonna from approximately the same area is the *Husby Sjuhundra Madonna* (Fig. L:52); it should be considered in the same group. Perhaps there is also a relation between the *Rimbo Madonna* (Fig. L:53) and the *Runtuna Madonna* (Fig. R:53). The mantles are arranged similarly over the shoulders and the round neckline also matches in both figures; however the arrangement of the fabric over the legs is different. The *Rimbo Madonna’s* (Fig. L:53) mantle is draped straight across and between the legs with the curve-shaped pleats on the left side.

*Figure 52. Husby Sjuhundra Madonna, Husby Sjuhundra Church, Uppland. (R) Runtuna Madonna, Runtuna Church, Södermanland.*
The _Runtuna Madonna’s_ (Fig. R:53) mantle is draped in thinner vertical folds down to the base of the sculpture. In a general sense these sculptures are related, but were not produced in the South of Sweden as there seem to have been busy workshops in the mid-west as well as the Valley of Mälaren. Andersson believed that the sculpture should be dated to the mid-thirteenth century and was probably executed by a sculptor active in the Valley of Mälaren (see Fig. 11, Chapter 1). However, in my opinion both the Rimbo and Runtuna Madonnas belong to the last part of the thirteenth century as they are loosely based on the Gotland Madonnas that are at the earliest from the 1260’s. What is evident is that there was substantial local production (at least in Västergötland, Södermanland and Uppland) of wooden sculpture. The only sculpture

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40 A. Andersson, _Mariabilden i Skulptur 1150-1450_ (Stockholm: 1956), 7. Andersson wrote that the _Rimbo Madonna_ (Fig. L:53) “clearly derives from the Early Gothic model represented by the _Västra Skrukeby Madonna_ (85).” Ibid., 8. Andersson wrote that a very large number of sculptures, such as the _Ornunga Madonna_, could have come from a South Scandinavian workshop taking orders from Churches in the middle of the thirteenth century. The sculptures are stylistically related to the _Rimbo Madonna_, the representative from the Valley of Mälaren (Mälardalen). Other works that are close but of less quality are those from Ovansjö, Kullings, Skövde, Kyrkås, Torbjörnstorp, Vinnerstad, Hjärtlanda (perhaps a copy of the Härlöv Madonna) Vittaryd, Väto, Våmb, Ludgo,
which truly stands out from this group and date (after 1275), not only because of its small size but also because of its higher level of sophistication of detail and of style is the *Västra Skrukeby Madonna* (Fig. 54.) The likely scenario is that it is an imported piece maybe from Germany where one can see a similar style of the upper part of the Virgin’s dress in a Madonna at the Schnütgen Museum (Fig. 105).

Another group of Madonnas from the mid-west and the area of the Valley of Lake Mälaren are the *Fröslunda Madonna* (C:55) which resembles the *Husby Sjuhundra Madonna* (L:55) although I have classified it as a A1 sculpture based on its clothing. The *Brunn Madonna* (R:55) could possibly be a simplified copy of the more accomplished *Husby Sjuhundra Madonna.*

![Västra Skrukeby Madonna](image)

*Figure 54.* Västra Skrukeby Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum), Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in the Västra Skrukeby Church, Uppland.
English and Norwegian Influences

A Madonna from Bohuslän, the *Svenneby Madonna* (L:56) has been considered by many scholars as Norwegian or English but its true relatives are missing. In addition to being reminiscent of the *Hejnum Madonna* from Gotland, the fragmentary sculpture has some similarities regarding the treatment of the dress and the belt to the *Romfartuna Madonna* (R:56). The robe is very different from any other Madonna of the time as it is dramatically draped on both sides of the Virgin. Strangely, it has no direct relative in Norway or Sweden and it is correct to classify it as a work by a very sophisticated sculptor, but I am reluctant to call the responsible person English or Norwegian because of the scarce international comparisons.

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(considering that parts of Sweden already had sophisticated workshops), and it should be regarded as a Madonna from around 1275.

Two other figures which are also normally connected to the English-Norwegian school are the Lillhärdal and Kall Madonnas (Figs L and R:57) from the North of Sweden that bear slight resemblance to the Svenneby Madonna (Fig. L:56) in regards to the design of the robe.

for many of the cult images that now exist in present day Sweden, for example the Lillhärdal Madonna, but he also thought that it looked as if it has a close connection to the West facade of Wells cathedral.
According to Andersson, the Kall Madonna’s upper part of the mantle as well as the figure corresponds to the Virgin at Wells Cathedral but the treatment of the drapery over the legs could not be further apart. The design of their mantles and dresses are more graceful in comparison to the Wells figure (Fig. R: 58) although one has to admit the difficulties in comparing stone and wood sculptures. The Swedish figures are related; view the fan-like fabric on the base, and very similar poses. The Kall Madonna, in my opinion, is more delicately carved with more care and finesse, the Lillhärdal Madonna looks slightly more rough and

42 Andersson EINSFS, 122. Andersson considered the Kall Madonna (Fig. R:57) as “mainly a rough repetition of the Lillhärdal figure (Fig. L:57) but it is not quite without credit and individuality.” Ibid., 126. He further wrote: “the Madonna from Kall (Fig. R:57) and the St. Olav from Seim represent a younger, more nationalistic phase in
coarsely carved. The *Kall Madonna* (Fig. L:58) is seated in a tabernacle which appears to be fifteenth century in comparison to the more basic examples (e.g. the tabernacle of the later *Dalby Madonna*). Neither should be directly related to Wells but probably to a workshop in Norway.

![Figure 58. Kall Madonna (R) Wells tympanum, Wells Cathedral, England.](image)

The two figures should be explained as follows: clear possibilities are that at least one of the two figures was brought back to Sweden by pilgrims (see Fig. 8, Ch I) or the result of a exportation from Norway or a travelling craftsman from Norway where there are some examples of this slender Madonna, for example the *Austråt Madonna* (Fig. 60) or the fine *Grong Madonna* (Fig. 59). Either way, it is not possible to argue that the four sculptures come from the same workshop or the same hand.

the activity of the Master. If not, they must be the work of one of his colleagues with very much the same training
Figure 59. Grong Madonna, Videnskapsselskapets Samling, Trondheim, Norway.

as his own, or of a very prominent pupil at his workshop.”
Another figure to be assigned to the A2 group, although from the area of Lake Mälaren, is the Över Järna Madonna (Fig. L:61) which, according to af Ugglas, was carved by the sculptor
responsible for the *Västra Ryd Madonna* (Fig. R:61).\(^{43}\) The latter Madonna has a new head and the replacement makes it look more different from the *Över Järna Madonna* than it really is. Andersson classified the carver of the *Över Järna Madonna*: “we repeatedly observe how incapable the artist is of modelling body and garments with soft and natural transitions, to form organic entirely…and only through the conventionalisation does the work receive unity and artistic beauty. The sculptor is a primitive artist in the best sense of the word.”\(^ {44}\) Norberg assigned the *Över Järna Madonna* to the mid thirteenth-century and saw it as one of the foremost representatives of the early Gothic period and believed the sculptor was most likely active in the Stockholm area.\(^ {45}\) Karlsson proclaimed that the *Över Järna Madonna* (L:61) is one of the best examples of noble posture and realistic proportions, although the treatment of the folds of the dress still show traces of Byzantine influences. He believed that the South Scandinavian school naturally played a meaningful part in the progression and development of sculpture in Skåne and Småland and the impulses reached Gotland and the Valley of Mälaren. Karlsson explained that unless they shared a common prototype, the Madonnas from *Över Järna* and *Säterbo* (see catalogue nr. 144) must have been related to each other, albeit not from the same workshop, and added that the Madonna type was repeatedly produced in the Valley of Mälaren.\(^ {46}\) No, it is not plausible that the *Över Järna Madonna* and the *Västra Ryd Madonna* are by the same sculptor, but perhaps the *Över Järna Madonna* came from the same workshop as the *Rimbo Madonna* or the *Runtuna Madonnas* (Fig. L and R:63). The treatment of the creases above the belt is very similar although there are some differences on the lower halves.

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\(^{43}\) af Ugglas, *GMTHI*, (Stockholm: 1915), 331 n 2. Andersson, *MWSS II*, 271. Andersson also connected the *Säterbo Madonna* (see catalogue nr. 144) and the *Över Järna Madonna*. Andersson *EINSFS*, 267. Andersson went on to describe the *St. Olav figure* (Fig. 62) in the Västmanland church and a *Madonna* in *Över-Järna* (Fig. L:61). He called these two works equals as regards quality, and stylistically so closely related that one can unhesitatingly attribute them to the same Master.

\(^{44}\) Andersson, *MWSS II*, 270.

\(^{45}\) Norberg *Bildkonsten i Norden, Nordisk medeltid 1*, 164.

Figure 61. (L) Över Järna Madonna, Över Järna Church, Södermanland. (R) Västra Ryd Madonna, Västra Ryd Church, Uppland.

Figure 62. St Olav of Välö, Valö Church, Sweden
With regard to other English influences on Swedish sculptures the following Madonnas have been mentioned. It is hard to prove that the *Härna/Varnum, Skälvm* or *Ornunga Madonnas* (Fig. 64) are of English descent. Cornell wrote that their characteristics could have originated in Norway and reflect the flourishing sculpture production there around the middle of the thirteenth century, whereas Af Ugglas believed that the *Härna/Varnum Madonna* was of English descent. Andersson also linked these *Madonnas* and claimed that they were likely to be based on more complicated sculpture though stylistically carrying on with the tradition of the older Romanesque conceptions.47 However, none of the Madonnas shows any significant similarity to English or Norwegian sculpture and in these cases they are from Värmland or

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Västergötland. The A2 Group is large and the core of the group seems to revolve around Lake Mälaren and I cannot detect very clear similarities with the *Langham Virgin* or the Madonna at *Well’s Cathedral*.

![Figure 64](image)

*Figure 64.* (L) Härna/Varnum Madonna. (Statens Historiska Museum), Stockholm. The sculpture was either situated in Härna Church or the Varnum Church in Västergötland. (C) /Skälvm Madonna, Skälvm Church, Västergötland. (R) Örnunga Madonna, Örnunga Church, Västergötland.

It is however true that in Värmland, Västergötland and Uppland there is a large group of Madonnas of the same type which indicates that these parts of Sweden had their own schools, probably influenced for the most part, by the activities around the cathedrals. The problems in this argument arise when one looks, again, at the two examples on Gotland (*Visby Madonna* and the *Hablingbo Madonna*). It seems just as likely that streams of influences would come from there since Gotland would become, only right after the turn of the thirteenth century, the main production centre for wooden sculpture.
Two sculptures which are of a completely different calibre than those of which the group has been built, are of the same type. The examples are on the mainland, and close to Norway, the Dalby Madonna (Fig. L:65) and the almost identical Nora Madonna (Fig. R:65) whose relationship have not been discussed in the literature to date.

The Nora Madonna (Fig. L:66) is also very similar to the statue from Ådalsliden (Fig. R:66). The sculptures are close in the way the draperies are handled, the position of the Madonnas’ stretched out arms and also both figures of the Christ Child. This coherence in style does not exclude the possibility of being the products of the same workshop.
The Härlöv Madonna (Fig. L:67) in observation bears a strong likeness to the Nora and Dalby Madonnas (Figs. C and R:67), although its mantle is arranged symmetrically over its shoulders.

The facial features are unmistakably alike. The four sculptures should be assigned to the same workshop and are perhaps by the same master. These figures were probably influenced by the
superior examples from the area of Lake Mälaren or Gotland. The *Biri Madonna* (Fig. 68) could have been an influence but looking closely at the design of the clothing of the *Dalby, Nora, Härlöv* and *Ådalsliden Madonnas*, they appear closer to the Visby and *Hablingbo Madonnas* (L and R:43) rather than Norwegian intermediaries.

*Figure 68. Biri Madonna, (Universitetets Oldsaksamling) Oslo. This sculpture was originally in Biri Church, Norway.*
These A2 sculptures probably belong to the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century. The figures have become more round and three-dimensional, which seems like a natural progression from the *Knista Madonna* (Fig. 1), to, for example, the *Dalby Madonna* (Fig. L:65). The high numbers of sculptures suggest that there were several places of production and that this image type was particularly popular. In the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg there is an *Ivory Madonna* (Fig. 69, according to the museum; approximately 1220 to 1230) which perhaps supports international influences but does not necessarily negate Anderson’s idea of English influences on Norwegian and Swedish sculpture. Craftsmen could certainly have worked after ivory prototypes and transmitted these continental models to retardataire Swedish sculpture.

![Figure 69. Ivory. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany](image)

The iconography of the serpent under the Virgin’s feet was a common iconography in Sweden, surely another indication that images like this were known in Scandinavia. In this highly accomplished piece, the Madonna is seated on a bench. She is treading a dragon and rests her

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48 Madonna and Child, Saxony or Rhein-Maas district, c.1220/30. Ivory. Height 11.6 cm. Inv. No. 1893.199.
left foot on a lion. Both figures' hands are raised. It is possible that wooden hands of other Swedish Madonnas were placed like this before restorations and replacement or before they were lost. Tångeberg suggested the Madonnas might have been produced for specific liturgical functions and that their parts were loose and could be changed. The mantle and vertical creases of the dress are similar to those of the *Naverstad Madonna* (Fig. L:70) and even closer to the *Hejnum Madonna* (Fig. R:70) although one foot is not being higher than the other in the Swedish examples.

![Figure 70. Naverstad Madonna, Naverstad Church, Bohuslän. (R) Hejnum Madonna, Hejnum Church, Gotland.](image)

The A2 group was produced in several locations but originated from Gotland with influences from Germany which spread to the mainland. An influence which came naturally since Visby was in much contact with Germany in this time due to the Hanseatic League and because of the

Donated by Margarethe Gaiser, Hamburg.
numerous Germans in the population in Visby. It seems, based on the many relatives of the *Visby* and *Hablingbo Madonnas*, on the mainland (in the mid-west and around Lake Mälaren) that this influence was predominant. However, in Norrland, Västergötland and Värmland there are what seem to be influences through Norway from England so far as one can tell from, the fragmentary remains from Wells. Since there are clusters of sculpture one has to assume there were workshops that supplied the medieval churches with sculptures and that these workshops received international influences from trade and also pilgrimage routes.
9. Group A3 Madonnas

The A3 group of 28 Madonnas is a heterogeneous one and its date ranges from c.1250 to 1300. In this group, there are Madonnas of great variety and quality. They resemble groups 1 and 2 or neither. For example, the Kållands-Åsaka Madonna (Fig. 72) is frontally seated, plainly carved and the carver has perhaps tried to copy one of the Madonnas in the B2 group or an even earlier Madonna. The odd Madonna, which K. Eckerblad dated after a dendrochronological examination to the twelfth century, also shows why he can’t be relied on here; it is one of the examples that images were copied over and over again (see A1 and A2 Groups). The mantle, which covers both shoulders, relates it more to the turn of the thirteenth century and the belt also bears resemblance to, for example, the Visnum Kil Madonna (Fig. 73).

Figure 72. Kållands-Åsaka Madonna, Kållands-Åsaka Church, Västergötland.

What is most surprising is the carefully carved face and mouth which do not appear in twelfth-century Swedish sculpture at all.

**Figure 73. Visnum Kil Madonna, Visnum Kil Church, Värmland.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A3 Madonnas</th>
<th>Height (cm)</th>
<th>Attribute of the Madonna</th>
<th>Attribute of the Christ Child</th>
<th>General remarks on Condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dädesjö Madonna</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funbo Madonna</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grebo Madonna</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handöl Madonna</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannäs Madonna</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudene Madonna</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignaberga Madonna</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Källands-Asaka Madonna</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kungslena Madonna</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norra Vånga Madonna</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perstorp Madonna</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Madonna from Skåne, the *Perstorp Madonna* (Fig. L:74) also demonstrates this quality of borrowing traits from earlier sculptures and it is carved much like the sculptures in B2 but with a more fluid style and can therefore not be classified as a solid B2 sculpture. Another Skåne Madonna which also complies with this idea but is completely different from the *Perstorp Madonna* is the *Ignaberga Madonna* (Fig. 75). This Madonna appears to be carved after a Romanesque model but is modernised with early fourteenth century traits.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Madonna</th>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>Bible</th>
<th>Sceptre</th>
<th>Orb</th>
<th>Orb</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remmene Madonna</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Säterbo Madonna</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silvåkra Madonna</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skarstad Madonna</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skeby Madonna</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skede Madonna</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stråvalla Madonna</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svinhult Madonna</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tådene Madonna</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolg Madonna</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torrskog Madonna</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Våmb Madonna</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varnum Madonna</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vika Madonna</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinnerstad Madonna</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visnum Kil Madonna</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ytter Järna Madonna</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 74.* Perstorp Madonna, (Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum) Skåne. The sculpture was originally situated in Perstorp Church. (R) Dalby Madonna.
10. Sculptures of the mid-west

The *Norra Vânga Madonna* (Fig. L:76) might have been the inspiration for a figure like the *Torrskog Madonna* (Fig. C:76); the mantle has two flaps on the front very reminiscent of the *Norra Vânga* (Fig. L:76) figure. Both sculptures have details not belonging to the last quarter of the thirteenth century (the hairstyle in the Norra Vânga Madonna is only seen in the *Skarstad Madonna* (Fig. L:77) and the crown of the *Torrskog Madonnas* is extremely unusual). The *Skarstad Madonna* could be a relative of the *Norra Vânga Madonna* as the Madonna is wearing a similar v-necked dress and the fabric of the mantle has been draped similarly over the figure’s legs.
Figure 76. (L) Norra Vånga Madonna (Västergötlands Museum) Skara. The figure was originally situated in Norra Vånga Church. (C) Torrskog Madonna, Torrskog Church, Dalsland. (R) Dalby Madonna, Dalby Church, Värmland.

Figure 77. Skarstad Madonna (Göteborgsstsads Museum). The sculpture was originally situated in Skarstad Church. (R) Norra Vånga Madonna
The carver of the crude Kungslena Madonna (Fig. L:78) could possibly have seen the Virgin from Remmene (Fig. C:78) or the Näinge Madonna (Fig. R:78).

The carver of the Dädesjö Madonna (Fig. L:79), whose Christ Child (uncommonly in the late thirteenth century) sits on the Virgin’s right knee, exhibits a bench very similar to that of the Naverstad Madonna (Fig. R:79) type. However there are some major differences: first, the veil is clumsily arranged on the Virgin’s shoulders; secondly, the Christ Child is seated on the right side; thirdly, the pleats between the Virgin’s knees are placed in the centre; and finally, the bench is different from the rest of the earlier Madonnas. Perhaps it is possible that the figures were updated later on, but it is hard to determine how this would have happened. The same thoughts should be applied to the Tolg Madonna (Fig. 80). The problem is (and I find it very hard to accept the evidence) that Eckerblad dated the bodies of the Tolg Madonna (Fig. 80) and the Dädesjö Madonna (Fig. L:79) to 1244 to 1254, and 1251-1261.
respectively by dendrochronology.\textsuperscript{50} If we accept this early date, the figures ought to have been carved by a foreign carver and this might very well be since the Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s right knee in both cases and this was not at all common practice in Scandinavia in the mid-thirteenth century.

\textbf{Figure 79}. Dädesjö Madonna, Dädesjö Church, Småland. (R) Naverstad Madonna (A2)

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 18, 19. (Their crowns were dated to 1412 to 1415 and to 1480 to 1491 respectively.) Despite this recent study not many scholars have noticed it or adopted the dates.
The Hannäs Madonna (Fig. 81) could be interpreted as a later Madonna because of its detailed and personalised facial expression, a detail which is not found in A1 or A2 Madonnas.
Two Madonnas that are difficult to place are the Funbo Madonna (Fig. R:82) and the Ekeskog Madonna (Fig. L:82). There are some indications that the Funbo Madonna (Fig. R:82) does not belong in the thirteenth century (and the heads of the figures seems to be replacements.) The upper body of the dress has its original design, but the sculpture and the hair style of the Christ Child is too long for it to belong with the Madonnas from the last quarter of the thirteenth century.
Many of these sculptures are local productions. They are simply repetitions and copies of A1 and A2 but reinforce the idea of local workshops and their influences. Some of the sculptures are later than the thirteenth century. In general, the A3 group is uneven and very difficult to place because of either “improvements” in later centuries, or other reasons.
Figure 83. Group B1 Sculptures. Most of the sculptures are located in the east of Sweden as well as on Gotland.
11. B1 Madonnas
At the end of the thirteenth century a new type of Madonna appears in Sweden. It is no longer possible to talk about relief-like or standardised images but beautifully carved wooden sculptures depicting the Madonna and Child. This image appears in Germany and France in the beginning of the last quarter of the thirteenth century and just slightly later in Sweden because of stylistic influences. The 18 Madonnas in B1 are a geographically concentrated group (mainly around Lake Mälaren and Gotland); the sculptures have become more realistic in the sense that they are more plausibly three dimensional and there is a more interactive and playful relationship between the mother and Child. There are international relatives both from France and from Germany, as I will point out later. The Madonnas are portrayed as sweet and warm, holding their Children tenderly. The draperies become more fluid and the awkwardness and disproportion are gone in the B groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B1 Madonnas</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Attribute of the Madonna</th>
<th>Attribute of the Christ Child</th>
<th>General remarks on Condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Björke Madonna</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danderyd Madonna</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edshult Madonna</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangvar Madonna</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumla Madonna</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohärad Madonna</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marum Madonna</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Österhaninge Madonna</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roslagsbro Madonna</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segerstad Madonna</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skokloster Madonna</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skummeslöv Madonna</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sproge Madonna</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tingstäde Madonna</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toresund Madonna</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trankil Madonna</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Väddö Madonna</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vagnhärad Madonna</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>The Christ Child’s right hand is raised in benediction.</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Väversunda Madonna</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Flower</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vist Madonna</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Orb</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In terms of dating, B1 has some approximate guidelines. A German Madonna which shares many physical similarities with this group, the *Regensburg Madonna* (Fig. 84) has been dated to around 1270 (according to the Metropolitan Museum of Art); it can be used as visual comparison.

![Figure 84. Regensburg Madonna (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) New York. The sculpture was originally situated in Regensburg Cathedral, Bavaria, Germany.](image)

There is at least one other international match, despite Jacobsson’s hesitation, namely the *Hansühn Madonna* (Fig. 85) which is stylistically similar to the B1 group. Hans Wentzel

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51 Jacobsson, *HTGL*, 81. Jacobsson wrote that the Madonnas from *Björke, Sproge, Hangvar* as well as the Madonnas in *Danderyd and Roslagsbro* only bear superficial resemblances to the German material. However, the sculptors could have been influenced by the art of Northern Germany.
placed the *Hansühn Madonna* in a Lübeck workshop dating to 1310 to 1320 and thought contrary to Jacobsson that the Gotland material was closely related.  

Another example supporting an earlier dating of this group is Dean Birger's Seal (Fig. 86) from 1278 according to ATA.  

This seal shows many similarities with the sculptures; the veil, clothing and the treatment of the drapery are almost identical to the B1 group and it certainly shows that this image existed in Sweden before the fourteenth century.

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A good example of this period is the *Björke Madonna* (Fig. 87) which represents part of the ‘new’ Swedish style in the fourteenth century, according to Meinander.\(^{54}\) In general, the B1 Madonnas are seated on a throne, the Virgin’s left hand supports the Christ Child and the right forearm and hand are stretched out. The mantle covers both shoulders, and swirls across her lap

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\(^{54}\) Meinander, 56.
and underneath the Christ Child. The neckline of the dress is v-shaped, sometimes round, and is draped in wide vertical pleats. The lower part of the dress is carved in triangular-shaped pleats,

![Figure 87. Björke Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Björke Church, Gotland.](image)

and the garment is looped at the bottom, where the Virgin’s feet stick out onto a flat base from underneath the second layer of the garment. The Christ Child sits on the Virgin’s left knee. The bench is taking the appearance of a throne and the upward gables are almost always present. The group which is predominantly situated around Uppsala, Stockholm and on Gotland should be stylistically dated from c. 1300 (perhaps even as early as 1280) to around 1325. An example like *Björke Madonna* has many sisters in Sweden. It resembles both the *Väversunda* and the
Löhärads Madonnas (Fig. L and R:88) and also bears some similarities to the Hangvar and the Sproge Madonnas (from Gotland) as was also suggested by Jacobsson (Fig. L and R:89).  

Figure 88. (L) Väversunda Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in the Väversunda Church, Östergötland. (R) Löhärad Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in Löhärad Church, Uppland.

55 Jacobsson, HTGL, 57. She correctly observed that it is not as high quality as the Väversunda Madonna and that the arrangement of the fabric deviates. According to af Ugglas, however “the Hangvar and Sproge Madonnas could be carved by the same person and perhaps part of the Öja school.” af Ugglas, GMTHI, 529. He dated the Björke sculpture to approximately 1310-1325 based on the curved posts on the bench. Ibid., 547 note 3. Roosval dated the Björke Madonna image to 1275 when the construction of the chancel of Björke church was completed. Roosval MSGF, 61, 62.
The *Björke Madonna* (Fig. 87) should be dated to the last part or the very beginning of the fourteenth century. The workshop was probably situated on Gotland since there are several similar sculptures there. In terms of exports it would be possible for workshops on Gotland to export images to the mainland of Sweden, especially to Uppsala and Stockholm which had close connections with Visby at that time.

Two Madonnas on the mainland which should be thought of in the same way are the Väversunda *Madonna* and the *Lohärad Madonna* (Fig. L and R:88). Both carry her Child seated high on her left knee in a frontal position, following a fashion then current in the Baltic region.\(^{56}\)

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56 Andersson, *MWSS II*, 100. Andersson discussed the *Väversunda Madonna* (Fig 3) as follows: “one of the most charming examples of Madonnas belonging to this iconographical type ascribed to the native, provincial production is the *Madonna* from *Väversunda*, probably made still during the first quarter of the fourteenth century.”
Two other Madonnas from Gotland, the *Sproge Madonna* and *Hangvar Madonna* (L and R:89) should also be associated with these Madonnas; they all have diagonal drapery arranged in front of their legs. According to af Ugglas, the *Hangvar Madonna* should not be earlier than 1310. At the same time he assigned the *Hangvar Madonna* and the *Sproge Madonna* to the same hand based on the arrangement of the dress and the foot of the Christ Child which is turned towards the viewer. Af Ugglas claimed that the outward turned foot sole was a common and popular motif in France and that it was first shown in the *Vierge Dorée* in Amiens. Roosval thought that the motif may have come to Sweden through the Bunge Master, but that the work itself is actually a late product of the Hamra Master. Roosval used the date of the construction of the chancel and nave of the Hangvar church as an indication of the date of the *Hangvar Madonna* (Fig. R:89) at 1290. Eckerblad dated the *Hangvar Madonna* to 1294 to 1334 (+/- 20) by dendrochronology. Jacobsson thought “the Madonnas from Hangvar and Sproge should be a little bit more recent than the Väversunda, Björke, and Tingstäde Madonnas (Fig. 90) because of the heavier folds and the position of the Child.” I believe that we have to look at the dating of the *Hansühn Madonna* (1310 to 1320) since the Swedish material cannot come before that, although the figures should not be dated much later either. The special draping pattern around the legs, with the abrupt change of direction before the fabric reaches the floor, is visible in the *Björke, Sproge, Hangvar, Danderyd* and *Roslagsbro Madonna*. Jacobsson reasoned that “it is possible that this sculpture derives from the diocese of Uppsala where there are some earlier examples of a similar kind. It is then possible that the woodcarvers...
would have gone to the diocese of Linköping and the sculptures are most likely executed in the early 14th century.”

A Madonna from Skummeslöv (Fig. L:91), of lesser quality, also shows many similarities to the Björke Madonna (Fig. C:91) although it sits on a bench but without an architectured back piece as do the Björke and Väversunda Madonnas (Figs. C and R:91).

Figure 90. Tingstäde Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby, This sculpture was originally situated in Tingstäde Church, Gotland.

63 Ibid., 80, 269.
The *Skummeslöv Madonna* (Fig. C:91) is also not completely unlike the *Hansühn Madonna* (Fig. L:92) and neither is the *Skokloster Madonna* (Fig. R:92) which should also be thought of in this context. Af Ugglas believed that the *Skokloster Madonna* has a lot in common with the Gotland Madonnas and Andersson linked it with the *Brandenburg Madonna* (see Fig. 75 in Chapter 2).64 These Madonnas all originate from the eastern part of Sweden, most likely from Gotland. It seems, because of the number of pieces that have survived from this area and because of its close vicinity to Visby, a major workshop obviously ‘cloned’ itself to the mainland. Most likely one or several workshops opened up in the Mälar Valley. Madonnas of this type could also have been imported from Gotland.

64 C.R af Ugglas, *GMTIH*, 554. Andersson, *MWSS II*, 103. He further claimed that “the Abbey church (of Skokloster) was consecrated in 1300, and this year could possibly be associated with the Madonna.” Jacobsson, *BFT1300*, 228. Jacobsson also claimed that there is a document from August 27, 1300 and that the sculpture might be related to that. However, the *Lemland* sculpture (see Fig. 138 in Chapter II) which has been compared to the *Skokloster Madonna* is dendrochronologically dated to 1327 according to Jacobsson.
An outstanding Madonna Lactans sculpture from Småland is the *Edshult Madonna* (Fig. L:93) which af Ugglas believed to be of French origin although his uncertainty was considerable when it came to the question of whether it was an import, or merely inspired by French art.\textsuperscript{65} Andersson, on the other hand, enthusiastically introduced the idea that “alongside the suggested Linköping workshop there may also have been an individual sculptor, like the Master who fashioned a *Madonna for Edshult* church and who practised his art within the diocese.”\textsuperscript{66} He further concluded that “if the Madonna is believed to have been executed within the diocese of Linköping, possibly by a native Master, it will however be difficult to gauge the extent to which the provincial character of the figure is conditioned by Flemish-Rhineland art interlinks or by the sculptor’s own ability and power to reproduce a High Gothic Madonna ideal.”\textsuperscript{67} Andersson additionally pointed out that it is not the type, but the execution, which gives the *Edshult Madonna* (Fig. L:93) a provincial character and that an artist could

\textsuperscript{65} af Ugglas, *GMTHI*, 418–419.
\textsuperscript{66} Andersson, *MWSS II*, 116. He also attributed the Holy Roods from Vinnerstad and Edshult to the same master.
have worked with a leaf from a sketchbook or a model in ivory as his guide.\textsuperscript{68} Jacobsson also welcomed the idea that the sculpture could have been carved from an ivory model and submits another piece of evidence stating that the argument of a Swedish product could be strengthened because the piece was carved from alder and not out of a more exotic type of wood.\textsuperscript{69} Nowhere in Sweden does a similar example exist but a \textit{Madonna in the St. Annen Museum} (Fig. R:93) is a relative despite the iconographical differences. The designs of the bottom part of the robes, as well as the folds between the thighs are very similar. The hairstyles are also very sophisticated with the hair twisted in coils in comparison to the Swedish body of work. The Lübeck Madonna is dated to 1300 to 1320 and is from either Lower Saxony or Lübeck\textsuperscript{70}

![Image](image.png)

\textbf{Figure 93.} (L) Edshult Madonna, (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in Edshult Church, Småland. (R) St. Annen Museum Madonna, Lübeck. According to museum records, the sculpture was most likely situated in a church in Mecklenburg, Germany.

It seems likely that the \textit{Edshult Madonna} is by a German artist or at least by someone who was German trained. The same way of thinking should be applied to the \textit{Kumla Madonna} (Fig.

\textsuperscript{67} Andersson, \textit{MWSS II}, 116.
\textsuperscript{68} Andersson, \textit{MWSS II}, 116.
\textsuperscript{69} Jacobsson, \textit{HTGL}, 52.
L:94) which echoes the Väddö Madonna (Fig. R:94) but its clothing is much more rigid and simplified. Both should be associated with the early part of the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

![Figure 94](image)

The B1 Madonnas can be assigned to small groups but they all seem to be interrelated by stylistic similarities. The earlier group should include the Björke, Väversunda, Lohärad, Tingstäde, Segerstad, Marum, Sproge and Hangvar Madonnas and are perhaps the output of a single sculptor from Gotland who may have moved his shop to the mainland or exported to it.

The second group, also with a substantial number of extant images, that of the Kumla, Danderyd, Österhaninge, Roslagsbro, Skokloster, Skummeslöv, Toresund, Väddö,
Vagnhärad and Vist Madonnas, should be considered as works of sculptors active around Lake Mälaren.
Figure 95. Group B2 Madonnas
12. Group B2 Madonnas

The five Madonnas belonging to the B2 group are geographically concentrated on Gotland with very close stylistic similarities. Two of these sculptures are of the highest quality in terms of the Swedish material. In regards both to the Linde and Lojsta Madonnas from Gotland, these sculptures should be dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century following our model of stylistic development. Af Ugglas correctly claimed that the large number of Madonnas that exist on Gotland should be proof enough that the Lojsta Madonna was actually executed there. It is not only the quality, but also the stylistic similarities that should prove this case.\(^1\)

Andersson argued that “the Madonna from Linde on Gotland, which undoubtedly belonged to the Bunge Master’s circle, comes even closer in some respects to the Brandenburg Madonna (see Fig. 75, Chapter II), especially in the draping of the mantle across the waist. The sculptor of the Linde Madonna (Fig. 96) was evidently influenced by earlier Saxon sculpture. This is clear both from the type of the Virgin’s face, which has its prototype in Rheims-inspired sculpture in Magdeburg (see Fig. 89, Chapter 2), and Naumburg, and from the violent breaking and angularity of the drapery, so far removed from the gentle, High Gothic melody of line of the Över-Selö Madonna.”\(^2\)

Jacobsson wrote that the Madonna from Lojsta reflects a different female ideal and that it is no longer the fragile “teenage” mother that is the ideal, but an older and robust woman with a round face and a slight double chin. The new ideal comes from other parts of Europe where this sort of ideal has been around for a long time, and originates from the area of the Île-de-France. The 'heavier' Madonna she thought was common in Burgundy and Germany, and the facial expressions are more serious than before. Although there are radical differences between such Madonnas and the Lojsta and Nousis Madonnas, they are all portrayed with rounded faces.\(^3\)

\(^{1}\) af Ugglas, *GMTHI*, 517 Ibid., 518. Roosval *MSGF*, 80. Roosval dated the Madonna to 1290 or to 1330, most likely the latter.
\(^{2}\) Andersson, *MWSS II*, 103.
\(^{3}\) Jacobsson, *HTGL*, 90.
countries, and it is not only a question of the importation of finished pieces, but also of copying. He believed that the Åbo/Lemland (see Fig. 135 in Chapter 2) and Nousis Madonnas (C:123) were related to the Linde and Lojsta Madonnas. Although he admitted there were German influences, he also wrote that the Lübeck culture was not as predominant as it later became. None of the Lübeck material can be proven to have a direct connection with our Madonnas. He wrote so despite of the fact that in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, six churches were built in Lübeck (Lübeck Cathedral, St. Mary’s Church, Church of the Holy Cross, St. Aegidien, St. Jakobi Church and St Peter’s).

Figure 96. Linde Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum), Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in the Linde Church, Gotland.

74 Meinander, MATF, 54-56.
Figure 97. Lojsta Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum), Stockholm. The sculpture was originally situated in the Lojsta Church, Gotland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B2 Madonnas</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Attribute of the Madonna</th>
<th>Attribute of the Christ Child</th>
<th>General remarks on Condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bro Madonna</td>
<td>110.5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linde Madonna</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>Right hand raised</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lojsta Madonna</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>Right hand raised</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Träkumla Madonna</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Västergarn Madonna</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These high quality sculptures have been under the microscope of scholars and Meinander wrote that “the (sculptural) development comes to an end with Västergarn and Bro (Fig. L and R:98) and that the German influences spread to the Nordic countries and it is not only a question of the importation of finished pieces, but also of copying.”75 The regal and graceful appearance of the Bro Madonna (Fig. R:98) may place it late in the first quarter of the fourteenth century and the Västergarn Madonna must be a copy of the Bro Madonna. I am not ready to disregard the Västergarn Madonna, simply as a regional rendition of a Madonna. The lower part of the robe and dress show sophistication in the carving technique and perhaps this sculpture was a result of the same sculptor or someone very close to that of the Bro Madonna.

Figure 98. (L)Västergarn Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Västergarn Church. (R) Bro Madonna, Gotlands Fornsal, Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Bro Church, Gotland.

75 Meinander, 54-55.
Af Ugglas classified the *Västergarn Madonna* (Fig. L:98) a rustically simplified representation of the Bunge master’s style. However, we find again that the Gotland style spread to the mainland; the *Trankil Madonna* (Fig. R:99), represents this simplified style. In Denmark there is also the *Frörup Madonna* (Fig. 100) in the National Museum in Copenhagen which might have been inspired by this style although it is not at all of the same quality as the *Västergarn Madonna*.

*Figure 99*. (L) Västergarn Madonna, (R) Trankil Madonna, Trankil Church, Värmland.

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76 af Ugglas, *GMTHI*, 552
In case of the *Lojsta* and *Linde Madonnas* the dendrochronological study by Eckerblad dated the *Linde Madonna* (Fig. 96) to 1337-1349 +/- 20, the *Lojsta Madonna* (Fig. 97) to 1319 +/- 20, which supports the idea that the sculptures date to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and considering Birger Jarl’s Seal which portrays a similar Madonna dated to 1279 perhaps we could even consider the Madonnas as the earliest possible date according to Eckerblad’s study. However, it does not feel comfortable to date either of these Madonnas before the *Hansühn Madonna or the St. Annen Museum Madonna*, and since we are not talking about Swedish exports or German imports I have to assume that these Madonnas of both B1 and B2 belong to a date sometime in the middle to last part of the first quarter of the fourteenth century.
Figure 101. Group B3 Madonnas

Eckerblad, 20.
The B3 Group is of 13 Madonnas that are stylistically similar and have one common
denominator, the standing Christ Child. The sculptures are spread in different locations and
they are not products of the same workshop. In terms of dating this problematic group I have
looked at seals from Sweden. The image of the standing Christ Child existed at least as early as
1281 and was used as late as 1325, as on the Seals of Skara Cathedral (Figs. 102, 103) which
can be used as dated comparanda. This indicates that the workshops of Skara Cathedral knew
about this image and it is then possible to consider these wooden representations of the
Madonna and Child to be dated from as early as the late thirteenth century as well as into the
first quarter of the fourteenth century, if not later.

78 B. E. Hildebrand, Svenska sigiller från medeltiden (Stockholm :Kongl. Witterhets historie och antiqvitets
akademiens förlag, 1862-1867).
Figure 102. Seal from Skara Cathedral, 1281.
Figure 103. Bishop Peter’s Seal, 1325 (the date was provided by ATA and I have not been able to secure any other dating).
Figure 104. Madonna and Child from Toulouse? Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany
Bergmann believed that the sculpture was made in Cologne under Parisian/French influences.

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**Figure 105. Madonna and Child (1270), Schnütgen Museum, Cologne, Germany**

79 U. Bergmann, *Die Holzskulpturen des Mittelalters. (1000-1400)* (Köln: Schnütgen Museum, 1989), 194-196. Bergmann believed that the sculpture was made in Cologne under Parisian/French influences.
Bergmann, *DHM1000-1400*, 231-234. Bergmann stated that the sculpture was made in Cologne under Parisian/French influence.
Figure 107. Madonna and Child (c. 1300-1330), (Metropolitan Museum of Art) New York, USA. The sculpture was originally from Saint Chéron, Champagne, France.
Figure 108. Ivory. Fourteenth Century, from France, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany
Starting with the southernmost, in Skåne there is the very high-quality *Madonna* in Östra Tommarp (Fig. 110) which has received a lot of attention through the years. Wählin wrote that the Östra Tommarp image is severely damaged, but it was by far, he considered, the most beautiful of the French imported sculptures in the diocese. Wählin mentioned a monastery that was founded in Tommarp in the 12th century, indicating a workshop connected to the monastery. He thought there were no close relatives in the area and that perhaps the sculpture is related to the Bunge Master’s oeuvre.81 Andersson carefully viewed the Östra Tommarp *Madonna* as Hanseatic Madonna.82 Wentzel had already gone a step further and placed the

81 H. Wählin *Fransk stil i Skånes medeltida träskulptur* (Lund: 1921), 156.
Madonna in a Lübeck workshop (at least related to Lübeck). Liepe observed that the Madonna was unlike any sculpture from Skåne and said it could not be compared with the sculpture from Gotland either. She further wrote that there is no question about the fact that the Östra Tommarp Madonna must have come from the other side of the Baltic Sea. Karlsson also believed that the figure was imported. He gave as a reason the type of oak not found in Sweden that had been used for the sculpture. Moreover, he referred to the Östra Tommarp as following the same programme as the Linde Madonna. Jacobsson gave the Nousis (Fig C:123), Östra Tommarp, Lojsta and Västergarn Madonnas the same date, 1330.

Figure 110. Östra Tommarp Madonna

84 Liepe SSRMTSPF, 114-115.
86 Jacobsson, HTGL, 96.
The damaged *Madonna* from *Foss* (Fig. L:111) was, according to Norberg, produced in Norway under French influence.\(^{87}\) However, the sculpture has closer relatives on Gotland than in Norway (for example the *Bro Madonna*), and should probably be considered as a representative Gotland sculpture.

![Figure 111](image)

*Figure 111.* (L) Foss Madonna, Göteborgs Stadsmuseum (Göteborg. This sculpture was originally situated in Foss Church, Bohuslän. (R) Bro Madonna.

The *Ny Madonna* (Fig. 112), also from the mid-west of Sweden, is seated in a tabernacle with a standing Christ Child on her left thigh. There is no reason to argue that the *Foss* and *Ny Madonnas* (Figs. L:111 and 112) are from the same workshop, but the similarity shows that Madonnas of a type very common on Gotland existed outside the more metropolitan areas of Gotland and Stockholm in medieval Scandinavia. These fine sculptures were probably

\(^{87}\) Norberg, *Bohusläns medeltida träskulptur*, 12.
brought to Bohuslän and Värmland, since there are no other examples of that style in the vicinity.

Figure 112. Ny Madonna, (Såguddens Museum) Arvika. This sculpture was originally situated in Ny Church, Värmland.
In the *Kumla Madonna* (Fig. L:113), the Christ Child is not standing completely. He is about to stand up but is still supported by the Virgin’s left hand in a seated position. Roosval’s date seems very early since the Christ Child is standing and the *Sundre Madonna* (Fig. R:113) belongs in the second quarter of the fourteenth century.88

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88 Jacobsson, *HTGL*, 47. Jacobsson wrote: “the Child is standing up and is taking a step forward, and that according to William Forsyth, this type of Madonna is most frequent in Eastern France and the Rhineland. Forsyth believed that the standing portrayal signifies the great power of the Christ Child and that this is more prominent than when he is seated.
Jacobsson compared the *Dörarp Madonna* (Fig. L:114) with the standing *Ljungby Madonna* (Fig. R:114), claiming that they are carved in the same stylistic idiom. There are several problems with this argument. The Christ Child in the *Ljungby Madonna* (Fig. R:114) is taking a step forward whereas the *Dörarp Madonna*’s Christ Child stands rigidly in his mother’s left thigh. The draping of the mantle is also very different; in the standing *Ljungby Madonna* (Fig. R: 114) the mantle is draped with v-shaped folds at the centre, but the *Dörarp Madonna* (Fig. L:114) has a sweeping mantle across the legs and underneath the Christ Child. The heads of the Christ Child figures are also different from one another: the *Dörarp* Child’s head is carved in one piece with the body whereas that of the *Ljungby Madonna* (Fig. R:114) is an additional piece. There are also qualitative differences as the Ljungby figure shows of a higher level of craftsmanship, especially in terms of the Christ Child and also the upper drapery of the Virgin’s dress. Nonetheless, these figures must come from the same workshop.

![Image of Dörarp Madonna and Ljungby Madonna](image)

**Figure 114.** Dörarp Madonna, Dörarp Church, Småland, (R) Ljungby Madonna, Ljungby Church, Småland.

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89 Ibid., 217-218.
In Småland there are two other sculptures which have been compared in the past, the Ukna Madonna (Fig. L:115) is usually (unconvincingly) linked with the Hallingeberg Madonna (Fig. R:115). The figures are not related except for their common iconography and Eckerblad gave the figures a similar date, providing a wide range of (1265 to 1330). The Hallingeberg Madonna (Fig. R:115) was considered by Andersson to be “a clumsy attempt to imitate the noble, distinguished appearance of the Långlöt Madonna (Fig. 116).” Jacobsson did not mention which ivory figures she was referring to in order to discuss international influences. Jacobsson continues the idea that the Hallingeberg Madonna is a predecessor of the Långlöt Madonna (Fig. 116). There are some examples of English ivory sculpture that have similar treatment of the folds and drapery, but they are not closely related. Perhaps the Hallingeberg Madonna’s closest relative is the standing Husaby Madonna (see Fig. 27, Ch 2 with its stiff appearance and exaggerated long necks.

The Långlöt Madonna (Fig. 116) is distinguished by the same noble, aristocratic figure-style as the famous Stained Glass Window in the Choir at Lye on Gotland (Fig. 117) according to Andersson. Although this is not very clear to me, Andersson stated that the Virgin’s costume reappears in the composition of the slender figures of the stained glass, the style of which he classified as the 1330’s in Sweden. He also said that because of these traits it was presumably a Lübeck export from the same time. The Lye Window is much closer stylistically to the Över Selö Madonna to my eye. The Runsten Madonna (related to the Långlöt Madonna, Fig. L and R:118), Horn Madonna (most likely a copy of the Ukna Madonna (Fig. L

90 Jacobsson, *HTGL*, 121. According to Jacobsson, there are some examples in Östergötland where the Christ Child is turned towards the viewer. None of this sort has survived on Gotland. However, there are some in Småland and Öland.
91 Eckerblad, 19.
92 A. Andersson, *Romanesque and Gothic Sculpture – Medieval Wooden Sculpture in Sweden II*, 108. Karlsson, 1996, 129 (there was no footnote). Karlsson claimed that several of these Madonnas were dendrochronologically dated and that the Hallingeberg Madonna (Fig. 115) was dated to 1305-1313.
93 Jacobsson, *HTGL*, 126.
and R:119), and *Västeråker Madonna* (similar to the Över Selö Madonna L and R:120) all belong in the B3 group and I would like to believe that these figures were all the result of workshops on Gotland, heavily influenced by German craftsmen. I would like to direct attention to the Madonna from the *St. Annen Museum in Lübeck* again, the mantles over the shoulders are very similar. The Regensburg Madonna is also similar in style; look at the fold between the knees and the way the mantle is positioned over the shoulders of the Swedish Madonnas.

![Figure 115](image1.jpg) *(L) Ukna Madonna, Ukna Church, Småland. (R) Hallingeberg Madonna, Hallingeberg Church, Småland.*

94 Ibid., 105-6.
95 Ibid., 105-6.
Figure 116. Långlöt Madonna, Långlöt Church, Öland.

Figure 117. Lye stained glass windows, Lye Church, Gotland.
Figure 118. (L) Runsten Madonna, Runsten Church, Öland. (R) Langlöt Madonna.
Figure 119. (L) Horn Madonna, Horn Church, Östergötland. (R) Ukna Madonna

Figure 120. L: Västeråker Madonna (Statens Historiska Museum) Stockholm. This sculpture was originally situated in, Västeråker Church, Uppland. (R) Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, Södermanland.
Two other Madonnas from other areas also fits into the B3 Group. The Hässjö Madonna from Medelpad is a good example of the power of influence that the B3 Group had. Af Ugglas described the Hässjö Madonna as a simpler version of the Ärentuna Madonna (R:121), which he quickly attributed to Etienne de Bonneuil.\footnote{C: Af Ugglas, *Bidrag till kännedomen om den franska bildhuggarkolonin vid Uppsala domkyrka* (Uppsala: 1912), 283. H. Cornell, *Spridda studier från utställningens afdelningar för medeltida träskulptur, Utställning af äldre kyrklig konst i Härnösand 1912*, (Stockholm: 1914), 30. cf, *Norrlands kyrkliga konst under medeltiden*, (Uppsala: 1918), 169. Cornell concluded three years later that because of the sculpture’s inferiority to the Uppsala school a close connection should be ruled out. Cornell also saw a connection between the Uppsala Madonna and the Hässjö Madonnas. Jacobsson, *Beställare och finansiärer: Träskulptur från 1300-talet i gamla ärkestiftet*, 232-233. Jacobsson wrote that although the Hässjö Madonna faithfully follows the Ärentuna Madonna, it is clear that it has}

![Figure 121. (L) Hässjö Madonna (Härnösands Museum) Härnösand. This sculpture was originally situated in Hässjö Church. (R) Ärentuna Madonna, (Universitets konstsamling), Uppsala. This sculpture was originally situated in Ärentuna Church, Uppland.](image-url)

was in Uppsala in the late 1290’s, why would he, if he stayed, wait until the second quarter of the fourteenth century to produce a wooden sculpture? The sculptures are therefore not by the
mason or by the same person as the quality of the figures is very different. Jacobsson provided some French comparison as was shown in Chapter 2 but the Ärentuna Madonna, although this happens to be much more sophisticated, resembles a *Madonna and Child in the Schnütgen Museum* in Cologne dated to 1290-1300 (Fig. 106) and a *Madonna and Child in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Fig. 107). Another fine Madonna from eastern Sweden, af Ugglas observed, was the *Lid Madonna* (Fig. 122). The *Lid Madonna* is reminiscent, in my opinion, of the *Madonna and Child from Toulouse* (Fig. 104) now in the museum of Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg. The similarities are only superficial and there is no way that one could relate the figures further than being of the same type and results of symptomatic influences.

Figure 122. Lid Madonna, Lid Church, Södermanland.

been carved with the Ärentuna Madonna as a model. Ibid., She dated the sculpture to the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

97 af Ugglas 1910, 41.
98 Thronende Muttergottes inv. Nr: 1957.88. Oak, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (Fig. 104).
The Över Selö Madonna (Fig. L:123), af Ugglas wrote, “is a sculpture from Gotland.”\textsuperscript{99} He correctly wrote that the equivalent of such work is found in the Nousis Madonna (C:123) and also in the Linde Madonna (R:123) on Gotland. The three figures are undeniably stylistically related, especially the Över Selö and the Nousis Madonnas (and these last two, should probably be considered to be by the same wood carver). Eckerblad dated the Över Selö Madonna (Fig. L:123) to 1312-1339 +/-20.\textsuperscript{100} Another Madonna which should be thought of in the same way is the Västeråker Madonna and it is very close to the over Selö Madonna. The four Madonnas are stylistically similar to another wooden Madonna in the Schnütgen Museum dated to 1270 (Fig. 105). I am mainly thinking about the way the mantle is arranged over the Virgin’s shoulders.

![Figure 123](image)

**Figure 123.** (L) Över Selö Madonna (C) Nousis Madonna, (Nationalmuseum) Helsinki. The sculpture was originally in Nousis Church, Finland. (R) Linde Madonna.

\textsuperscript{99} af Ugglas, 1910. 40. af Ugglas, GMTHI, 518. He additionally wrote that these Madonnas are sisters to the graceful ivory sculptures of France. There are also two French Ivory figures (Fig. 108 and 109) in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg that are very close to the Över Selö Madonna, Linde Madonna and Lojsta Madonna. Karlsson, 1996, 215. Karlsson believed there was a workshop in Gotland because of these sculptures (Linde and Lojsta). Jacobsson, HTGL, 13. The Över Selö Madonna (Fig. L:123) is regarded by Wentzel as an imported sculpture with Lübeck influences but he mentioned that the Nousis Madonna was not.

\textsuperscript{100} Eckerblad, 20.
As the B3 group Madonnas exist mainly in eastern Sweden and Gotland one has to believe that there was at least one established workshop of high standard in those regions. If we cannot determine that some sculptures were imported or specify particular influences, then at least the carvers were well informed about sculptural trends in Europe. The B3 Group shows a great understanding and appreciation of the international material although none of them can be directly related to Lübeck.
Figure 124. B4 Madonnas
14. Group B4 Madonnas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B 4 Madonnas</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Attribute of the Madonna</th>
<th>Attribute of the Christ Child</th>
<th>Condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fröjel Madonna</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tofta Madonna</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two similar Madonnas on Gotland called the Fröjel Madonna (Fig. 125) and Tofta Madonna (Fig. 126) which cannot be connected to B3, and should therefore be considered on their own. The figures are more conservatively carved than the B1, B2 or B3 groups. Af Ugglas also saw the resemblance between the Fröjel Madonna (Fig. 125) and the Tofta Madonna (Fig. 126). He admitted that they were probably not carved by the same person and the treatment of the draping of the clothes and the shapes of the faces are different.  

![Figure 125. Fröjel Madonna, (Gotlands Fornsal) Visby. This sculpture was originally situated in Fröjel Church, Gotland.](image)

102 af Ugglas, *GMTHI*, 514.
According to Roosval and Jacobsson the *Fröjel Madonna* (Fig. 125) could be related to the Bunge Master’s workshop, and af Ugglas thought it was also close to the Öja School.\(^{103}\) The different masters are surveyed in the part about af Ugglas monograph and Chapter 2. It would
be difficult to relate the Madonnas to the Öja master since they belong to the later date of 1325-1350. The *Tofta Madonna* (Fig. 126) has traditionally been related to the *Fröjel Madonna* (Fig. 125) because they cannot be related to the *Linde Madonna* or the *Över Selö Madonna* but it is highly questionable how close the sculptures really are. Roosval wrongly argued that the *Tofta Madonna* (Fig. 126) is a derivation from the *Fröjel Madonna* (Fig. 125) and that this sculpture comes from the Margareta period, 1370-1400. The veils of the Madonnas are similar but the rest of the figures are very different from one another. The *Fröjel Madonna* has a few wide u-shaped pleats whereas the Tofta figure still follows the popular drapery treatments of Gotland. However, the sculptures are from neighboring villages and it seems plausible to believe that they were carved in the mid-fourteenth century after earlier Madonnas.

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103 Ibid., 529. Roosval *MSGF*, 113. Roosval puts this in the same circle as the Gammelgarns altarpiece (Fig. 162). Jacobsson, *HTGL*, 203. Jacobsson relates the *Fröjel Madonna* (Fig. 125) to the *St. Olav from Fide* and *St. Olav from Anga* as well as the *Tofta Madonna* (Fig. 126).” Eckerblad, 20. (dated to 1302 to 1329+/− 20 by Eckerblad).
104 Roosval *MSGF*, 80. Af Ugglas, *GMTHI*, 514. Af Ugglas argued that the sculptures are not by the same hand, since there are great differences in the treatment of the folds and drapery. The face is oval and reminds one of the works of the Öja master. But surely they could not have been made before the turn of the fourteenth century and therefore, they cannot be of the Öja Master’s oeuvre.
15. Conclusion

It has been my intention, using traditional connoisseurship as a tool to analyse, group and date the Madonna and Child figures from Sweden based on stylistic criteria. It was also my objective to compare the Swedish Madonnas with as many examples of the same subject from elsewhere in western Europe as possible, concentrating on those areas which have been seen (in Chapter 2) as being influential in Sweden. The objective, of course, was to attempt to ascertain the relationships between these images and those in Sweden, to assess whether my materials had been directly influenced by German, French or English examples. If they had been, I also wanted to assess how the influences had been mediated, whether by the travel of craftsmen, patrons or objects.

I have analysed the seated Madonna and Child as a group, because the group is large enough for me to do so, though I have brought in comparanda from other genres (for example some standing Virgin and Child sculptures, crucifixes and saints) where pertinent. The issue is bedevilled by the absence of clear primary sources for dates, which is why connoisseurial sequencing and classification has been necessary.

In Chapter 1, I explained the international ties between Sweden and the rest of Europe from 1250 to 1350. I clarified the changing political situation, geographic boundaries and also assessed the power of the church. The objective here was to situate the images which I have studied in their chronological, political, economic and religious context, as a prelude to examining potential influences on Swedish wooden imagery from abroad. The comparisons which have traditionally been adduced are between imagery in Sweden and England, via Norway, or France, directly or indirectly, through Germany. It became clear that although Sweden interacted with other countries, the sheer volume of construction going on in the
thirteenth century must surely have encouraged indigenous production of sculpture. The first chapter also discussed factors that influenced the Swedish society and in turn sculpture production. It was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that workshops started to be established and the Swedes borrowed the German format in order to implement guilds. I have established that there was a sizable German population on Gotland (and cited the evidence for this in Chapter 1, 2 and 3). The first chapter also described urbanisation and different industries, with influences from Germany, Denmark and Norway. Swedish students went to study theology and law at the Universities on the continent and important figures within the church visited Sweden. The political situation was unstable and the countries tried to establish themselves as strong trading nations and this was also affected by inter-marriages between the Scandinavian countries. Chapter 1 sets the stage for the second and third chapters, which discuss representations of the seated Madonna and Child in Northern Europe carved from wood, with the specific focus on Swedish examples.

In Chapter 2 the scholarship dealing with the Madonnas was analyzed and summarised. This chapter provided information about the surviving medieval heritage of Sweden and the earlier scholars who discovered and analysed it. The chapter provides the first modern historiographical account of the subject in English. None of these works dealt with the subject of Madonna and Child comprehensively and by doing so with my 144 Madonnas, I was able to create more extensive stylistic groupings which were discussed in Chapter 3. My stylistic analysis differentiated the images into two broad groupings between 1250 and 1350, with sub-groups largely determined by geography. The groups also seem to coincide with in areas of cathedral construction (at Uppsala, Linköping, Västerås and Visby) which were discussed in Chapter 1.
The seated wooden Madonna and Child sculptures from Sweden were divided into two main groups, A and B (1250-1350) and then into several subgroups (A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, B3 and B4). The foundation of this evaluation was one of critical connoisseurship.

The statues which have been allocated to group A1 are mainly in the mid-west and the south of Sweden, within easy geographical reach of Denmark and the stylistic proximity of images such as the Selsö Madonna from Denmark (there are also the similar Skörpinge and Lasby Madonnas in the National Museum in Copenhagen) to the Swedish images in this group strongly suggests a direct relationship in which the Swedish materials received direct influence, either through the travel of sculptors or the importation of images, which were then copied in Sweden. These flat (almost relief-like) sculptures are carved with angular edges (with some variation on the drapery over the legs). Very little is known about early production centres or workshops but perhaps it is acceptable to believe that the constructions of cathedrals and churches in the south and mid-west could have contributed to the active sculpture production in these areas. The wood carvers were skilled craftsmen who probably worked in several mediums and it is difficult to find sculptures carved by the same hand, we have lost hundreds of examples, probably, but there were broad stylistic currents which are still clearly discernible. In terms of works carved by the same craftsman, one group is the Knista, Edestad, Sköldinge and Stala Madonnas and a second group of works although from a different workshop are the Torsåker, Norra Ny, Vänga and Stora Kil Madonnas. The Berga and Kiaby Madonnas are most likely by the same hand and the Brösarp and Östra Vram are too. However, these observations are only based on connoisseurship and need further proof.

Group A2 comprises a rounder and more life-like Madonna and Child. The A2 Madonnas are usually datable to c. 1275-1300. Group A2 is mainly concentrated in the mid-west but has two important examples on Gotland. Other than that they are spread around all of
Sweden (except for in the South). In the A2 Group there seem to be two currents of influence, from Gotland and from Norway. It is clear that the Visby and Hablingbo Madonnas are from accomplished workshops (most likely the same one), but at this stage it is impossible to allocate them to a German workshop and classify them as German as there are no counterparts surviving in Germany with which they can be meaningfully compared. However, the craftsmanship is superior to that found elsewhere in Sweden at that time.

The other stylistic influence came from Norway and it is hard to deny that the Naverstad Madonna is anything but from the same workshop as the Spydeberg Madonna, their timber according to Eckerblad’s study came from eastern Norway. These figures are the exceptions, however. Most of the figures in Sweden belonging to A2 are not of high quality nor do they exhibit any great artistry; it seems likely that they were executed in workshops situated in the mid-west, as most of these Madonnas belong in Västergötland. Gotland was the source of the stylistic innovation which then spread from east to west across Sweden.

The A3 Group contains miscellaneous Madonnas which do not belong to A1 or A2 but they show some direct or indirect influence of those and should be dated to the second part of the thirteenth century. The A3 Madonnas are more difficult to date with any confidence, most of the time because they are copies of A1 or A2 or because they are different from one another and all of them lack any helpful contextual information. The images I have assigned to Group A sculptures, exhibit immense qualitative and stylistic variety.

**Group B** Madonnas: Meinander first discussed this new type which arrived in the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century; all images in this group are stylistically related.
This implies that the trade routes were much more widespread and that cultural influences flowed more quickly than they had in the previous half century.

These sculptures are located in the most prosperous areas of medieval Sweden, the island of Gotland and the mid-east (around the cathedral town, Uppsala, and the capital, Stockholm). The quality of sculptures in group B also varies tremendously: some are of international standard and others are inspired by those of greater stature, or are just poor replicas.

Group B1 contains sculptures which seem to be concentrated in the mid-east of Sweden and date to around 1300. The group which is predominantly situated around Uppsala, Stockholm and on Gotland should be stylistically dated from c. 1300 to around 1325. It seems, not only because of the number of pieces that have survived from this area but also because Visby was very involved in the Hanseatic League, that the workshop ‘cloned’ itself to the mainland and one or several workshops opened up in the Stockholm area and the Mälar Valley or pieces were exported there.

The regional and chronological B2 group should be dated from c. 1300 to 1350 and all works come from Gotland. They are of very high quality, in comparison to the rest of the Swedish material. In regards both to the Linde and Lojsta Madonnas from Gotland, these sculptures should be assigned to dates in the first quarter of the fourteenth century following our model of stylistic development.

The 13 Madonnas of the B3 Group all share the iconography of the standing Christ Child but these are not products of the same workshop. The international comparisons in this Group are more evident and it seems that some stylistic influences came from Germany without
much delay. The stylistic reaction to German exemplars seems extremely rapid, but these German examples are, themselves, directly influenced by earlier French sources. So, the Swedish Madonna and Child in this group reflect French influence at second-hand.

The B4 group only includes two Madonnas and is a geographical and chronological group from Gotland dating to about the mid fourteenth century.

The question regarding workshops is very difficult to handle as there are no sources about how they were constituted in the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries. I have looked at the formation of guilds and the earlier workshops and it seems that they were small and that they were working in several media. The number of 144 Madonnas is not that great in the context to the time-span of one hundred years, but it is my suspicion that the Madonnas were executed in clusters with other iconographies and that many sculptures have been lost. Actually the sculpture production seems to have been extra vigorous in regards of Group A (which constitutes about 100 Madonnas), or perhaps more sculptures survived from that period. I find that even with the current total of 400 or so medieval sculptures (1250-1350) surviving in Sweden, over one hundred years, the production could have been as low as 4 sculptures per year. This number is obviously not correct, but even so, as we do not know how many sculptures there were, it is very problematic to assess the size and number of workshops. It seems to me that in regards to earlier workshops we are speaking about craftsmen that may or may not have worked in groups. They were formed around church and cathedral constructions and that is probably how these geographical groups formed. In the case of the woodcarvers responsible for B sculptures, they were probably more organised after German ideas and active, I believe, on Gotland as well as the mid-east. The sculptures ascribed to the B1 and the B3 Groups are both present on Gotland and the mainland and in all of the B Groups there is a
greater awareness of international sculpture. The detail of the fold between the Virgin’s knees seems to have been an important one, and it is visible in the German examples I have demonstrated in Chapter 3. I am not comfortable to proclaim that all the sculptures were influenced by German art first-hand but the sculptures show a consistency that was not as visible in the A Groups. The small B2 Group also belongs on Gotland and has relatives in both B1 and B3 Groups.

I have created two original groups including 144 wooden Madonnas from Sweden and placed them in a topological and chronological context and I believe that I have successfully done so. The stylistic change which occurs at the turn of the thirteenth century indicates a greater knowledge of international material and most of these statues are from Gotland. The continuation of this thesis should handle the Danish, German, Dutch and French Madonnas in a similar study; until each of these areas have been stylistically sorted out it is impossible to say for sure how, and from where the international influences arrived in Sweden.
16. List of Figures

Figure 1. Knista Madonna, Örebro läns museum, (Örebro), Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 2. Visby Madonna, GF. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 3. Väversunda Madonna, SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 4. Linde Madonna, SHM Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 5. Östra Tommarp Madonna, LUHM. Photo: Bengt Almgren.
Figure 6. Sundre Madonna, GF. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 7. Tracings of main characteristics in Group A to B by Alexandra Fried.
Figure 8. A map showing the location of A1 Madonnas by Alexandra Fried.
Figure 9. Knista Madonna. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 10. Brösarp Madonna LUHM. Photo: Bengt Almgren
Figure 11. (L) Knista Madonna, (R) Edestad Madonna, Blekinge Länsmuseum, (Karlskrona) Blekinge. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 12. (L) Knista Madonna (C) Sköldinge Madonna, Sköldinge Church, (Sö). (R) Stala Madonna GSM (Bo). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 13. (L) Stala Madonna, (R) Näsinge Madonna. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 14. (L) Stala Madonna (R) Edestad Madonna Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 15. (L) Gylle Madonna LUHM. (R) Munkarp Madonna LUHM. Photos: Bengt Almgren.
Figure 16. (L) Näsinge Madonna. (R) Munkarp Madonna. Photos: Bengt Almgren.
Figure 17. (L) Ravlunda Madonna, LUHM. Photo: Bengt Almgren, (R) Selsö Madonna, Selsö Church, Denmark. After F. Beckett. Danmarks kunst 1-2, Copenhagen 1924-1926.
Figure 18. (L) Selsö Madonna. After F. Beckett. (R) Munkarp Madonna. Photo: Bengt Almgren.
Figure 19. (L) Näsinge Madonna, (R) Selsö Madonna. After F. Beckett.
Figure 20. (L) Selsö Madonna, After F. Beckett. (C) Näsinge Madonna, (R) Hemsjö Madonna, Hemsjö Church, (Vg). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 21. (L) Östra Vram Madonna, Östra Vram Church, Skåne. Photo.: Lennart Karlsson. (R) Brösarp Madonna. Photo: Bengt Almgren.
Figure 22. (L) Eljaröd Madonna LUHM. (R) Stenestad Madonna SHM. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 23. (L) Brösarp Madonna, Photo: Bengt Almgren (R) Stenestad Madonna. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 24. (L) Kiaby Madonna, Kiaby Church, (Sk). Photo: Bengt Almgren (R) Berga Madonna, Berga Church, (Sm). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 25. (L) Hyssna Madonna, Hyssna Church, (Vg). (C) Drev Madonna, Drev Church, (Sm). Photos: Lennart Karlsson. (R) Brösarp Madonna. Photo: Bengt Almgren.
Figure 26. (L) Örlunda Madonna SHM (C). Vårkumla Madonna, Vårkumla Church, (Vg). Photos: Lennart Karlsson. (R) Edestad Madonna (Blekinge Länsmuseum) Photo: Karin Vierth.
Figure 27. (L) Hagshult Madonna, Hagshult Church, (Sm). (R) Hudene Madonna, Hudene Church, (Vg). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 28. Torpa Madonna, Torpa Church, (Sm). (R) Töreboda Madonna Töreboda Church, (Vg). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 29. Näsinge Madonna, (CL) Hinneryd Madonna, Hinneryd Church, (Sm). (CR) Glava Madonna, Glava Church, (Vr). Photos: Lennart Karlsson. (R) Sällstorp Madonna, Sällstorp Church, (Ha). Photo: ATA
Figure 30. The faces of (L) Glava Madonna and (R) Näsinge Madonna. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 31. (L) Torsåker Madonna, Torsåker Church, (Ån). Photos: Lennart Karlsson. (C) Norra Ny Madonna, Norra Ny Church, (Vr). Photo: Alexandra Fried (R) Vånga Madonna, Borås Museum (Vg). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 32. (L) Norra Ny Madonna, (R) Fröskog Madonna, SHM. Photos: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 33. (L) Fröskog Madonna. Photo: Alexandra Fried (R) Hädene Madonna, Hädene Church, (Vg). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 34. (L) Norra Ny Madonna. Photo: Alexandra Fried (R) Knista Madonna. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 35. (L) Fröskog Madonna (bench). (R) Hangvar Madonna (bench), GF. Photos: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 36. (L) Fragments of Fröskog Tabernacle. (C) Norra Ny tabernacle, Photos: Alexandra Fried (R) Östra Vram Tabernacle. Photo: Lennart Karlsson. 196
Figure 37. (L) Molla Madonna. Molla Church, (Vg). (C) Vånga Madonna. (R) Stenestad Madonna. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 38. (L) Stora Kil Madonna, Stora Kil Church, Värmland. Photo: Lennart Karlsson (R) Norra Ny Madonna. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 39. (L) Bälinge Madonna, Bälinge Church, (Vg). (R) Öra Madonna, Öra Church, (Vg). Photo: Lennart Karlsson
Figure 40. (L) Knista Madonna, (R) Öra Madonna. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 41. (L) Hemsjö Madonna, (R) Öra Madonna. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 127. Group A2 Madonnas
Figure 43. (L) Visby Madonna. Photo: Alexandra Fried. (R) Hablingbo Madonna, GF.
Figure 44. Transept Chartres. After Paul Williamson, Gothic Sculpture: 1140-1300, Yale, 1995.
Figure 45. (L) Gassicourt Madonna, Gassicourt Church, France. (R) Gaillac Madonna, (Centre des Monuments Nationaux), Paris. After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.
Figure 46. Wall painting in Garde Church, Gotland. Photo: ATA
Figure 47. Mater Dolorosa, Freiburg. After C.R af Ugglas, Gotlands medeltida träskulptur till och med höggotikens inbrott. Stockholm, 1915.
Figure 49. Svenneby Madonna, Svenneby Church, (Bo). (C) Misterhult Madonna, Misterhult Church, (Vg). (R) Ekeskog Madonna, Ekeskog Church, (Vg). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 50. (L) Navestad Madonna (C) Svinhult Madonna (A3), (R) Hög Madonna
Figure 51. Romfartuna Madonna, Romfartuna Church, (Vä). (R) Navestad Madonna, Navestad Church, (Bo). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 52. Husby Sjuhundra Madonna, Husby Sjuhundra Church, Uppland. (R) Runtuna Madonna, Runtuna Church, Södermanland.
Figure 53. Rimbo Madonna SHM. (R) Runtuna Madonna. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 54. Västra Skrukeby Madonna SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 55. Huby-Sjuhundra Madonna. (C) Fröslunda Madonna, Fröslunda Church, (Up). (R) Brunn Madonna, Västergötlands Museum, (Skara). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 56. Svenneby Madonna, Svenneby Church, (Bo). (R) Romfartuna Madonna Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 57. (L) Lillhärdal Madonna, Lillhärdal Church, (Hä). (R) Kall Madonna, Kall Church, (Jä). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 58. Kall Madonna. Photo: Lennart Karlsson. Wells Tympanum After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.
Figure 59. Grong Madonna, After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.
Figure 60. Austråt Madonna After A Andersson, EINSFS, Stockholm 1950.
Figure 61. Över Järna Madonna, Över Järna Church, (Sö). (R) Västra Ryd Madonna, Västra Ryd Church, (Up). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 63. (L) Över Järna Madonna (R) Runtuna Madonna. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 64. (L) Härna/Varnum Madonna. SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried (C) Skälvm Madonna, Skälvm Church, (Vg). (R) Ornunga Madonna, Ornunga Church, (Vg). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 65. (L) Dalby Madonna, Dalby Church, (Vr). Photo: Alexandra Fried (R) Nora Madonna, Nora Church, (Up). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 66. (L) Nora Madonna. (R) Ädalsliden Madonna, Ädalsliden Church, (Än). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 67. Similar faces (L) Härlöv Madonna, Härlöv Church, (Sm). Photo: Lennart Karlsson. (C) Dalby Madonna. Photo: Alexandra Fried. (R) Nora Madonna. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 68. Biri Madonna, Universitetets Oldsaksamling), (Oslo). After M. Blindheim, GPWSIN, Oslo 2004.

Figure 69. Ivory Madonna, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, (Hamburg), Germany. Photo: Alexandra Fried

Figure 70. Naverstad Madonna, Naverstad Church, (Bo). Photo: Lennart Karlsson. (R) Hejnum Madonna, Hejnum Church, (Go). Photo: ATA

Figure 71. Group A3 Madonnas

Figure 72. Källlands-Åsaka Madonna, Källlands-Åsaka Church, (Vg). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 73. Visnum Kil Madonna, Visnum Kil Church, (Vr). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 74. Perstorp Madonna, LUHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson. (R) Dalby Madonna. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 75. Ignaberga Madonna, LUHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 76. (L) Norra Vänga Madonna Västergötlands Museum, (Skara). (C) Torrskog Madonna, Torrskog Church, (Dn). Photos: Lennart Karlsson. (R) Dalby Madonna, Dalby Church, Värmland. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 77. Skarstad Madonna GSM. The sculpture was originally situated in the Skarstad Church. (R) Norra Vänga Madonna. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 78. (L) Kungsholmen Madonna, Kungsholmen Church, Västergötland. (C) Remmene Madonna, Remmene Church, Västergötland. (R) Näsinge Madonna (A1).

Figure 79. Dädesjö Madonna, Dädesjö Church, Småland. (R) Naverstad Madonna. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 80. Tolg Madonna, Tolg Church, (Sm). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 81. Hannäs Madonna, Hannäs Church, (Sm). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 82. (L) Ekeskog Madonna, Ekeskog Church, (Vg). (R) Funbo Madonna, Funbo Church, (Up). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 83. Group B1 Sculptures.

Figure 84. Regensburg Madonna The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 85. Hansühn Madonna, Hansühn Church, (Schleswig-Holstein). Photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Schleswig-Holstein (Kiel).

Figure 86. Dean Birger’s Seal of Skara Cathedral, 1278. Photo: ATA

Figure 87. Björke Madonna, GF. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 88. (L) Väversunda Madonna SHM. Lohärad Madonna SHM. Photos: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 89. (L) Sproge Madonna, Sproge Church, (Go). Photo: ATA. (R) Hangvar Madonna, (GF) Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 90. Tingstäde Madonna, GF. After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby 1995.

Figure 91. (L) Skummeslöv Madonna, Skummeslöv Church, (Ha). Photo: Lennart Karlsson. (C) Björke Madonna, (R) Väversunda Madonna. Photo: Alexandra Fried.
Figure 92. (L) Hansühn Madonna. Photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Schleswig-Holstein (Kiel). (C) Skummeslöv Madonna. Photo: Lennart Karlsson. (R) Skokloster Madonna, Skokloster Church, (Up). Photo: ATA.

Figure 93. (L) Edshult Madonna, SHM. (R) Madonna at St. Annen Museum Madonna, Lübeck. Photos: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 94. (L) Kumla Madonna, Västmanlands läns museum (Västerås). (R) Väddö Madonna, Väddö Church, (Up). Photos: Lennart Karlsson

Figure 95. Group B2 Sculpture

Figure 96. Linde Madonna SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 97. Lojsta Madonna SHM. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 98. (L) Västergarn Madonna, GF. (R) Bro Madonna, GF. Photos: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 99. (L) Västergarn Madonna. Photo: Alexandra Fried. (R) Trankil Madonna, Trankil Church, (Vr). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 100. Frörup Madonna, National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark. Photo: National Museum Archive.

Figure 101. Group B3 Madonnas

Figure 102. Seal from Skara Cathedral, 1281. Photo: ATA.

Figure 103. Bishop Peter’s Seal, 1325. Photo: ATA.

Figure 104. Toulouse Madonna, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, (Hamburg), Germany. Photo: Alexandra Fried.


Figure 106. Madonna and Child (1290-1300), Schnütgen Museum, Cologne, Germany. After U. Bergmann, DHM1000-1400, Cologne 1989.

Figure 107. Madonna and Child (c. 1300-1330), The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), USA. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 108. Madonna and Child, from France, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, (Hamburg), Germany. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 109. Ivory. Fourteenth Century from France, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany. Photo: Alexandra Fried

Figure 110. Östra Tommarp Madonna, LUHM. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 111. (L) Foss Madonna, GSM. Photo: ATA. (R) Bro Madonna, GF. Photo: Alexandra Fried.

Figure 112. Ny Madonna, Såguddens Museum, (Arvika). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 113. (L) Kumla Madonna, Västmanlands Länsmuseum, (Västerås). Photo: Lennart Karlsson. (R) Sundre Madonna, GF. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 114. Dörarp Madonna, Dörarp Church, (Sm). (R) Ljungby Madonna, Ljungby Church, (Sm). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 115. (L) Ukn Madonna, Ukna Church, (Sm). (R) Hallingeberg Madonna, Hallingeberg Church, (Sm). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 116. Långlöt Madonna, Långlöt Church, (Öl). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 117. (L) Långlöt Madonna, Långlöt Church, (Öl). Photo: Lennart Karlsson. (R) Lye Stained glass windows, Lye Church, (Go). After Den Gotiska Konsten, Stockholm, 1996.

Figure 118. (L) Runsten Madonna, Runsten Church, (Öl). (R) Långlöt Madonna. Photos: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 119. (L) Horn Madonna, Horn Church, Östergötland. (R) Ukna Madonna Photos: Lennart Karlsson.

Figure 120. Västeråker Madonna (SHM). (R) Över Selö Madonna, Över Selö Church, (Sö). Photos: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 121. (L) Hässjö Madonna, Härnösands Museum, (Härnösand). Photo: Samir Hussein
(R) Årentuna Madonna, UUK. Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 122. Lid Madonna, Lid Church, (Sö). Photo: Lennart Karlsson.
Figure 124. B4 Madonnas
Figure 125. Fröjel Madonna, GF. After C. Jacobsson. After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby 1995.
Figure 126. Tofta Madonna, Tofta Church, (Go). After C. Jacobsson. After C. Jacobsson. HTGL, Visby 1995.
Explanation of the Catalogue

The sculptures have been listed alphabetically according to “landskap” (province) and the catalogue therefore supplements the discussions in chapters 2 and 3 which are organized by author and in stylistic groupings.

Museums and archives:
- SHM Statens Historiska Museum in Stockholm
- LUHM Lunds universitets historiska museum in Lund
- Gotlands Fornsal (Ancient Hall) in Visby
- National Museum in Copenhagen
- St. Annen Museum in Lübeck

Unpublished sources:
- ATA Antikvarisk-topografiska arkivet (ATA) in Stockholm, Sweden. The unpublished source (Aktarkivet) for the catalogue is an archive in the ATA. The information and documents are alphabetically arranged and according to province and church.
- ATA card picture catalogue (the images were arranged thematically and then also alphabetically according to “landskap-region”)
- Helge Kjellin Arkiv/archive. A collection of Professor Kjellin’s (an Art History professor from Värmland) private notes and art historical records.

Electronic sources:
- Medeltidens Bildvärld. Many of the pictures used here are taken from the database called Medeltidens Bildvärld containing approximately 19,000 photographs. Lennart Karlsson published the database in 2003.  
  (http://medeltidbild.historiska.se/medeltidbild/)

Explanation of the maps
- A square - Indicates where the Madonna is/was located.
- A circle - Indicates the regional capital of a province

If I have not seen the sculpture in person, this fact has been indicated in the description box (n.s.p).
The Ådalsliden Madonna is seated on a cushioned throne; her right forearm stretched forward holding a sceptre, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a crown with oversized palmetto leaves. Her face is oval and her eyes are painted like half-moons. She is wearing a mantle which covers more of the left shoulder than the right one. It is draped over her right knee and between her legs. The full-length dress has a round neckline and the waistline is accentuated by a rope-like girdle. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh holding a book in his left hand and his right hand is raised in benediction. The right forearm and sceptre are most likely replacements.
### Description:

The Torsåker Madonna is seated on a throne; her right upper arm stretched forward, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. Her eyes are thin and almond-shaped, and the mouth has a faint smile. The dress has a very high round neckline and the Virgin is wearing a robe which is draped over both her shoulders in long vertical folds. The robe goes down to her ankles and her dress is full-length. The pointed shoes project from underneath the dress. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding a round object which is resting on his left thigh. The crown of the Virgin is missing. Her right forearm and the Christ Child’s right arm are also lost. Three out of four palmetto leaves are missing from the Christ Child’s crown.

### Group:

A1

### Sculpture:

Torsåker Madonna

### Region:

Ångermanland

### Provenance:

Torsåker Church

### Current location:

Torsåker Church

### Dimensions:

H 112 cm

### Date:

c. 1250-1275

### Material:

Oak

### Polychromy:

None

### Archival material:

None

### Comments:

The Torsåker Madonna exhibits characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and is close to the Norra Ny and Vånga Madonnas (3/282-283).

### Literature:

Norberg 1941, 92.

### Photograph by:

Lennart Karlsson (MB)
Blekinge
### Description:
The Edestad Madonna is seated on a bench, her left hand supporting the upper body of the Christ Child, her right upper arm stretched out. Both the figures’ heads are missing, as are the Virgin’s right forearm (leaving an exposed round hole where the forearm has originally been attached with a wood dowel) and both arms of the Christ Child. The robe covers both shoulders and closes in a \( V \)-shape at the front. The full-length robe forms \( U \)-shaped folds on the lower body. The Virgin’s feet stick out under the garment onto a flat round base which is damaged on the edges. The Christ Child sits on the Virgin’s left knee, slightly turned to the right. His right foot is placed on top of the Virgin’s right thigh and the left foot placed on the Virgin’s left knee. The garment that the Christ Child wears forms wide folds on the lower body. There is a dowel wedged into the wood just below the Virgin’s left knee (perhaps to mend a hole before the wood dried?). There are six round holes in the upper chest region forming an oval shape, these holes were at one point filled with glass, metal, stone, or gesso decoration.

### Additional Information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture</td>
<td>Edestad Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Blekinge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Edestad Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location</td>
<td>Blekinge Länsmuseum inv. nr:1259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H 82 cm, W 35 cm, D 20 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sculpture was first recorded by O. Cederstrand in an inventory of the Edestad Church in 1890. A second inventory was provided by William Andersson in 1915. (Aktarkivet, Edestads Kyrka)

**Comments:**
The Edestad Madonna is a poorly preserved and headless Madonna which is very close to the Knista Madonna (3/265) as well as the Stala Madonna (3/268-269). The Madonna also belongs in the same group as Orlunda and Vårkumla Madonnas although these are of better workmanship (3/279). Here we find a Madonna from the South of Sweden and although it can be ascribed to the A1 Group it has more in common with the sculpture of the mid-west than the south.

**Literature:**
Liepe 1995, 243.
Bohuslän
The Foss Madonna is seated on a Gotland style bench; her right arm supporting the body of the Christ Child. Both figures are severely damaged. Both of the Christ Child’s arms, the Virgin’s left arm, most of the base, the Virgin’s feet and both crowns are missing. The folds of the veil hang down on the sides of the Virgin’s face. The face is oval, the eyes are almond-shaped with double eyelids, and the nose is straight and the mouth small. Both shoulders are covered by a mantle, swept over the Virgin’s lap. The garment falls in heavy folds over the Virgin’s legs. The Virgin’s figure is elongated and elegant, the dress is carved with vertical pleats and the high waist is accentuated by a belt. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s right thigh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Foss Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Bohuslän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Foss Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Göteborgs Stadsmuseum inv. Nr: GM:172</td>
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<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
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<td>Material:</td>
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<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Minor traces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Foss Madonna exhibits simplified characteristics ascribed to the B3 Group and was, according to Norberg, produced in Norway under French influence. In my opinion the sculpture has closer relatives on Gotland than in Norway (for example the Bro Madonna), and should probably be considered as a representative Gotland sculpture (3/369).

Literature:

Norberg 1939, 12.
The Näsinge Madonna is seated on a bench with her right arm stretched forward, the Christ Child sits with his back supported by the Virgin’s chest on her left thigh. The Virgin’s head is covered by a veil and the remains of a wooden crown are present on top of her head. Her hair is carved in soft curls that are covered by the veil and her face has childish features with large almond shaped-eyes, tiny mouth and round cheeks. The veil extends down on her shoulders and falls into curved folds onto her chest and becomes the mantle. The graceful garment is draped over the Virgin’s legs and is full length, arranged in folds on the flat base, where the pointed feet are visible underneath the garment. The Christ Child holds an orb in his left hand; his clothing also matches the curved folds of the Virgin’s mantle, although that over his chest is carved in three V-shaped creases. The crowns of both the figures are damaged. The nose of the Virgin is lost. The Virgin’s right hand is damaged, but it is probable that it once held a sceptre; also the Christ Child’s right hand is missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Näsinge Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Bohuslän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Näsinge Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Göteborgs Stadsmuseum (inv.nr: 173)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 143 cm, W 55 cm, D 26 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Madonna was discussed in context of technique and execution of wooden sculpture (3/187). Af Ugglas described it as being carved in a “pronounced thirteenth-century style. I believe that the Näsinge Madonna should be considered a more primitive version of the Knista Madonna, Stala Madonna and Edestad Madonna which are very reminiscent of each other despite of the geographical differences (3/268-369). A relative, but not by the same hand, to the Näsinge Madonna, but of higher quality is the Glava Madonna located in Värmland (3/282).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group:</td>
<td>A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Naverstad Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Bohuslän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Naverstad Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Naverstad Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 135 cm, W 69 cm</td>
</tr>
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<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Red, dark blue, white, black (all secondary)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Archival material:**
Inventoried by Hanna Eggert in 1919. According to Eggert, the sculpture should be dated to approximately 1280. The sculpture has been restored on a number of occasions. The last time was in 1992 by Tomas Brandt at the Bohuslän Museum. According to ATA records, it was restored in 1928 by C. O. Svensson. It is also believed that the sculpture was restored in the nineteenth century (although its present state is due to the 1928 restoration), as well as in the seventeenth century, as some paint from these periods has remained on the sculpture. (Aktarkivet, Naverstads Kyrka)

**Comments:**
Norberg contended that the Madonna was the work of the Norwegian Balke master, despite its old-fashioned type (2/107). Andersson pointed out stylistic similarities between the Biri Madonna and Balke Madonna. He also described the latter Madonna as almost identical to the Naverstad Madonna. He also believed (correctly) that the seated Spydeberg Madonna was closely related. 2/134. Karlsson thought of the Naverstad Madonna as English in character (2/231-232). I also see similarities between the Naverstad, the Romfartuna (3/301-302) and also the Hejnum Madonnas (3/331.)

**Literature:**

Photographs by: Lennart Karlsson
Description: (n.s.p)
The Naverstad Madonna sits on a throne, left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child; the right arm is stretched out holding a truncated sceptre which is touching her right knee (the arm and the sceptre are replacements). The Virgin’s head is oval, with small ears showing under the two braids that are carved onto the Virgin’s back. The mantle covers both shoulders, and the neckline is rounded. The upper part of the dress contains thin vertical creases, and the waist is marked by a girdle. The mantle covers both legs and falls in v-shaped ridges between the legs of the Virgin, although some of the dress can be seen under the mantle. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, both feet positioned between the knees of the Virgin. The Christ Child holds a book in his left hand and his right hand rests casually on his left knee (the right arm seems to be a replacement and was probably raised in benediction in its original form). The Virgin’s black shoes are treading a dragon, positioned on the base. Both figures wear golden crowns (replacements).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Additional photographs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Additional photographs" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photographs by: ATA
Before and after restoration (1928)
Description: (n.s.p)

The Stala Madonna is seated on a bench, her right hand holding a sceptre which rests on the Virgin’s right thigh. The Christ Child half-stands on the Virgin’s left knee, propped up by the Virgin’s left hand. The Virgin’s face is carved with double eyelids, and nicely patterned hair, which is pulled back to the sides in thick coil braids (secondary: fifteenth century?). The dress has a rounded neck-line and the pleats are carved in broad vertical folds. The robe covers both of her narrow shoulders. The hollow sculpture is badly damaged and there are large sections of holes on the Virgin’s dress, and almost a third of her head is missing. The head, left arm and most of his right hand are missing from the Christ Child.
Sculpture: Svenneby Madonna
Region: Bohuslän
Provenance: Svenneby Church
Current location: Svenneby Church
Dimensions: H 79 cm
Date: c. 1275-1300
Material: Oak
Polychromy: Faint traces of red and white pigment exist on the Virgin’s dress.

Archival material:
Hanna Eggert wrote in her inventory of 1920 that it should be dated to the mid fourteenth-century. The sculpture was restored by Thorbjörn Engblad in 1962. Engblad only dealt with the most urgent problems (because of the sculpture’s poor state) and tried to match the replacement elements as closely as possible to the original wood.
(Aktarkivet, Svenneby Kyrka)

Comments:
Andersson wrote that the Svenneby Madonna shows us the quality of “relatively free plastic nature” and described the English forms and proportional conformity between the Svenneby Madonna, and the Austråt Madonna. Andersson dated the Svenneby Madonna to either 1250 if it came from London or 1260 if it was from Lincoln (2/127). Eckerblad placed the Svenneby Madonna in Scandinavia based on its wood (3/173). In my opinion, the sculpture belongs in the last quarter of the thirteenth century according to my own grouping in Chapter 3. In addition to being reminiscent of Hejnum Madonna from Gotland, the fragmentary sculpture has some similarities regarding the treatment of the dress and the belt to the Romfartuna Madonna and I am extremely reluctant to call the responsible person English or Norwegian (309-310).

Literature:
Norberg 1939, 8. Af Ugglas 1943. Ibid., 1913, 42.
**Description: (n.s.p)**

The Svenneby Madonna is seated on a bench; the remains of her left hand support the Christ Child, the right forearm is cut off at the elbow. The mantle covers both shoulders, and is dramatically draped in sweeping folds down the sides of the Virgin. The neckline of the dress is round, and thin creases decorate the upper body. A belt accentuates the waist, and one end of the belt extends and falls down with the rest of the flow of the garment. The mantle is swirled around the Virgin’s right arm and draped over her lap and between her legs. The fragmentary Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, the right foot dangling between the Virgin’s knees. The sculpture is badly damaged and the Virgin’s crown, right arm, much of the left hand, and half of her head is gone, her nose is damaged and there is a large crack in the space between her calves. The Christ Child’s head, left foot and both arms are missing.

**Additional photographs**

[Image of sculpture]

Photographs by: ATA
The Vika Madonna is seated on a bench, with her right arm cut off at the right elbow (it was most likely a separate piece). Her left hand and arm support the Christ Child, seated on the Virgin’s left knee. The Virgin wears a robe which only covers her left shoulder and is draped over her thighs and between her legs. The dress is carved with vertical ridges and there is a large broad-banded neck-line around the necks of both figures, a wide belt at the waist. Her facial features are distinctly carved and the eyes are bulbous, large and almond-shaped. The Virgin’s left arm, and crown are missing and the Christ Child’s head, both arms, and the entire left side are missing. There is also a large triangular shaped crack (cause unknown) between the Virgin’s feet.
Dalsland

Torrskog (A3)

Fröskog (A1)

Amal
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sculpture:</strong></td>
<td>Fröskog Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region:</strong></td>
<td>Dalsland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance:</strong></td>
<td>Fröskog Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Current location:</strong></td>
<td>Statens Historiska Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions:</strong></td>
<td>H 170 cm (shrine), H 108 cm (Madonna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>c. 1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material:</strong></td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polychromy:</strong></td>
<td>The entire sculpture is painted blue, pink, and gold, black (all restoration).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Archival material:**
The figure was purchased by the Statens Historiska Museum for the sum of 200 kronor in 1913 from the Fröskog Church. In 1945 Fröskog Church enquired about buying it back. The request was denied by C.R af Ugglas. (Aktarkivet, Fröskogs Kyrka)

**Comments:**
According to Andersson (following af Ugglas and Norberg), the Fröskog Madonna, as well as the Glava and the Norra Ny figures should perhaps be related to an East Norwegian workshop rather than to sculptural activity in the diocese of Skara (2/193-194). The Madonna does not have a Norwegian counterpart and the figure should be seen as from one of the workshops in the mid-west. I also find it difficult to accept that the Madonna belongs with the tabernacle in which it is placed (3/283-285). I discovered that the Fröskog Madonnas is similar to the Hädene Madonna because of the protruding ears. Any relationship with the Norra Ny Madonna was refuted because of the inconsistencies between the figures (3/286).

**Literature:**

Photograph by: Alexandra Fried
Description:
The Fröskog Madonna is seated on a Gotland style bench in a frontal position, her right arm is stretched out and her left is supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee turned to the right, lifting his right arm in benediction. The Virgin wears a veil that comes down at the sides of her face and is tucked behind her protruding ears. The upper body of the garment has a round neck, soft u-shaped pleats, and the lower part has u-shaped pleats. The mantle ends at mid-calf although her dress is full length and covers all of her legs, except for her pointed shoes that stick out on the flat base. The Christ Child has the same characteristic of the large protruding ears. The Virgin holds a sceptre in her right hand. The sculpture is now placed in a tabernacle, which is too small to have been its original setting.

Additional photographs:

Photographs by: Alexandra Fried
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Torrskog Madonna is seated on a bench in a frontal position, with her right arm stretched out holding the remains of a sceptre. Her left arm supports the left side of the Christ Child seated frontally on the Virgin’s left thigh. The Virgin’s crown is decorated with large palmetto leaves and her face carved in a serious expression; the corners of her mouth are pulled downwards. A mantle with a folded collar covers her shoulders and falls straight down with sparse pleating on the base of the figure. The Christ Child holds a book in his left hand and his right hand (replacement, unknown date) is raised in benediction. The top of the sceptre is missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Torrskog Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Dalsland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Torrskog Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Torrskog Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 61 cm, W 21 cm, D 13.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300</td>
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<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Minor traces</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Torrskog Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group and it is related, although a simplified version of the Norra Vånga and Skarstad Madonnas (3/331).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Literature: | none |

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Ovansjö Madonna is seated on a bench, her right arm stretched out holding a sceptre, and her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The figure is elongated and sits rigidly on a simple bench. The figure is crowned and she is wearing a veil. The mantle covers both shoulders and the dress has a rounded neck. The pleats are thin and are carved in a vertical pattern, divided at the waist by a girdle. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, both feet placed between the Virgin’s knees. He holds an orb in his left hand placed on his left thigh and his right hand is raised in benediction. The figures have been severely restored and re-carved. The Madonna is treading a dragon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: n.s.p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Ovansjö Madonna is seated on a bench, her right arm stretched out holding a sceptre, and her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The figure is elongated and sits rigidly on a simple bench. The figure is crowned and she is wearing a veil. The mantle covers both shoulders and the dress has a rounded neck. The pleats are thin and are carved in a vertical pattern, divided at the waist by a girdle. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, both feet placed between the Virgin’s knees. He holds an orb in his left hand placed on his left thigh and his right hand is raised in benediction. The figures have been severely restored and re-carved. The Madonna is treading a dragon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Björke Madonna is seated on an unusually elaborate Gothic throne with a large back board. The remains of the Virgin’s left hand support the Christ Child, the right forearm and hand (restored and separate pieces) are stretched out. The right arm is constructed in three pieces, upper arm, forearm and hand (Has the function been to be able to alter the pose of the Virgin’s hand? The arm and hand look like a later addition). Her face is youngish but bears a serious facial expression, a simple but wavy veil covers her head and hair. The mantle covers the narrow shoulders, and swirls across her lap and underneath the Christ Child. The neckline of the dress is v-shaped and draped in wide vertical pleats. The lower part of the dress is carved in triangular-shaped pleats, and the garment is looped at the bottom, where the Virgin’s feet stick out onto a flat base from underneath the second layer of the garment. The Christ Child sits on the
Virgin’s left knee; his legs are pulled up and are slightly tilted to the left. The Christ Child has a circular inclusion on his left side shoulder blade (most likely filled with glass, metal, gesso, stone or wood decoration in its original form). The Christ Child’s head is missing, as are the Virgin’s crown and half of her left index finger.

Additional photograph:

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Bro Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her left hand supporting the Christ Child, her right arm stretched out (the front surface of the upper arm has a hole revealing that the forearm has been attached with a wooden dowel). The mantle covers both shoulders, and the veil extends just below the Virgin’s shoulders. The veil covers her head and the hair is parted in the middle. The Virgin’s face is finely carved, with almond-shaped eyes and double eyelids. Ears are positioned high and two coil braids are tucked behind them. The belt accentuates the waist, giving a very high waistline and a bulging belly. The mantle is gracefully draped over the right arm, across the Virgin’s lap and under the Christ Child. The dress has a distinctive v-shaped fold between the Virgin’s knees. The complete upper body of the Christ Child is missing, and his legs are crossed and the sole of his left foot is exposed. The right forearm of the Virgin is missing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
<th>Group: B4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Fröjel Madonna is seated on a bench-like throne with upward gables, typical for sculptures on Gotland. The Virgin’s right arm is cut off at the elbow (a round hole reveals that the forearm has been attached with a wood dowel). The mantle is draped over her shoulders and falls down across her lap and underneath the Christ Child who is placed on the Virgin’s left knee. His right hand is raised in benediction, facing the Virgin in profile. The dress is carved with soft u-shaped pleats and elegantly draped in front of the Virgin’s legs. The waistline of the dress is placed quite high. The Virgin’s feet protrude from underneath the full length dress onto a round base.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Sculpture: | Fröjel Madonna |
| Region: | Gotland |
| Provenance: | Fröjel Church |
| Current location: | Gotlands Fornsalsal (inv. nr: DC52) |
| Dimensions: | H 82 cm, W 34 cm |
| Date: | c. 1325-1350 |
| Material: | Oak |
| Polychromy: | There are traces of red, gold, light blue, white on the mantle and the dress. |
| Archival material: | None |
| Comments: | Af Ugglas believed that the Öja master was a French-born sculptor who had gone to Saxony for work and had then transported his French heritage to produce sculptures in Scandinavia to which he ascribed Fröjel and Tofta Madonnas (2/78). According to Roosval and Jacobsson the Fröjel Madonna could be related to the Bunge Master’s workshop (3/384-386). |
Description: (n.s.p)

The Hablingbo Madonna is seated on a throne, her left hand supporting the shoulder of the Christ Child, the right arm is missing altogether. The upper part of the garment has thin creases, and the waist is accentuated with a belt, which makes the fabric bulge over the belly into smaller and thinner creases. The mantle is generously draped over both shoulders, swirls around the right arm and one of the Virgin’s thighs and over onto the left knee. The Christ Child is sitting upright on the Virgin’s left knee, the dress and mantle of the Christ Child following the same programme as the Virgin’s. The Christ Child holds a book in his left hand, resting on his knee. His face is youthful, but authoritative. The lower part of the garment is carved with soft geometric pleats on the right side. They fall straight down and on the left there are perpendicular folds and further left, soft v-shaped pleats. The feet stick out under the garment onto a rounded base. The neck and head, right arm of the Virgin and right arm of the Christ Child are missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16</th>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Hablingbo Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Gotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Hablingbo Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Gotlands Fornsal (inv. nr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 106 cm, W 49 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>1275-1300</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The damaged Hablingbo Madonna reminded af Ugglas of the finest Byzantine ivory Madonna. Roosval correctly placed the Hablingbo Madonna very close to the Visby Madonna and believed that the Hablingbo Madonna was modelled on the Visby Madonna dating the latter to around 1235 (3/n27, 296). The datings for these two sculptures are too early in my opinion as is discussed in Chapter 3 (3/297).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: ATA (after a photocopy)
### Description:
The Hangvar Madonna is seated on a bench-like throne with the upward gables typical for Gotland in this period. The Virgin’s left hand supports body of the Christ Child, the right upper arm is stretched out and truncated right below the elbow (a round hole reveals that the forearm has been attached with a dowel). The Veil falls down over her hair, ending on her shoulders. The mantle covers both shoulders and lays flat on them, flows around her right and left arm, and the right side is swirled over to the left, underneath the Christ Child. The upper part of the dress has a rounded neckline and a few v-shaped folds, as well as a round recess in the middle of the chest (the recess was filled with wood, gesso, glass, metal or a stone, presumably representing a jewel or a clasp in its original form). The lower part has a few distinct triangular pleats and is carved with three layers; the longest one is draped down to the base, only exposing her pointed shoes on the flat base. The right forearm of the Virgin, the crown, as well as the Christ Child’s left arm and head, are missing.

### Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Hangvar Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Gotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Hangvar Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Gotlands Fornsal (inv. nr: D360)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 105 cm, W 53 cm, D 53 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Minor traces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>Johnny Roosval dated the Hangvar sculpture to the early fourteenth century in the 1918 inventory. (Aktarkivet, Hangvar Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>According to af Ugglas, the Hangvar Madonna should not be earlier than 1310 and he assigned the Hangvar Madonna and the Sproge Madonna to the same hand. He further claimed that the outward turned foot sole was a common and popular motif in France. Roosval gave the date 1290 to Hangvar Madonna. Eckerblad dated the Hangvar Madonna to 1294 to 1334 (+/- 20) by dendrochronology (3/344-345).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Alexandra Fried
**Description:** (n.s.p)

The Hejnum Madonna sits frontally on a throne, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child; the right upper arm is stretched out. The mantle covers both of the Virgin’s shoulders, draped down at the front, and the right side is brought over to the left side and underneath the Christ Child. The lower part of the body contains several layers, draped over the knees, the longest one covering everything except for the tips of her feet. The Christ Child sits on the Virgin’s left thigh, his legs awkwardly crossed. The Christ Child holds a book in the centre of his lap. Both figures are severely damaged, with no surviving facial features. The Virgin’s left hand is damaged, her right forearm and her crown are missing. Both the Christ Child’s arms and crown are missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Hejnum Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Gotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Hejnum Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Hejnum Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 128 cm, W 59 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Archival material:

Ester Wretman mentioned the Hejnum Madonna as an important work of art in the old Saxon style carried out by the ‘Hejnum master.’

(Aktarkivet, Hejnum Kyrka)

**Comments:**

I believe that the Hejnum Madonna's style could be linked to Germany in the thirteenth-century Salzwedeler Madonna as well as the Viöl Madonna. This indicated that there was a German influenced workshop on Gotland at the end of the thirteenth century (3/301).

**Literature:**

Description:
The Linde Madonna is seated on a throne with upward gables typical for Gotland. The Virgin’s left hand supports the Christ Child. Her right arm is stretched out and slightly raised (most likely restoration). The Virgin’s head is tilted to the right, the face carved with fine features. Her eyes are almond-shaped, with double eyelids. The head is covered by a veil, coils covering the sides and most of the finely carved hair. The mantle is draped over both shoulders, and is swept from the right side to the left, and underneath the Christ Child. The mantle is carved in softened geometric shapes on the lower body, with the traditional crinkled folds of drapery pleats at the base. There are more folds and creases on the left side, creating a bundle. The pointed feet protrude out from under the two-layered garment onto the rounded base. The Christ Child is seated high on the Virgin’s left knee, the left foot is crossed under him, and the right one resting against the Virgin’s knee. The back board of the bench is missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Linde Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Gotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Linde Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Statens Historiska Museum Inv. nr: 8084)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 122 cm, W 66 cm, D 42 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Minor traces of blue paint on the bottom of the dress as well as gilded hair and on the upper body of the dress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Linde Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B2 Group and has been ascribed to the Bunge School by previous scholars (2/156) and has been linked with the Över Selö, Östra Tommarp, Lojsta and Nousis, Tavastland and Hattula Madonnas (2/63, 3/380). Eckerblad dated the Linde Madonna to 1337-1349 +/- 20 (3/357).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional photographs</td>
<td>Detail of shirt and mantle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographs by Alexandra Fried</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Description:**

The Lojsta Madonna is seated on a bench with upward gables, typical of Gotland sculpture. The Virgin’s right arm is extended (surely a restoration) and the left hand supports the Christ Child. The veil is coil-shaped and braids follow the round face. The facial features are girlish and chubby, the eyes are almond-shaped, and the mouth and nose are narrowly carved. The mantle is draped over the Virgin’s shoulders and around the wide neck. It is swept from the right side to the left and underneath the Christ Child. There is a belt at the waist. The Virgin is wearing a two-layered garment, the shorter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Lojsta Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Gotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Lojsta Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Statens Historiska Museum (inv. nr:8084)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 129 cm, W 67.4 cm, D 45 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Traces of golden paint and a painted band on the bottom of the dress outlined by black.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Lojsta Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B2 Group and the general attitude by other scholars is that it could be a work from the Bunge master’s circle (2/156). Eckerblad dated the Lojsta Madonna to 1319 +/- 20 (3/357). There is a Bishop (see af Ugglas, 1915, 549) from the Lojsta Church which has also been considered as a sculpture by the Bunge master but the figures are very different in appearance and the drapery of the Bishop is more reminiscent of the Ignaberga Madonna.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Alexandra Fried
one ending mid-calf. The pointed feet stick out from underneath the dress onto a flat base. The Christ Child is seated high on the Virgin’s left thigh, the right foot exposing its sole. The body of Christ Child is turned towards the mother. The Virgin’s crown, the head of the Christ Child, as well as both of his arms are missing. The backboard to the bench is also lost.

Additional photograph

Photograph by: Alexandra Fried
### Description:
The Sproge Madonna is seated on a bench with upward arms typical of Gotland. The Madonna is wearing a veil with wavy hair underneath it, her left hand is supporting the half-standing Christ Child. The garment has three layers, and is full-length, carved in vertical-shaped pleats. Only one foot is visible on the base from underneath the dress. The Christ Child is situated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left foot exposes the sole. The sculpture has been attacked by woodworm and it is in very poor condition. Furthermore, the face of the Virgin has deliberately been cut off, and her right forearm is missing. Both of the Christ Child’s arms, neck and head are missing. The backboard to the bench is missing.

### Group: B1
| Sculpture:   | Sproge Madonna |
| Region:      | Gotland       |
| Provenance:  | Sproge Church |
| Current location: | Sproge Church |
| Dimensions: | H 103 cm, W 55 cm |
| Date:       | c. 1300-1325 |
| Material:   | Oak           |
| Polychromy: | None          |
| Archival material: | None |

### Comments:
Andersson and Jacobsson date, the Sproge Madonna to the early part of the fourteenth century (2/n193, 213) and although it is badly damaged it exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B1 Group.

### Literature:
Description:
The Sundre Madonna is seated frontally on a bench, her right upper arm is stretched out, and the left hand supporting the back of the standing Christ Child. A veil covers her head and braided hair. The veil falls down on the sides of her head. The face is flat, she has almond-shaped eyes and a thin carved mouth. The neck is short, and the neckline of the dress is round. The mantle covers both shoulders, and falls straight down on each side; the right side is draped over the Virgin’s knees. The pleats are plain, realistic looking, falling down to the flat rounded base, where the Virgin’s feet are visible. The Christ Child stands in profile on the Virgin’s left knee. Both arms, and the head of the Christ Child are missing, as well as the Virgin’s right arm and her crown. There is a large hole in the abdominal area of the Virgin and the base is damaged.

Photograph by: Alexandra Fried
The Tingstäde Madonna is seated frontally and in an upright position on a throne with a foliage crocketed backboard. A mantle covers both her shoulders and a veil is draped over the Virgin's wavy hair and on each side of her head. The mantle is draped under the Virgin's right arm, across her lap and underneath the Christ Child. A belt accentuates the Virgin's waist where the loose-fitting waist creates a large bulge. The dress is full-length and the feet of the Virgin are visible on the cracked base. Both of the Virgin’s forearms are missing (leaving large round holes). Most of the Christ Child, except for his lower body, which is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, is missing. The Virgin’s crown is missing. There are two round holes, symmetrically placed on the Virgin’s shoulders (front).
Description:
The Tofta Madonna is frontally seated on a bench with upward ridges. Both upper arms are stretched out and a mortice is exposed in the left upper arm, indicating that the Christ Child was originally situated on the Virgin’s right thigh. The veil covers head and hair, which is parted in the middle. The mantle is draped over both the Virgin’s shoulders, and the right side is draped over to her knees to the right. The lower part of the garment has two layers of fabric, carved in soft shapes that come down to the base where only the Virgin’s feet stick out. There is a hole in the middle of the Virgin’s chest; both forearms are missing, as well as the entire figure of the Christ Child. There is a hole on top of the Virgin’s knee, hinting that he was at one point attached there (most likely seated). Also, based on the position of the remains of the Madonna’s left arm it seems likely that the Christ Child sat there.

Archival material:
The sculpture was restored in 1991, when the fragmentary paint and polychromy was loose in several places. It was also restored in 1958 according to ATA records of Tofta Church. (Aktarkivet, Tofta Kyrka)

Comments:
The Tofta Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B4 Group, and has traditionally been linked to the Fröjel Madonna. In my opinion, the robe and dress is fairly similar to the Lid Madonna (3/384-386).

Literature:

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Träkumla Madonna is seated on a bench or throne, her left hand supporting the Christ Child, her right upper arm stretched out. A long veil covers the head, and coils of hair are visible on each side of her face. The neck is disproportionately long, and the mantle covers both shoulders and is swept from left to right and underneath the Christ Child. The robe is richly draped over the Virgin’s legs and is full-length; only the tips of the Virgin’s feet are visible on the base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, turned to the right in profile. The small figure in particular has been damaged: the left side of his head is cut off, as are both of his arms. There is a large round hole on the Virgin’s left shoulder and her right forearm is missing. Half of the Christ Child’s head, as well as both his arms and his feet are missing.

The Träkumla Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B2 Group.

Literature:
Roosval 1925, 130. af Ugglas 1915, 552 note 7.
Description:
The Västergarn Madonna is seated on a throne with upwards gables (the back board is missing), typical of Gotland. Her right upper arm is stretched forward, her left arm supporting the Christ Child. Both shoulders are covered by a mantle; the right side is draped over the knees and under the Child. The Virgin’s head is disproportionately large in comparison to her body. The veil is carved with an exaggerated quantity of coiled folds. The eyes are almond-shaped. The waist is very high and, right under the Virgin’s chest, and one end of her belt hangs down in the middle. The lower part of the dress and the mantle are carved with fine folds and flat, pointed feet rest on the flat base. The Christ Child half stands on the Virgin’s left knee and the left sole of his foot is exposed. Both figures wore crowns; the Virgin’s right forearm, and both of the Christ Child’s arms are missing.

Group: B2
Sculpture: Västergarn Madonna
Region: Gotland
Provenance: Västergarn Church
Current location: Gotlands Fornsal (inv. nr: DB912)
Dimensions: H 106cm, W 97cm, D 33 cm
Date: c. 1300-1325
Material: Oak
Polychromy: The dress shows traces of red.
Archival material:
Rune Norberg inventoried the Madonna in the 1919 inventory of the church. (Aktarkivet, Västergarn Kyrka)
Comments:
The Västergarn Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B2 Group. Af Ugglas classified the Västergarn Madonna as a rustically simplified representation of the Bunge master’s style (3/356). I believe that the Västergarn and Bro Madonnas are fairly similar (3/357).

Literature:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Visby Cathedral Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Gotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Visby Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Gotlands Fornsal (inv. nr: DC2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 151 cm, W 56 cm, D 53 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>The dress is painted gold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments:

Tångeberg suggested a direct influence from Saxon and Westphalian art (2/181). He asserted that this Madonna is typical of the Visby material in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, even though few examples have survived (2/185-186). Af Ugglas referred to the wooden Madonna in Gassicourt and another Galliac Madonna as sources of influence. Roosval continued this notion saying that the Madonna is a prime example of the majestically German-influenced transitional style, however, he dated the Visby Madonna too early, to the construction of the chancel at 1225 (3/296). I also link the Hablingbo Madonna and the Visby Madonna; believe that they belong to the same workshop and their dates should be considered around 1275, perhaps even a little bit earlier in order to allow influence on other sculptures. In my opinion they are the results of some of the fine workshops of Gotland which would become extremely prominent at the end of the thirteenth century (3/297).

Literature:

Description:
The Visby Madonna is seated on a cushioned throne. The right arm is stretched out; the left one is supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a veil, which once seems to have reached down to her shoulders (the figure is badly damaged and a head has been matched to the figure). The eyes are almond-shaped and are painted in amber and the Virgin is not smiling. The mantle falls down on her back and covers her left shoulder and it is swept from the left over to her right thigh. The waist is accentuated by a belt with a buckle, which creates a bulge. The dress is full-length and extends down to the base, where the Madonna sits on two symmetrical animals that signify evil. The Christ Child is placed high on the Virgin’s left side, held up by one of her hands. He holds a book in his left hand. The sculpture is severely damaged, the head of the Virgin has been broken off, there is a v-shaped crack in the centre of the Virgin’s chest, her right forearm and the object she is holding are replacements, there are multiple holes on the front of her dress and the base, the right arm of the Christ Child as well as both figures’ metal crowns are missing.

Additional photograph

Photograph by: Alexandra Fried
The Sällstorp Madonna is seated on a bench with her upper arm stretched out. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, resting his right foot on the Virgin’s left thigh. The mantle is draped over the Virgin’s shoulders and forms sweeping angled pleats. Her large ears are accentuated and her hair is braided and tucked behind them. The Virgin’s feet stick out underneath the dress onto the flat base. Both figures wear crowns (although damaged) the Virgin’s right forearm is missing, as well as both of the Christ Child’s arms and hands. The head and back are hollowed out, the head is tilted forward and slightly to the right. The crown is damaged and the right hand is missing.
Description:
The Skummeslöv Madonna is seated on a bench, right arm stretched out. Both shoulders are covered by a mantle, which is swept from the right to the left side, underneath the Christ Child. Her head is covered by a veil, both sides with coils. Her forehead is wide and flat with thin almond-shaped eyes, as well as a tiny mouth. The pleats are straight and fall down on the base, only exposing the large pointed feet. The right and left hands are missing, as are her crown and the Christ Child, except for a slab of wood on the Virgin’s left knee. It appears, as if, the Christ Child has been cut off from the Virgin’s knee.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Skummeslöv Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Halland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Skummeslöv Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Skummeslöv Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 95 cm, W 43 cm, D 30 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Literature:
Liepe 1995, 250.
The Stråvalla Madonna is seated on a bench, her right arm stretched out, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna is wearing a mantle; the left side covers more of the shoulder than the right side. The dress has a round neck and a belt accentuates the waist line. The dress and mantle are carved with vertical folds and creases. Two pointed shoes are visible on top of the round base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left side his left hand holding a book and the right one is raised in benediction. The right side of the mantle is broke off, so is the Virgin’s right forearm, and the head of Christ; all but one of the palmetto leaves in the Virgin’s crown are missing, also the tip of the Madonna’s nose has been knocked off.

Description:

The Stråvalla Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group but seems to be a later copy of its style.

Group: A3  
Sculpture: Stråvalla Madonna  
Region: Halland  
Provenance: Stråvalla Church  
Current location: Hallands Länsmuseum  
Dimensions: Unknown  
Date: 1300-1325  
Material: Alder  
Polychromy:  
Archival material: None  
Comments:  

Literature:  
Liepe 1995, 247 note 17.
Hälsingland
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Hög Madonna is seated on a bench, the right arm is stretched out (and is a restoration), the left hand holds up the mantle on the left hand side. The Madonna is wearing a large crown (replacement) and the mantle covers the back of the shoulders and it is draped under her right arm and across the lap and underneath the Christ Child. The dress is loose-fitting and the waist is accentuated by a belt. The mantle and dress are draped in v-shaped plates in front of the Virgin’s legs. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding an open book in his left hand. The sceptre and the Christ Child’s crown are missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Hög Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Hälsingland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Hög Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Hög Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 113 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Heavily restored</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Archival material:
The sculpture was mentioned in Erik Salvén’s inventory in 1913. The church received funds to conserve and restore the sculptures in the church in 1967 (when it most likely received new polychromy). It was then noted that the Madonna had been restored in the late Middle Ages. (Aktarkivet, Hög Kyrka)

Comments:
The stylistic influences, Cornell argued, came from England through Norway (Ådalsliden Madonna) (2/87). In my view, there is nothing stylistically to support Karlsson’s late date of the Hög Madonna, with so many of the comparisons evidently late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century and it probably came from a workshop in Västergötland (3/301-302).

Literature:
Härjedalen
### Description:

The Lillhärdal Madonna is seated on a throne, her right arm stretched out, and her left arm supporting the Christ Child. The dress has a rounded neck; the mantle covers more of the left shoulder than the right one. The mantle swirls under the right arm and under the Christ Child who is seated, frontally, on the Virgin’s left knee. The garment of the Christ Child forms backward s-shaped folds. The pleats on the lower part of the Virgin’s garment are v-shaped. The Virgin’s belt is nicely incorporated in the garment and falls down with the flow of the mantle.

### Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Lillhärdal Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Härjedalen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Lillhärdals Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Lillhärdals Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Pinewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Traces of red on the Virgin’s dress and also gilded hair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Lillhärdal Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group and it is normally linked to the English-Norwegian school and compared to the Kall Madonna. Andersson considered the Kall Madonna a copy of the Lillhärdal Madonna. (3/n42, 311).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Literature:

Description:
The Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her left hand supporting the body of the seated Christ Child. Her right hand (badly restored) and arm is resting on the Child's right shoulder. The Madonna’s mantle only covers her left shoulder; sliding down on the right side. The neckline is v-shaped and there are very few folds and pleats on the upper body. The sculpture is carved in a crude manner, only elaborating with some pleats on the lower part of the dress. Her wavy hair is tucked behind her ears, and her face looks young. The unusually tall crown is damaged, and the arms of the Christ Child are missing.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
**Description:** (n.s.p)

The Kall Madonna is seated on a throne; her right arm stretched forward, the left hand holding the left side of the Christ Child. The Madonna’s head is covered by a veil and underneath it is finely carved curly hair. The veil extends into a mantle and covers both of the Virgin’s shoulders and the mantle is draped under her arms. Her dress is carved with thin ridges that are full length, only exposing the tips of the pointed shoes. The Christ Child is seated frontally on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left foot resting on the Virgin’s left knee and his right leg is dangling between the Virgin’s knees. The Virgin’s crown, the right arm and left hand of the Christ Child are missing.

**Group:** A2

**Sculpture:** Kall Madonna

**Region:** Jämtland

**Provenance:** Kall Church

**Current location:** Kall Church

**Dimensions:** H 92

**Date:** c. 1275-1300

**Material:** Pine

**Polychromy:** The dress has traces of white and the mantle red.

**Archival material:** None

**Comments:**

Andersson and Karlsson related the sculpture to English or Norwegian influences (2/230, 3/310) The Kall Madonna, in my opinion, should not be directly related to the sculpture at Wells Cathedral but probably to a workshop in Norway or a travelling wood carver from there (3/312).

**Literature:**


Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Additional photographs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Photographs by: Lennart Karlsson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description: (n.s.p)

The Hässjö Madonna is seated on a bench designed after a Gotland model, her right upper arm stretched out, the left one (over sized) supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna is wearing a veil which is draped over her left shoulder. A mantle covers both shoulders and is swept from right to left and underneath the Christ Child. The garments are richly draped over the Virgin’s knees. Her feet are visible on the flat base. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding an orb in his left hand. The neck and head of Christ are missing. The Virgin’s head might be a restoration as the sculpture has been beheaded. The Virgin’s crown, the tip of her nose, and her right forearm are missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Hässjö Madonna is seated on a bench designed after a Gotland model, her right upper arm stretched out, the left one (over sized) supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna is wearing a veil which is draped over her left shoulder. A mantle covers both shoulders and is swept from right to left and underneath the Christ Child. The garments are richly draped over the Virgin’s knees. Her feet are visible on the flat base. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding an orb in his left hand. The neck and head of Christ are missing. The Virgin’s head might be a restoration as the sculpture has been beheaded. The Virgin’s crown, the tip of her nose, and her right forearm are missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Hässjö Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Medelpad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Hässjö Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Härnösands Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 138 cm, W 63 cm, D 22 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>The Virgin’s dress is red, green and white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Hässjö Madonna exhibits simplified characteristics ascribed to the B3 Group and is a good example of the power of influence that the B3 Group had. Af Ugglas, Cornell and Jacobsson described the Hässjö Madonna as a simpler version of the Ärentuna Madonna (3/380-381).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Photograph by: Samir Hussein
**Description:**

The Knista Madonna is seated on a bench with her right arms stretched out, holding the remains of a sceptre, her left hand supporting the back of the seated Christ Child. The head is covered by a veil and underneath is wavy hair. Her face has delicate features and her eyes are bulbous and wide open. She is wearing a robe which has a v-shaped opening over a U-shaped dress. The dress and mantle are full length and only the tips of her shoes are shown on top of the flat base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his right foot resting on her right thigh and his left leg is placed between her knees. The Christ Child is holding an orb in his left hand. The palmetto leaves on the crown are missing on both sculptures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>35</th>
<th>Group: A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture: Knista Madonna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: Närke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance: Knista Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location: Örebro Länsmuseum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions: H 135 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: c. 1250-1275</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material: Oak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy: None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the Örebro Länsmuseum, the damaged surface tells us that the sculpture has been stored outside at some point. (Aktarkivet, Knista Kyrka)

**Comment:**

According to Karregård in the Örebro Länsmuseum, the Knista Madonna could be from a local workshop, most likely from the end of the 13th century. The Virgin’s frontal position is a feature surviving from the Romanesque era, though the soft folds of her dress enhancing the shape of her body recall the characteristics of the early Gothic period (3/n7, 265). The Knista Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and is the key work around which I have grouped the others because of its stylistic criteria (3/253) The sculpture is very close to the headless Madonna from Edestad-, (3/265-266) Sköldinge, (3/266), Näinge, Stala, (3/267), Gylle, and Munkarp (3/269).

**Literature:**


Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Öland

Borgholm
Högrum (A1)
Långlöt (B3)
Runsten (B3)
The Högsrum Madonna is seated in an upright position on a throne. The sculpture has been badly damaged and only the bare remains of the figure have survived. The Madonna is seated frontally with both arms stretched forward and the Christ Child was most likely seated in the centre of the Virgin’s lap. The robe has been swept over her left arm and flows down on that. There is a huge round hole in the Virgin’s lap. It is also placed in a tabernacle, but the pieces do not belong together, since the tabernacle seems to be from a much later date (the canopy looks as if it is a replacement).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>36</th>
<th>Group: A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture: Högsrum Madonna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: Öland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance: Högsrum Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location: Statens Historiska Museum (inv. nr: 19663)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions: H 122 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: c. 1250-1275</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material: Alder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy: None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material: None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments: The Högsrum Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 but is too damaged to assess further.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature: Andersson 1975, 38.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson

Description:
The Högsrum Madonna is seated in an upright position on a throne. The sculpture has been badly damaged and only the bare remains of the figure have survived. The Madonna is seated frontally with both arms stretched forward and the Christ Child was most likely seated in the centre of the Virgin’s lap. The robe has been swept over her left arm and flows down on that. There is a huge round hole in the Virgin’s lap. It is also placed in a tabernacle, but the pieces do not belong together, since the tabernacle seems to be from a much later date (the canopy looks as if it is a replacement).
Description:
The Långlöt Madonna is seated on a cushioned throne, her right arm is stretched forward, and the left hand is supporting the back of the standing Christ Child. The face of the Virgin is oval, narrow, and the neck long and thin. The Virgin seems elongated and stretched forward. The veil is swept across the Virgin’s chest and onto the left shoulder and extends down over the shoulders. The mantle also follows an intricate but elegant drapery over the Virgin’s lap. The Child is standing on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding her veil with his right hand and his face is turned away from the Virgin. Both crowns are missing, as are the Virgin’s forearm, the head and the left of the Christ Child’s arms.
| Description: | The Runsten Madonna is seated on a cushioned throne, her upper right arm stretched forward, the left one supporting the body of the standing Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a veil which extends down over her shoulders and a mantle is covering both shoulders and is swept under her right arm and between her legs. A belt accentuates the thick waistline. The dress is full-length and is draped in swirling pleats in front of the Virgin’s legs. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s right thigh wearing a full-length garment. The head of the Christ Child, both his arms, the right forearm of the Virgin, and both crowns are missing. |
| Group: | B3 |
| Sculpture: | Runsten Madonna |
| Region: | Öland |
| Provenance: | Runsten Church |
| Current location: | Runsten Church |
| Dimensions: | H 125 cm, W 52 cm |
| Date: | c. 1325-1350 |
| Material: | Oak |
| Polychromy: | None |
| Archival material: | The sculpture was mentioned in an inventory performed by Anders Billiow in 1921 who believed the sculpture was of French origin. (Aktarkivet, Runsten Kyrka) |
| Comments: | The Runsten Madonna and Långlöt Madonna on Öland showed a link to the Gotland workshops, according to Andersson (2/160) and the Runsten Madonna exhibits the characteristics of the B3 group. In my opinion the Runsten Madonna came from a workshop on Gotland, heavily influenced by German craftsmen (3/374-375). |
The Grebo Madonna is seated on a throne, her right arm held to the body and the left one held out with the palm extended. The figure is wearing a veil and underneath it there is tight curly hair. Her face is that of a grown woman and her eyes are almond-shaped and her cheeks full, her nose straight and with a pouting lower lip. The mantle is draped over both the Virgin’s shoulders and down her sides. The dress has a round neck and a belt with a buckle accentuates the thick waistline. The lower part of the dress has u-shaped ridges between the Virgin’s knees. The Virgin is barefooted (the only example of a barefooted Virgin in Sweden to my knowledge.) The feet are placed on the flat base. The Christ Child is missing altogether (a separate piece) but it seems the figure was originally placed on the Virgin’s left side (the Virgin’s hand once supported the Christ Child). The Virgin’s crown and right forearm are missing.
The Horn Madonna is seated on a throne with upward gables (seemingly in the manner of a Gotland throne), the right upper arm is stretched forward and the left one is supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin has wavy hair and a mantle covers both shoulders. The mantle is swept from the right side and across to the left side and underneath the Christ Child. The mantle is draped diagonally in front of the Virgin’s legs and two pointed shoes stick out from underneath the full-length dress. The Christ Child stands on the Virgin’s left thigh. Both figures’ crowns, the Virgin’s right forearm, and both the Christ Child’s arms are missing.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
<th>B3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Horn Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Östergötland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Horn Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Horn Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 106 cm, W 46 cm, D 32 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Horn Madonna exhibits simplified characteristics ascribed to the B3 Group and could be a copy of the Ukna Madonna (3/374-375).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Orlunda Madonna is seated on a throne; her right arm stretched forward, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin’s hair is wavy and extends down her back. She is wearing a robe which is elegantly draped over her shoulders and swept under the Christ Child. The fabric is draped in long diagonal folds and the dress, which has a round neck, is also draped with long vertical pleats. Two pointed shoes stick out from underneath the full-length dress. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left hand holding an orb, and his right hand is raised in benediction. Both figures have been crowned and the Virgin’s right forearm is also missing.

| Description: |
| The Orlunda Madonna is seated on a throne; her right arm stretched forward, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin’s hair is wavy and extends down her back. She is wearing a robe which is elegantly draped over her shoulders and swept under the Christ Child. The fabric is draped in long diagonal folds and the dress, which has a round neck, is also draped with long vertical pleats. Two pointed shoes stick out from underneath the full-length dress. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left hand holding an orb, and his right hand is raised in benediction. Both figures have been crowned and the Virgin’s right forearm is also missing. |
| Description: |
| The Svinhult Madonna is seated on a throne, and her right forearm is stretched forward. The arm is placed very low and is disproportionately in relation to the rest of the body. The left hand is supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a crown. The face has a serious expression. Her dress has a round neckline and a mantle covers both her shoulders. It moves from the right side underneath her arm, across the lap and underneath the Christ Child. The dress is full-length and only the pointed shoes are visible from underneath on the rounded base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding a book in his left hand. The Virgin’s forearm is a replacement, the right arm of the Christ Child and his neck and head are missing. | Group: | A3 |
| Sculpture: | Svinhult Madonna |
| Region: | Östergötland |
| Provenance: | Svinhult Church |
| Current location: | Svinhult Church |
| Dimensions: | H 104 cm |
| Date: | c. 1275-1300 |
| Material: | Oak |
| Polychromy: | None |
| Archival material: | None |
| Comments: | The Svinhult Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group and it is a crude copy of the Naverstad Madonna (or of this type) (3/301). |

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Description:
The Västra Skrukeby Madonna is seated on a cushioned throne, her right upper arm stretched forward, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna is wearing a crown with a band around it, and a veil which extends down on her shoulders and becomes the mantle which is draped over her back and over her left shoulder, and on the right side it is draped under her arm and between her legs. The dress has a round neckline and then there is another collar which is shaped like half-moon across the Virgin’s chest. The high waist is accentuated by a belt with a buckle. The folds and pleats on the lower body appear geometrical but turn into flowing pleats at the base where only the Virgin’s tiny left foot sticks out. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left hand holding a book. The Virgin’s right forearm, two of the points on the Christ Child’s crown and his right arm are missing.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Additional photographs

Photograph by Alexandra Fried
### Description:
The Väversunda Madonna is seated on an elaborate throne (seemingly modelled after a Gotland throne), of an architectural form. The Virgin sits frontally, with the Christ Child seated on her left knee. In her right hand (a replacement) she is holding a flower and her left hand supports the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin’s hair is parted in the middle and braided; the veil hangs down on the sides of her head with a coil-like shape. The mantle covers both her shoulders, and is swept from the right side, and across the Virgin’s lap and underneath the Child. The pleats are sparse and wide, and the bottom part of the garment has some vertical pleats. The Virgin’s feet stick out underneath a flat base. The Christ Child is propped up against the Virgin’s chest and both his feet are placed on top the Virgin’s lap. There are recesses for dowels at the front of the base. Both crowns and the Christ Child’s right arm are missing.

### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Group:</strong></th>
<th>B1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sculpture:</strong></td>
<td>Väversunda Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region:</strong></td>
<td>Östergötland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance:</strong></td>
<td>Väversunda Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Current location:</strong></td>
<td>Statens Historiska Museum (inv. nr: 12897)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions:</strong></td>
<td>H 65 cm, W 32.5 cm, D 30.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material:</strong></td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polychromy:</strong></td>
<td>Minor traces of gold and light blue polychrome around the hem of the robe and dress</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Archival material:**
The sculpture was mentioned in the church’s inventory carried out by Anders Billow in 1921. (Aktarkivet, Väversunda Kyrka)

**Comments:**
According to Andersson, the Väversunda Madonna and the Lohärad Madonna represented the Lübeck style which was present in various Swedish locations at the turn of the century (thirteenth century) (2/147). Jacobsson linked the Väversunda and Björke Madonnas (2/202). The Väversunda Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B1 Group.

**Literature:**
The Vinnerstad Madonna is seated on a throne, (seemingly modelled after a Gotland throne) her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a crown and a veil which extends down over her shoulders. The face of the Virgin has huge round bulbous eyes, a straight nose and tiny mouth with a smile. The mantle is draped in broad pleats, covers both her shoulders and falls straight down, under her arm and between her legs. The dress is full-length and is carved like a fan down at the base where only the tips of her feet stick out. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, slightly turned to the right, both feet dangling between the Virgin’s legs. The points of the Virgin’s crown, her right forearm, the Christ Child’s left forearm and his entire right arm are missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Vinnerstad Madonna is seated on a throne, (seemingly modelled after a Gotland throne) her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a crown and a veil which extends down over her shoulders. The face of the Virgin has huge round bulbous eyes, a straight nose and tiny mouth with a smile. The mantle is draped in broad pleats, covers both her shoulders and falls straight down, under her arm and between her legs. The dress is full-length and is carved like a fan down at the base where only the tips of her feet stick out. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, slightly turned to the right, both feet dangling between the Virgin’s legs. The points of the Virgin’s crown, her right forearm, the Christ Child’s left forearm and his entire right arm are missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Description:

The Vist Madonna is seated on a throne: her right arm is stretched forward, her left hand is holding an orb. The mantle is draped over her shoulders, and under her right arm, where is it is draped across her lap and underneath the Christ Child. The high waist of the Madonna is accentuated by a girdle. The pointed shoes stick out from under the full-length dress. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee in a frontal position, both feet placed on top of the Virgin’s thighs and he holds a round object in his left hand. The sculpture has been restored and updated; the Virgin’s head and hairstyle do not seem to be original. The Christ Child’s left arm is missing and both the crowns of the figures are also missing.

### Group:

| B1 |

### Sculpture:

Vist Madonna

### Region:

Östergötland

### Provenance:

Vist Church

### Current location:

Vist Church

### Dimensions:

H 120 cm, W 54 cm, D 56 cm

### Date:

c. 1300-1325 with later editions in the Fourteenth or Fifteenth century

### Material:

Alder

### Polychromy:

The dress has traces of gold, red and green.

### Archival material:

None

### Comments:

The Vist Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B1 Group and is not completely unlike the Vagnhårad Madonna.

### Literature:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Brösarp Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Skåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Brösarp Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>LUHM (inv nr: 167 08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 106 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Traces</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Archival material:
Bertil Wester mentioned that the sculpture was deposited in the LUHM in his 1927 inventory of the Brösarp Church. (Aktarkivet, Brösarp Kyrka)

Comments:
The Brösarp Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A1 Group and has a fairly similar relative in the Östra Vram Madonna, also from Skåne (3/262, 273). The Brösarp Madonna also has two relatives in the neighbouring region Småland, the Drev and Hyssna Madonnas (3/278).

Karlsson described the sculpture as being of a mid-thirteenth century provincial type (3/n15, 276) although af Ugglas had dated the sculpture to around 1300 (3/n12, 274).

Liepe grouped the Brösarp and Kiaby Madonnas together. Nordman linked the Eljaröd, Orlunda, Sällstorp, Kiaby, Östra Vram, Brösarp, Munkarp, Ravlunda, Stenestad and Selsö Madonnas together despite the differences in physical traits (3/n11, 271).

Literature:
**Description:**

The Brösarp Madonna is seated on a bench with her right upper arm stretched out (although the lower arm is broken off) and her left arm supporting the back of the Christ Child. The veil is connected with the mantle and is draped over her shoulders. The neckline is rounded and has a broad hem, the mantle is carved with a y-shaped opening and also shows a wide hem band. The folds and pleats are draped in thin vertical pleats. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, his left foot dangling between the Virgin’s knees and the right one placed on top of the Virgin’s right thigh. The Christ Child is holding a round object in his left hand and his right hand is raised in Benediction. Both figures have been crowned and only the inner structures designed for the crowns to fit around are still present. There is a large crack between the Virgin’s feet and the sculpture is in poor condition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Eljaröd Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Skåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Eljaröd Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>LUHM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 138 cm, W 25 cm, D 25 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>The face has some white pigment and the dress bears remains of red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>In an inventory of 1927 it was mentioned that the sculpture was deposited in the LUHM by Bertil Wester in 1926. (Aktarkivet, Eljaröd Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Eljaröd Madonna, another Madonna from Skåne which belongs to the same group should be associated with south and mid-west Madonnas. The body is fairly close to the Brösarp Madonna and the Östra Vram Madonna. The Eljaröd Madonna’s head is a later addition and could easily be c. 1300 (3/276). Nordman correctly assessed the Eljaröd Madonna as belonging to the same group, although different in its physical traits, as the Madonnas from Orlnuda, Sällstorp, Kiaby, Östra Vram, Brösarp, Munkarp, Ravlunda, Stenestad and Selsö and I have extended this grouping with approximately 30 more sculptures (3/n14, 274).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Description:
The Eljaröd Madonna’s left hand supports the body of the Christ Child; the right arm is
stretched forward, holding a sceptre, which is positioned on her knee. A veil covers the round shape of the top of the Virgin’s head and underneath hides curly hair. The mantle covers both shoulders and forms a v-shaped closing over the round-necked dress. The dress and mantle flow down in thin ridges to the base of the sculpture. The Christ Child holds a round object in his left hand and his right hand is raised in benediction. Both crowns are missing as are the forward points of the Virgin’s shoes.
### Description:

The Gylle Madonna is seated on a bench, her right arm stretched out holding a sceptre which rests on her right thigh. The Virgin’s hair is carved in a wavy fashion, tucked behind her large ears. The figure sits rigidly with her mantle falling strictly in vertical lines. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his right foot resting on the Virgin’s left thigh and his left leg dangling between the Virgin’s knees. The dress and mantle of the Virgin are full length and only the Virgin’s pointed shoes project onto the rounded and flat base. The sculpture appears to have been restored and crudely painted. The head and neck of the Christ Child (which were separate pieces) as well as the top of the Virgin’s crown are missing.

### Group: A1

**Sculpture:** Gylle Madonna  
**Region:** Skåne  
**Provenance:** Gylle Church  
**Current location:** LUHM (inv. nr: 16074)  
**Dimensions:** H 86 cm, W 28 cm, D 21 cm  
**Date:** c. 1250-1275  
**Material:** Oak  
**Polychromy:** The robe is painted green.  
**Archival material:** None  

### Comments:

The Gylle Madonna should be thought of as a A1 Madonna and resembles the Munkarp, Knista, and Edestad Madonnas (3/269).

### Literature:


---

Photograph by: Bengt Almgren
The Ignaberga Madonna is seated on a bench, her left hand supporting the back of the Christ Child, her right hand holding an orb or an apple. The figure has long braids that fall down on her back, and the base of the crown remains. The mantle is draped over both shoulders and the dress is v-necked. The eyes are bulbous and large, lacking the double eyelids. The Christ Child sits on the Virgin’s left thigh, one of his feet placed on the opposite thigh. His right hand is touching the same round object as the Virgin and he is clamping a cross to his chest with his left hand. Both crowns are missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Ignaberga Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A1 and some from the B Group. It seems to be carved after a more old-fashioned Madonna than it is and I am referring to the way that the mantle is draped as well as the drapery over the Virgin’s legs. The Bishop from Lojsta displays a similar design.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Group: A3 |
| Sculpture: Ignaberga Madonna |
| Region: Skåne |
| Provenance: Ignaberga Church |
| Current location: LUHM |
| Dimensions: H 91 cm, W 40 cm, D 32 cm |
| Date: c. 1300-1325 |
| Material: Oak |
| Polychromy: There are traces of white polychromy on the chest of the Virgin’s dress. |
| Archival material: None |

| Literature: |

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Kiaby Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Skåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Kiaby Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Kiaby Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 110 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Traces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>Miriam Andersson mentioned the sculpture in her inventory of the Kiaby Church in 1926. (Aktarkivet, Kiaby Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments:**

The Kiaby Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and I assign it to the same sculptor or at least to the same workshop as the Berga Madonna which is of slightly better quality (3/278). Liepe wrote that the reciprocal variation of the Madonnas can be used as a starting point for chronological differentiation, for example, the hieratic frontality in the Kiaby Madonna. Liepe deliberated that it could be dated to the first part of the 13th century, but concluded it more likely to the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century. Tångeberg's technical explanation stated that the head of the Christ Child is attached by a wooden dowel and that other Madonnas like this are the (later) Ignaberga, Ravlunda and Selsö Madonnas. Here all these works seem to be products of the South Scandinavian (Danish) workshops (3/n15, 276).

**Literature:**


Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Description:
The Kiaby Madonna is seated on a bench, right upper arm stretched out, and the left one supporting the back of the Christ Child. Her hair is wavy and falls down on her back. The shoulders are covered by a robe which forms a v-shape at the front. The dress is full length and is draped onto the base of the sculpture only showing the feet of the Virgin. The eyes of the Virgin are huge and round. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, both feet resting on the Virgin’s opposite thigh. The Child’s head is a separate piece and is made of a 16 cm ‘dowel.’ Both right hands are missing.
Description:
The Munkarp Madonna is seated on a bench with broken off upward gables, similar to those common on Gotland, her left hand supporting the back of the Christ Child who is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh. Her right upper arm is stretched out. The Virgin’s hair is wavy. The eyes are almond-shaped and she is smiling with her tiny mouth. Her dress has a round neck and the robe is draped over the shoulders and carved with perpendicular ridges at the front creating a V-shaped opening. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, leaning back against the body of the Virgin. Both figures are severely damaged and the forearm and the crown of the Virgin are missing. The small Christ figure has its right arm missing and much of the crown is missing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Östra Tommarp Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Skåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Östra Tommarp Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>LUHM (inv. nr: 15919)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 96 cm, W 42 cm, D 39 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>The Madonna was mentioned in G. Gustafsson’s inventory of Östra Tommarp Church in 1925. (Aktarkivet, Östra Tommarp Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments:**
The Östra Tommarp Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B3 Group and Wåhlin described it as being from a Gotland workshop after French influences (2/99). Andersson carefully viewed the Östra Tommarp Madonna as Hanseatic Madonna. Wentzel had already gone a step further and placed the Madonna in a Lübeck workshop (at least related to Lübeck). Liepe observed that the Madonna was unlike any sculpture from Skåne and said it could not be compared with the sculpture from Gotland either. She further wrote that there is no question about the fact that the Östra Tommarp Madonna must have come from the other side of the Baltic Sea. Karlsson also believed that the figure was imported. Jacobsson dated the Östra Tommarp to 1330 (3/367-369).

**Literature:**

Photograph by: Bengt Almgren
The Östra Tommarp Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench. Curly hair hides underneath the veil which is carved with coil-shaped folds, at the sides over her waves of hair. The face of the Madonna is of a young girl who is smiling. The eyes are almond-shaped. The dress has a v-neck and the mantle covers both of her shoulders. The sculpture is severely damaged and most of the central part of the sculpture is missing, as is most of the Christ Child (only one foot survives indicating that the figure has been seated on the Virgin’s left knee). The sculpture is now supported by an iron structure which follows the form of the Madonna’s body. Despite its tragic state, the Östra Tommarp was once a very high quality statue.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Östra Vram Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Skåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Östra Vram Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Östra Vram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 177 cm (tabernacle), H 119 cm (Madonna), W 57 cm, D 55 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1250-1275 (Madonna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>The robe and dress are painted in gold and blue.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Archival material:**
The tabernacle was dated to 1310 (with a margin of +/- 20 years) in a dendrochronological examination performed by Thomas Bartholin. The figure and tabernacle were mentioned in the 1926 inventory, but it had already been moved to the LUHM. (Aktarkivet, Östra Vram Kyrka)

**Comments:**
The Östra Vram Madonna which type is traditionally dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century was considered by Karlsson (after Eckerblad's dendrochronological examination, where only the tabernacle was considered) to be from the fourteenth century (2/234). Af Ugglas wanted to date this sculpture to c. 1300 but I suggest that it should be placed c.1275 by comparison with the Madonnas, which we can assign to c.1250-75 and its closest relative is the Brösarp Madonna (3/273-274).

**Literature:**

Photograph by Lennart Karlsson
Description:
The Östra Vram Madonna is seated on a bench, her right arm is stretched out holding a sceptre (replacement), and the left one is supporting the body of the Christ Child. The hair of the Virgin is wavy on the sides of her head and is covered by a veil which extends down on her back. The Virgin is wearing a large golden crown (most likely a replacement), a dress with around neckline and a robe covers both her shoulders, creating a v-shape on the chest. The robe is draped in long sweeping drapery, which is placed between the legs of the Virgin. The robe reaches almost down to the base, only exposing a thin line of the dress and the pointed shoes on the base.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Perstorp Madonna is seated on a bench, with her right upper arm stretched out and the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The small figure is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left hand holding an orb, the remains of his feet resting on the Virgin’s right thigh. The hair is styled in braids. The neck of the dress is round and the front is carved with thin, rounded, vertical ridges. The mantle is draped over her shoulders and down apart, to the sides. The sculpture is damaged and there is a large portion missing from the centre, as well as the Virgin’s left shoulder. The top part of the Virgin’s head, both crowns and the Virgin’s right forearm are missing. The feet are barely visible on the base because the wood has suffered from insect attack.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Perstorp Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Skåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Perstorp Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>LUHM (inv. nr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 114 cm, W 42 cm, D 28 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300 - 1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Perstorp Madonna exhibits characteristics ascribed to the A and B Groups and the face is uncommonly sophisticated for it to be an A1 or an A2 sculpture.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Bengt Almgren
The Räng Madonna is seated on a throne, with her left arm supporting the body of the Christ Child; her right arm is stretched out and the hand and forearm have been lost. The Virgin’s hair is braided and falls down on either side of her head. The mantle covers more of the left shoulder and barely the right one. The dress has a rounded neck with a wide band and the pleats on the upper body are thin and vertical. The lower part has u-shaped pleats, with two vertical creases in the middle. Her shoes project onto base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee. The Christ Child’s right arm is raised in benediction, and the pleats on his garment are more controlled than the pleats on the Virgin’s dress. The Christ Child’s left hand and head are missing.

| Description: |
| The Räng Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group. |

| Group: | A2 |
| Sculpture: | Räng Madonna |
| Region: | Skåne |
| Provenance: | Räng Church |
| Current location: | LUHM (Inv. nr: 18638) |
| Dimensions: | H 126 cm |
| Date: | c. 1275-1300 |
| Material: | Oak |
| Polychromy: | None |
| Archival material: | None |

| Literature: |

Photograph by: Bengt Almgren
Description:
The Ravlunda Madonna is seated on a bench, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child, her right arm stretched out. The object which was in her hand (a sceptre) is missing. Her hair is carved in a wavy fashion tucked behind her large ears. Her eyes are almond-shaped with double eyelids and her mouth smiling. The neck of her dress is round and the mantle is draped over her shoulders and falls down without any distinct pleats or folds. The front pleats form a v-shaped closing and the robe is full length. The robe turns into a backwards j-curve at the lower part of the central part of the dress. The pointed shoes project onto the base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, placing his right foot on the Virgin’s left thigh and his right foot dangling between the Virgin’s knees. The base for the crown has two vertical holes (approximately 1 cm in diameter each). The left arm, head and neck of the Christ Child are missing as well as both crowns, and the object which the Virgin once held in her hand.

Group: A1
Sculpture: Ravlunda Madonna
Region: Skåne
Provenance: Ravlunda Church
Current location: LUHM (inv. nr: 16709)
Dimensions: H 111, 5 cm, W 47 cm, D 26 cm
Date: c. 1275-1300
Material: Oak
Polychromy: None
Archival material: None
Comments: Jörn Barfod linked the Ravlunda with the Danish Selsö Madonna. Liepe also argued that the Ravlunda Madonna appeared more Danish in this context but the differences are minimal and it exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 (3/270-271).

Photograph by: Bengt Almgren

Literature:
The Silvåkra Madonna is seated on a cushioned throne; her right arm is stretched out holding the remains of a sceptre; the left one supports the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna once wore a crown (wooden or other material) and has plaited hair on the sides of her head. Both shoulders are covered by a mantle pulled back, and the dress underneath it has a round neckline and wide band. The dress has long vertical pleats and is full-length only exposing the tips of the Madonna’s feet. The Christ Child is seated (slightly elevated) on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left hand is holding an orb and the right hand is raised in benediction. Both figures were most likely originally crowned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Silvåkra Madonna is seated on a cushioned throne; her right arm is stretched out holding the remains of a sceptre; the left one supports the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna once wore a crown (wooden or other material) and has plaited hair on the sides of her head. Both shoulders are covered by a mantle pulled back, and the dress underneath it has a round neckline and wide band. The dress has long vertical pleats and is full-length only exposing the tips of the Madonna’s feet. The Christ Child is seated (slightly elevated) on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left hand is holding an orb and the right hand is raised in benediction. Both figures were most likely originally crowned.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Silvåkra Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Skåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Silvåkra Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Silvåkra Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 88 cm, W 33.5 cm, D 20 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Silvåkra Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A1 but also the B groups.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson |
The Simlinge Madonna is seated on a bench, the right hand holding a sceptre, which rests on her right knee. Her left hand supports the body of the Christ Child, seated on the Virgin’s left knee. The head was once crowned but only the remains of a crown have survived; underneath it is a veil which covers the curly hair. The neck-line is round and very high, and the shoulders are covered by a robe, which forms a v-shape closing in the front. The sculpture is very badly damaged and the entire right arm of the Virgin is missing; there is also a large hole on the right side, at waist level. Part of the Christ Child is missing, in particular his right arm and his head.

| Description: |
| The Simlinge Madonna is seated on a bench, the right hand holding a sceptre, which rests on her right knee. Her left hand supports the body of the Christ Child, seated on the Virgin’s left knee. The head was once crowned but only the remains of a crown have survived; underneath it is a veil which covers the curly hair. The neck-line is round and very high, and the shoulders are covered by a robe, which forms a v-shape closing in the front. The sculpture is very badly damaged and the entire right arm of the Virgin is missing; there is also a large hole on the right side, at waist level. Part of the Christ Child is missing, in particular his right arm and his head. |

| Group: A1 |
| Sculpture: Simlinge Madonna |
| Region: Skåne |
| Provenance: Simlinge Church |
| Current location: LUHM (inv nr: 15920) |
| Dimensions: H 112 cm |
| Date: c. 1250-1275 |
| Material: Oak |
| Polychromy: None |
| Archival material: None |
| Comments: The Simlinge Madonna exhibits the characteristics to the A1 Group. |

| Literature: |
| Liepe 1995, 334. Wählin 1921, 120. |

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
### Description:
The Stenestad Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right arm extended, the sceptre missing. Her right hand is supporting the body of the Christ Child. Her large and protruding ears have hair tucked behind them and her facial features are unusually large and lack delicacy. The neck line of the dress is round with a broad band around the neck. The mantle falls down in vertical ridges, and over the arms falls in long and sweeping folds. The bottom of the mantle has plain folds with only a few u-shaped pleats on the sides. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin's left knee, with his left hand holding an orb and his right hand raised in benediction. There is a large crack through the head of the Virgin; both crowns are missing as well as the object which the Virgin once held in her right hand.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group:</strong></td>
<td>A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sculpture:</strong></td>
<td>Stenestad Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region:</strong></td>
<td>Skåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance:</strong></td>
<td>Stenestad Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Current location:</strong></td>
<td>SHM (inv.nr. 253000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions:</strong></td>
<td>H 134 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>c. 1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material:</strong></td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polychromy:</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Archival material:</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments:**
Andersson considered that the Stenestad was one of the most important pieces of the South Scandinavian School and that it had many sisters within the diocese. Karlsson describes the sculpture as being close to the Brösarp Madonna, but not as provincial, and dated it to the mid- thirteenth century (3/n15, 276). The Stenestad Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and it should, despite qualitative superiority, be placed with the Brösarp and the Östra Vram Madonnas (3/276).

**Literature:**

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Additional photographs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="https://example.com/image1" alt="Image of a wooden statue depicting a figure holding a child." /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="https://example.com/image2" alt="Image of a close-up of the figure's face." /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photographs by Lennart Karlsson
The Berga Madonna is seated on a throne, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child, the right arm is stretched out but the hand is lost. The robe forms a v-shaped closing at the front, down to the waist, where the garment is draped over the right arm, and falls between the Virgin’s legs. The robe below the waist falls down in thin vertical pleats. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, both feet resting on her right knee. The Christ Child has protruding ears, and a boyish face. There is a crack in the face of the Virgin, her right forearm is missing, as are both arms of the Christ Child as well as both figures’ crowns.
Description: (n.s.p)

The Dädesjö Madonna is seated on a throne, her left arm stretched out, the right one supporting the Christ Child who is seated on her right knee. The Virgin is wearing a veil which extends onto her shoulders over the mantle and her thin hair is visible underneath. The Madonna wears a mantle which covers both her shoulders and her dress has a round neck. There is a recess for a brooch (this was filled with glass, metal, wood or gesso) just below the neck line and there is also a perfectly round hole in the same height as the Virgin’s ankles (maybe for a decoration in the design of the dress?). There is a broad belt which accentuates the waistline. The mantle curves back left under left arm and is draped in v-shapes in front of the knees and ends by the Virgin’s ankles. The dress is full-length and only exposes the tips of the shoes on the round base. The remains of a Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s right hand side and is slightly elevated. The Christ Child is holding a book in his left hand. The sculpture is very damaged and both the Virgin’s forearms, her crown, her nose, and much of the Christ Child are missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Dädesjö Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Småland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Dädesjö Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Dädesjö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 130 cm, W 45cm, D 35 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1325-1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>Eckerblad dated the bodies of the Dädesjö Madonna 1251-1261 respectively by dendrochronology but I find them very difficult to accept. He claimed that the wood of the Dädesjö Madonnas is from Småland (3/332).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Literature:

Ullén, 1969.
The Dörarp Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right arm stretched out, the left one supporting the side of the standing Christ child. The Madonna is wearing a veil and a crown; her shoulders are covered by a mantle which is swept from the right over to her left thigh on which the Christ Child is standing. The mantle is full-length and so is the dress which has a round neck line with a thin band at the neck. The waistline is accentuated by a substantial belt, which has a long flap hanging down. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s right knee, wearing the same type of costume. Both of the Christ Child’s arms and the Virgin’s right forearm are missing. The head of the Christ Child is a replacement.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Drev Madonna is seated frontally on a chair with the Christ Child on her left knee. The Virgin’s wavy hair falls down on her shoulders and is partly covered by a veil. The mantle is plainly draped over her shoulders in wide pleats and a wide v-shaped front. The neck of the dress is round. The Christ is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, his right arm is raised in benediction against the mother’s chest. Both his feet are placed on top of the mantle over the Virgin’s right thigh. The sculpture is severely damaged. The face is partly missing, her right forearm and the tip of her shoes are also missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Drev Madonna is seated frontally on a chair with the Christ Child on her left knee. The Virgin’s wavy hair falls down on her shoulders and is partly covered by a veil. The mantle is plainly draped over her shoulders in wide pleats and a wide v-shaped front. The neck of the dress is round. The Christ is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, his right arm is raised in benediction against the mother’s chest. Both his feet are placed on top of the mantle over the Virgin’s right thigh. The sculpture is severely damaged. The face is partly missing, her right forearm and the tip of her shoes are also missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Drev Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Småland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Drev Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Drev Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 92 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>The sculpture is mentioned in P.G. Vejde’s inventory of the Old Drev Church from 1912. The sculpture has very little paint left. The sculpture was restored and cleaned in 2003 by Herman Andersson. (Aktarkivet, Drev Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Drev Madonna is of A1 characteristics and is related and has several relatives both from the South Scandinavian school and from the mid-west. Ullén described the Drev Madonna as “a provincial sculpture probably from the mid thirteenth century,” (3/278). Although the sculpture is very crude, I think that the sculpture belongs closer to 1275.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Description:
The Edshult Madonna Lactans is seated on a throne, her right arm and hand touching the face of the Child who is feeding from her exposed left breast. Her mantle covers both her shoulders and falls down on both sides of her body. The Virgin is crowned and her hair is partly covered by a veil, which appears to be draped over her shoulders. Her waist is accentuated by a beautiful belt, decorated with flowers (Carnations?). The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, his left hand holding onto the Virgin’s...
right arm. His legs are crossed and one of his soles projects, his hair is delicately carved in curls. The bottom part of the Virgin’s dress is more plain than the upper part, mantle and dress falls into volutes and swirls around her legs and create a v-shape between her knees. The figure is also trampling a dragon. Only traces of pigment have survived on the sculpture, the inside of the mantle is dark red and the dress has been painted in a deep blue hue, and some gilding has remained in several places.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Additional photographs:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Photographs by: Alexandra Fried
The Hagshult Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right hand extended holding a sceptre (the top of which is lost), the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The face is that of a young girl with a mysterious smile. The Virgin is wearing a veil and it extends onto her shoulders and over the mantle which is draped over both her shoulders. The wood is carved in thin delicate creases that give a sophisticated impression. The mantle is swept from right to left and underneath the Christ Child, who is seated on the Virgin’s left side. The Christ Child holds a book in his left hand and both his feet are placed on the Virgin’s right thigh. The dress of the Virgin is full-length and it falls onto the flat base; the feet are placed on the base. The front part of the Virgin’s crown, the right half of the Christ figure’s head and his right arm are missing.
The Hallingeberg Madonna is seated on a complex throne (the backboard is missing), her right arm raised to grasp a sceptre and stretched out, as is the left one. The Virgin is dressed in a veil, and her facial expression is sad. The Madonna is wearing a shawl which is swept from left to right and covers most of her torso. It creates a diagonal shape of the hem across the legs. The dress is full-length and covers everything except for the pointed shoes. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s left thigh, wearing a full-length dress with vertical pleats. The throne is beautifully carved with architectural features on its sides and the gables are reminiscent of those found on pieces from Gotland. The right hand of the Madonna is a replacement, the left one is broken off (leaving a hole revealing that the forearm was attached with a metal or wood dowel), both of the Christ Child’s arms as well as both figures’ crowns are missing.

Description: (n.s.p)

The Hallingeberg Madonna is seated on a complex throne (the backboard is missing), her right arm raised to grasp a sceptre and stretched out, as is the left one. The Virgin is dressed in a veil, and her facial expression is sad. The Madonna is wearing a shawl which is swept from left to right and covers most of her torso. It creates a diagonal shape of the hem across the legs. The dress is full-length and covers everything except for the pointed shoes. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s left thigh, wearing a full-length dress with vertical pleats. The throne is beautifully carved with architectural features on its sides and the gables are reminiscent of those found on pieces from Gotland. The right hand of the Madonna is a replacement, the left one is broken off (leaving a hole revealing that the forearm was attached with a metal or wood dowel), both of the Christ Child’s arms as well as both figures’ crowns are missing.
The Hannäs Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right arm stretched out and the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The face of the Madonna is sad looking, her eyes are almond-shaped and her nose long and thin. The Virgin is wearing a veil which extends in volutes onto her shoulders. The dress is v-necked and a prominent belt with a large buckle accentuates the waist line. A mantle is swept from the right side to the left and underneath the Christ Child, who is held up by the Virgin on her left side; it creates a diagonal line in front of the Virgin’s legs. Her feet stick out over the round base. The Christ Child is holding a round object (orb) in his left hand and his bare feet rest on the Virgin’s knee. The right forearm, most of the face of the Christ Child, his right shoulder and arm are missing.

The Hannäs Madonna exhibits characteristics of both A and B Groups. The Hannäs almost appears as a B sculpture carved after an earlier model, with the Child seated high, as in the Madonnas from Gotland. It is very difficult to place because of its poor state.

Literature: None
The Härlöv Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right arm stretched out, the left one holding on the mantle which has been swept over from the right side to the left one. The veil hides her hair and extends down onto her shoulders. The mantle covers both the Madonna’s shoulders, the dress has a round neck and falls down in gentle pleats and is accentuated at the waist by a round belt. The dress falls down in two layers and one part ends mid-calf and the other one is full-length only exposing the tips of the shoes of the Virgin. The Christ Child is frontally seated in the centre of the Virgin’s lap, propped against the Virgin’s chest. The Virgin’s right forearm is missing, as are both of the Christ Child’s arms. The peaks of the Virgin’s crown are broken off and the crown is missing altogether from the Christ Child. It is possible that the Virgin’s left hand is a restoration.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Description: (n.s.p)

The Hinneryd Madonna is seated on a bench, her right hand held out and holding the remains of a sceptre, the left hand supporting the left thigh of the Christ Child. Her hair is parted in the middle, under the crown and pulled behind her large and protruding ears. The Madonna is wearing a robe which has a crooked v-shaped front. The dress is full-length and the space from the base up to the knees is carved with diagonal ridges. Two pointed shoes stick out on the round base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding an orb in his hand. The peaks of the crowns are broken off on both figures as well as the Christ Child’s right arm. It is possible that the Virgin’s left hand is a replacement.

Group: A1
Sculpture: Hinneryd Madonna
Region: Småland
Provenance: Hinneryd Church
Current location: Hinneryd Church
Dimensions: H 102 cm, W 40 cm, D 20 cm
Date: c. 1250-1275
Material: Oak
Polychromy: None
Archival material: None
Comments:

The Hinneryd Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and is similar to the Glava and Sällstorp Madonnas (3/281).

Literature: None

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Hjärtlanda Madonna is seated on a throne, her right upper arm held out, the left one supporting the side of the Christ Child. The crown has three round spaces for ornamental stones (of gesso, glass, metal or stone.) The hair is cut in wavy sharp-edges and extends onto her shoulders. The mantle covers both her shoulders and is connected at the centre. Below the clasp is a round hole which has probably been covered by the same material as in the crown. A broad girdle marks the waist and creates a bulge. The dress is full-length and has v-shaped ridges between the Virgin’s knees. Very pointed shoes stick out from underneath the dress and onto the round and tall semi-circular base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding a book in his left hand. The Christ figure has been mutilated and none of his facial features remains. The right forearm of the Virgin, the right arm of the Christ Child and both his feet and his crown are missing.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Hjärtlanda Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Småland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Hjärtlanda Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Hjärtlanda Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 88 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Alder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>Traces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Madonna was mentioned in Ragnar Blomqvist’s inventory of the Church in 1926. (Aktarkivet, Hjärtlanda Kyrka)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments:

The Hjärtlanda Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group (3/307-308).

Literature:

Andersson, 1956, 7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Misterhult Madonna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Småland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Misterhult Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Misterhult Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 92 cm, W 57 cm, D 32 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>The dress bears traces of original red paint.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Misterhult Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group and it should also be considered as an example of Gotland Madonnas’ style on the Swedish mainland (3/301).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description:** (n.s.p)

The Misterhult Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right upper arm stretched forward, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin’s head is covered by a veil and underneath it is long wavy hair that falls down her back. The Virgin is wearing a mantle which is elegantly draped over her shoulders and swept down between her legs. The dress has a round neck and a belt with a buckle accentuating the waistline and creating a bulge in the lower part. The dress is full-length and only the tips of the Madonna’s pointed shoes are exposed. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left side, holding an orb. Both crowns, the Virgin’s right forearm and the Christ Child’s right arm are missing.

**Photograph by:** Lennart Karlsson

**Literature:**

Tångeberg 1986, 170, 305.
The Skede Madonna is seated on a bench with high gables on the left side (the gable is broken off on the right side). The Madonna is crowned and a veil covers her wavy hair which extends down onto her back. The mantle covers both shoulders and is draped between, and at the sides of her legs (in a rare design). The dress is full-length and extends all the way to the base, where only the tips of the Virgin’s shoes are visible. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left side, holding a book in his left hand, his legs are crossed. The Christ Child is a replacement and the hairstyle is unusually long. The Virgin’s right arm, the Christ Child’s right arm and his crown are missing.

**Description:** (n.s.p)

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
**Sculpture:** Tolg Madonna  
**Region:** Småland  
**Provenance:** Tolg Church  
**Current location:** Tolg Church  
**Dimensions:** H 133 cm, W 60 cm, D 40 cm  
**Date:** c. 1300-1325  
**Material:** Oak  
**Polychromy:** The face is partly covered by polychrome and the dress bears traces of red and black.  
**Archival material:** None  
**Comments:** Eckerblad claimed that the wood came from Småland but he dated the Tolg too early, 1244 to 1254 (2 n/160, 174). The type is not typical for Sweden in the thirteenth century (or later) and the position of the Christ Child is also very strange. The Tolg Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group but they are very vague.  
**Literature:** None  
K. Eckerblad, 1984, 16.

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**Description: (n.s.p)**  
The Tolg Madonna is seated on a bench with half-opened eyes, the left hand holding a round object (a replacement, which might be wrongly restored, the Madonna usually holds a sceptre). The right hand is touching the fabric of the dress of the Christ Child’s, who is unusually placed on the Virgin’s right knee. The Virgin’s veil extends down over the Virgin’s shoulders, the mantle is draped over the Virgin’s shoulders, and a distinctive girdle with a buckle accentuates the waist of the Virgin. The garments are carved with two layers, the longest one is full-length and the top one is diagonally draped in front of the Virgin’s legs. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s right knee with crossed legs and is holding a book in his left hand. The bench seems to have been inspired by the Gotland model with upwards arms.
The Torpa Madonna is seated on a bench, right hand holding an orb in her hand placed on her right knee. The left hand is supporting the body of the Christ Child, who is propped up against the Virgin’s left side. The mantle of the Virgin is elegantly carved in sweeping and simple drapery folds. The front of the mantle has an asymmetrical, v-shaped closing. The head of the Virgin is replacement. The Christ Child holds an orb in his left hand, his right forearm is broken off and reveals a round hole, where his forearm has been attached with a wood or metal dowel. The right shoulder of the Virgin, her original head, the Christ Child’s right forearm and crown are missing.

### Description: (n.s.p)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Torpa Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Småland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Torpa Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Torpa Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 99 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Alder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Torpa Madonna exhibits characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and has a similar relative in the Töreboda Madonna from Västergötland (3/280).

### Literature:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Ukna Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Småland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Ukna Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Ukna Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 97.5 cm, W 55 cm, D 45 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>According to ATA, the sculpture was restored by Oscar Svensson in Stockholm, 1938. (Aktarkivet, UknaKyrka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Ukna Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B3 Group and has been incorrectly linked to the Hallingeberg Madonna (3/373-374).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature:</td>
<td>Jacobsson 1995, 121.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description:** (n.s.p)

The Ukna Madonna is seated on a bench similar to that of the Gotland type. Both of the Virgin’s shoulders are covered by a mantle with a collar. The veil is carved with many volutes and reaches down to the Virgin’s shoulders. The Madonna is faintly smiling and her eyes are almond-shaped, while the Christ looks solemn. The upper body of the garment has bulky pleats in flowing curves. The waist is accentuated by a girdle with a buckle. The mantle is swept under the Virgin’s right upper arm, over her right thigh and underneath the Christ Child. The garment forms two s-shaped folds between the Virgin’s knees. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s left knee, wearing a full-length dress and has long, curly hair. Both crowns, the Virgin’s right arm (leaving a round hole, revealing that the forearm has been attached there with a wood dowel), and both arms of the Christ Child are missing.
The Vittaryd Madonna is seated on a narrow bench, the left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The flat braids of her hair are covered by a veil and extend onto the Madonna’s back. The robe is draped around the Madonna’s body in thick round pleats. The dress is full-length and only the tips of the feet are visible on the flat base. The base has ornamental (floral) decoration around it. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh with both feet resting in the centre of the Madonna’s lap. The Madonna is almost split in two by a large crack which starts below her chin and extends down to her abdomen. Most of the Madonna’s crown, her right forearm, both of the Christ Child’s arms and crown are missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Vittaryd Madonna is seated on a narrow bench, the left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The flat braids of her hair are covered by a veil and extend onto the Madonna’s back. The robe is draped around the Madonna’s body in thick round pleats. The dress is full-length and only the tips of the feet are visible on the flat base. The base has ornamental (floral) decoration around it. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh with both feet resting in the centre of the Madonna’s lap. The Madonna is almost split in two by a large crack which starts below her chin and extends down to her abdomen. Most of the Madonna’s crown, her right forearm, both of the Christ Child’s arms and crown are missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Södermanland
The Lid Madonna is seated on a bench with upward gables, similar to sculptures from Gotland. The head of the Virgin is covered by a veil and she has small protruding ears. She has large round eyes, a small straight nose and a pouting mouth. The Madonna is wearing a mantle which is draped over her shoulders and diagonally over her body, over to her left side and underneath the Christ Child. The mantle is draped in a perfect v-shaped fold between her knees and her feet stick out from underneath the full-length dress. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s left knee, holding a round object with his left hand. The head of the Christ Child is secondary. The right forearm (a large hole reveals that the hand has been constructed as a dowel and directly attached to the hole), and crown of the Virgin, and the Christ Child’s right arm are all missing.
## Ludgo Madonna

### Description
The long-haired Ludgo Madonna is seated on a bench, her right forearm stretched out, the left one supporting the Christ Child. The dress is carved with vertical folds and a belt accentuates the waist line. The fabric is diagonally draped in front of the Virgin’s legs. There appears to be a dragon underneath the Virgin’s feet. The Christ Child is half standing on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left hand holding a book. The sculpture is in poor condition and a large part of the left side of the Virgin is missing and her right hand, the head of the Christ Child and his right arm. The Virgin’s head is a replacement of a later date, perhaps the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

### Group
- **A2**

### Sculpture
- **Ludgo Madonna**

### Region
- **Södermanland**

### Provenance
- **Ludgo Church**

### Current location
- **Ludgo Church**

### Dimensions
- **H 118 cm, W 37 cm, D 31 cm**

### Date
- **c. 1275-1300**

### Material
- **Oak**

### Polychromy
- **None**

### Archival material
The sculpture was mentioned in the 1919 inventory of the Lugdo Church. (Aktarkivet, Ludgo Kyrka)

### Comments
The Ludgo Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group.

### Literature
- Ugglas 1910, 47.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Description:
The Österhaninge Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right upper arm is stretched out; her left supports the body of the Christ Child. Her head is dressed with a veil which is carved with pleats on each side of her face. The face is finely carved with almond-shaped eyes, a long straight nose and a thin mouth. The dress has a v-neck and a round recess right under the neckline (this was filled with glass, metal, stone or gesso.) The Virgin is wearing a mantle which is draped over her shoulders and swept from the right side to the left side and underneath the Christ Child. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left side, both feet (bare) resting on the left knee. There are two significant splices on the torso of the Virgin, a possible way to assemble the figures. The Virgin’s right forearm and crown, as well as both of the Christ Child’s arms, are missing.
**Description:** (n.s.p)

The Över Järna Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child, the right arm is lost below the forearm. The dress has a rounded neck, shoulders covered by a mantle, and the same mantle also covers the left shoulder of the Christ Child. The pleats of the dress are carved vertically; on the lower part of the figure the pleats are flat. The Christ Child is half standing, with legs tilted to the right. The remains of a sceptre (?) on top of her right knee implied that the right arm has been stretched forward. Part of her left hand is missing. The Christ Child’s right arm is also missing, as are both figures’ crowns. The filling material of her brooch is also lost.

**Group:** A2

**Sculpture:** Över Järna Madonna

**Region:** Södermanland

**Provenance:** Över Järna Church

**Current location:** Över Järna Church

**Dimensions:** H 106 cm, W 42 cm, D 30 cm

**Date:** c. 1250-1275

**Material:** Oak

**Polychromy:** None

**Archival material:** None

**Comments:**

Lindblom believed there had been a master active in the Mälardalen and following af Ugglas, he believed that the Hölö master came from Stockholm, to which the Över Järna Madonna should be assigned (2/119-120). Andersson classified the carver as a local artist and Norberg assigned it to the mid thirteenth-century. Karlsson stated that the Över Järna Madonna is one of the best examples of noble posture and realistic proportions and believed that the South Scandinavian school played a meaningful part in the progression and development of sculpture in Skåne and Småland and the impulses reached Gotland and the Valley of Mälaren. I place the Över Järna Madonna in the same workshop as the Rimbo and the Runtuna Madonnas (3/314-316).

**Literature:**


Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Över Selö Madonna is seated on a throne with upward gables, similar to the benches from Gotland. The Virgin’s face is slightly tilted forward and a veil covers her head, extending down to her shoulders. The hair is carved in two locks on either side of her head. The face is finely detailed and the Virgin has distinct eyebrows, a straight nose and a petite mouth. The mantle covers both shoulders, falls gracefully down on the sides of her body, and is draped from the right side under the right forearm and across the lap and underneath the Christ Child. The garment is arranged in swirling decorative folds extending down to the base, where the Virgin’s feet project out. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s left thigh. The Virgin’s right forearm may also be a replacement, and there is damage to the gables of the bench. The figures’ crowns are missing.
The Runtuna Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right arm stretched forward, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The dress has a rounded neck and right below the neck is a brooch with a flower also carved from wood. The folds of the garment are oval shaped and bulge over the belt. The mantle falls between the Virgin’s knees and is carved in straight vertical pleats. The Christ Child is missing, except for parts of the lower body where the Virgin’s left hand is positioned. There is a massive crack, running from top to bottom. The Virgin’s right forearm is missing, leaving a large round hole suggesting that a fore arm designed as a separate piece was attached there. The head of the Virgin is also missing.

The Runtuna Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group (3/307-308).

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
**Description**: (n.s.p)

The Sköldinge Madonna is seated on a bench, her right arm placed next to her body and the left arm supporting the body of the Christ Child. The eyes of the Madonna seem to be half-opened, her nose straight and her mouth small. The hair is wavy and is formed by a veil which covers the head. A robe is draped over her shoulders and creates a v-shape at the opening. The neck line of the dress is round and has a broad band at neck. The garments are draped over the Virgin’s knees, the mantle ending mid-calf, the dress is full length and only the shoes are exposed on the flat base. The base has carved flower decorations in front of it (four round recesses and a flower in every box). The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his right foot resting on the opposite thigh and the left one placed in the centre of her lap. The Christ Child holds an orb in his left hand. The tip of the Virgin’s nose has been knocked off, her right hand and the Christ Child’s right arm are missing.

**Group**: A1  
**Sculpture**: Sköldinge Madonna  
**Region**: Södermanland  
**Provenance**: Sköldinge Church  
**Current location**: Sköldinge Church  
**Dimensions**: H 136 cm, W 40 cm, D 30 cm  
**Date**: c. 1250-1275  
**Material**: Alder  
**Polychromy**: There are traces of red on the Virgin’s dress.  
**Archival material**: None  
**Comments**: The Sköldinge Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 but is located around the Valley of Mälaren. The Madonna is similar to the Knista and Stala Madonnas (3/266).

**Literature**:  
af Ugglas 1915, 171.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Toresund Madonna is seated on an elaborate bench, clearly inspired by the Gotland tradition of the upward gables on the sides. The Madonna’s hair is carved with long golden plaits. The dress has a round neck and the mantle covers both her shoulders and is swept from right to the left side and underneath the Christ Child. The dress is full-length and draped in pleats over the pointed shoes that are placed on the flat base. The Christ Child is held up by the Virgin on her left side; his legs are crossed. The right forearm of the Virgin, both of Christ’s forearms as well as both crowns are missing.

**Sculpture:** Toresund Madonna  
**Region:** Södermanland  
**Provenance:** Toresund Church  
**Current location:** ?  
**Dimensions:** H 117 cm  
**Date:** c. 1325-1350  
**Material:** Alder  
**Polychromy:** ?  
**Archival material:** None  
**Comments:** The Toresund Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B1 Group.

**Literature:** None

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**Description:** (n.s.p)

The Toresund Madonna is seated on an elaborate bench, clearly inspired by the Gotland tradition of the upward gables on the sides. The Madonna’s hair is carved with long golden plaits. The dress has a round neck and the mantle covers both her shoulders and is swept from right to the left side and underneath the Christ Child. The dress is full-length and draped in pleats over the pointed shoes that are placed on the flat base. The Christ Child is held up by the Virgin on her left side; his legs are crossed. The right forearm of the Virgin, both of Christ’s forearms as well as both crowns are missing.
The Vagnhärad Madonna is seated on a throne, her right arm extended and her left hand supporting the Christ Child. Her head and most of her hair are covered by a veil that falls straight down in single folds. The hair is carved in a wavy pattern and falls down on either side of the Virgin’s face. There is a decoration in the middle of the Virgin’s chest designed in an oval shaped pattern. The mantle covers both shoulders and is swept underneath the Christ Child who sits on the Virgin’s left knee. Its border is decorated with a golden zigzag pattern. The crown and the sceptre are missing from the Virgin (replacement) as well as her feet. The Christ Child’s left forearm and head are missing.

**Description:**

The Vagnhärad Madonna is seated on a throne, her right arm extended and her left hand supporting the Christ Child. Her head and most of her hair are covered by a veil that falls straight down in single folds. The hair is carved in a wavy pattern and falls down on either side of the Virgin’s face. There is a decoration in the middle of the Virgin’s chest designed in an oval shaped pattern. The mantle covers both shoulders and is swept under the Virgin’s right arm and underneath the Christ Child who sits on the Virgin’s left knee. Its border is decorated with a golden zigzag pattern. The crown and the sceptre are missing from the Virgin (replacement) as well as her feet. The Christ Child’s left forearm and head are missing.

**Archival material:**

The sculpture is mentioned in Gustaf Munthe’s inventory of 1919. He wrote that the sculpture had been given to the Statens Historiska Museum in 1910.

(Aktarkivet, Vagnhärad Kyrka)

**Comments:**

The hand of the Virgin is in two pieces, and the hand is not properly attached. Tängeberg reported that the Vagnhärad Madonna is typical of the Visby material and technique from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (2/185). The Vagnhärad Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B1 Group.

**Literature:**


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**Group:** B1  
**Sculpture:** Vagnhärad Madonna  
**Region:** Södermanland  
**Provenance:** Vagnhärad Church  
**Current location:** Statens Historiska Museum (inv.nr. 14319)  
**Dimensions:** H 115 cm, W 51 cm, D 50 cm  
**Date:** c. 1300-1325  
**Material:** Oak  
**Polychromy:** The face bares traces of paint and the dress has remains of red, blue and gold.
Additional photographs

Photographs by: Alexandra Fried
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Ytter Järna Madonna is seated on a bench, with her right arm stretched forward holding a sceptre, her left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The hair of the Madonna is tucked behind her large ears and extends down on her back. The Virgin sits in a frontal, upright position, a mantle covering both shoulders is joined with a clasp at her throat, before it separates flowing over her arms. It ends mid-calf. The dress is full-length and only the tips of the feet are visible projecting over the front of the base. The Christ Child is seated in a frontal position on the Virgin’s left side, holding a round object in his left hand and his right hand is raised in benediction in front of him. It appears that the Virgin’s crown and right hand are restoration. The Christ Child’s crown is missing from its recess on his head.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Group: | A3 |
| Sculpture: | Ytter Järna Madonna |
| Region: | Södermanland |
| Provenance: | Ytter Järna Church |
| Current location: | Ytter Järna Church |
| Dimensions: | H 84 cm, W 37 cm, D 30 cm |
| Date: | c. 1300-1325 |
| Material: | Oak |
| Polychromy: | There are remains of red paint on the Virgin’s dress. |
| Archival material: | The sculpture was mentioned by Gustaf Munthe in his 1919 inventory of the Ytter-Järna Church. The sculpture was restored by Peter Tångeberg in 1988. He fastened paint, the surfaces were mouldy. |
| Comments: | The Ytter Järna Madonna exhibits characteristics ascribed to the A1 and A2 Groups. I do not feel comfortable to place this sculpture any further than to give it a slightly later date because of the design of the mantle and the way the face is carved. It is slightly close to the Handöl Madonna because of its crown. |
| Literature: | None |

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
### Group: B3

- **Sculpture:** Ärentuna Madonna
- **Region:** Uppland
- **Provenance:** Ärentuna Church
- **Current location:** Uppsala University Museum (inv. nr: 973)
- **Dimensions:** H 120 cm
- **Date:** c. 1325-1350
- **Material:** Oak
- **Polychromy:** There are remains of gold, green and red of the Virgin’s dress.

### Archival material:

The sculpture was not mentioned in the inventory of the Ärentuna Church in 1929. (Aktarkivet, Ärentuna Kyrka)

### Comments:

The Ärentuna Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B3 Group and has been mentioned with regard to Etienne de Bonneuil and the French influences this mason is thought to have brought to Sweden. Andersson also related it to the same sculptor as the Crucifix of Rasbo Church (2/163). Jacobsson compared the Uppsala Madonna to some French and German examples but only found superficial resemblances. She was willing to accept it as an import or that it could have been carved by a foreign sculptor (2/222-223, 229). In my opinion the Ärentuna Madonna resembles a Madonna and Child in the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne dated to 1290-1300 (3/381).

### Literature:

Description:

The Ärentuna Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right upper arm stretched forward, the left one supporting the hip of the standing Christ Child. The Madonna is wearing a veil and curls of fine hair are visible underneath, parted in the middle. The head of the Virgin is tilted to the left and her face is carefully carved with a sad and contemplative expression. The veil is swept over the chest of the Madonna and draped over the left shoulder. A thin belt marks the thick waist and creates a bulge. The Madonna is wearing a mantle which covers both her shoulders and is swept from the right side to the left one and over her lap and underneath the Christ Child. Her feet are prominent, sticking out from underneath the carefully designed bottom of the dress. The base is flat and has a board carved with quatrefoils. The Christ Child is standing on the Virgin’s left thigh, looking as if he is taking a step. His left hand holds a round object and the right hand is raised in benediction. The sculpture is carved almost in the round, the bench has lost its back board. The Virgin’s right forearm and crown are missing.

Additional photograph

Reconstruction of polychromy by: Alexandra Fried
The Danderyd Madonna is seated on a bench, her right arm raised and stretched forward. Her left hand supporting the Christ Child. She is wearing a finely carved veil and wavy hair is visible underneath it. Her face is carved with detail and projects a very realistic impression. The eyes are almond-shaped, straight nose and tiny mouth. A mantle covers both shoulders and is richly draped over her knees from right to left and under the body of the elevated Christ Child. The Virgin’s dress has a v-neck and three round recesses underneath the v for decorative embellishments. The mantle and dress are full-length and is draped onto the flat base, only exposing the tips of the Virgin’s feet. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left arm, slightly elevated. His dress matched the mother’s but it has five inclusions around the wide v-neck. Both crowns, parts of the fingers of the Virgin’s right hand (the forearm could be a replacement), both arms of the Christ Child are missing.
Description: (n.s.p)
The Fröslunda Madonna is seated on a bench in a rigid upright position. The Madonna has wavy hair on either side of her head. The Virgin’s face is plump and lacks the otherwise petite and girlish features of the “Northern Madonna.” The mantle covers both her shoulders, carved with thin and rounded vertical ridges. The dress has a round neck with a narrow band and the folds follow the same patterns as the mantle. The “garments” are full-length and extend all the way down with a rippling hem-line to the round base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left side, held by her left hand. The sculptures are damaged: the Madonna has a large crack in her forehead and her nose has been knocked off, her right forearm, her feet and both of the Christ Child’s arms are missing.

A Madonna (she did not specify which) from the thirteenth century is mentioned by Gerda Boëthius from 1917. She wrote that the sculpture was 123 cm tall and considered it to be a foreign sculpture. (Aktarkivet, Fröslunda Kyrka)

Comments: The Fröslunda Madonna is of the A1 type and comes from a workshop around lake Mälaren.

Archival material: A Madonna (she did not specify which) from the thirteenth century is mentioned by Gerda Boëthius from 1917. She wrote that the sculpture was 123 cm tall and considered it to be a foreign sculpture. (Aktarkivet, Fröslunda Kyrka)

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Funbo Madonna is seated on a bench, similar to a Gotland bench. The Madonna is wearing a mantle, which is richly draped over the figure, creating a criss cross and diagonal shape in the front when it overlaps the knees. The Virgin’s head has either been seriously remodelled or a new head has been placed on the body. The dress has a round neck and is full-length and only the tips of her pointed shoes are visible on the round base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left side, held up by her left hand and both touching an orb. His feet are resting on the Virgin’s left thigh. The sculpture has been severely damaged, both faces have been abraded, there is a large crack on the base, the right shoulder and arm of the Christ Child and the Virgin’s right forearm are missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>A3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture</td>
<td>Funbo Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Uppland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Funbo Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location</td>
<td>Funbo Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H 108 cm, W 59 cm, D 38 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1325-1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>Alder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy</td>
<td>The Virgin’s dress has substantial traces of red, blue, gold and white.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Archival material:
Erik Salvén mentioned the sculpture in his 1917 inventory of the church. He called it a late medieval sculpture after an earlier prototype. The sculpture was restored by Peter Tångeberg in 1990. The sculpture is cut from one piece of wood except for the Christ Child’s right knee (now lost). Both heads are heavily remodelled. The Polychromy was loose and had to be secured.
(Aktarkivet, Funbo Kyrka)

Comments:
The Funbo Madonna exhibits characteristics ascribed to the A1, A2 and B1 Groups. It must be the work by a fairly untrained sculptor trying to copy an earlier piece.

Literature:
af Ugglas 1915, 228.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>91</th>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Husby Sjuhundra Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Uppland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Husby Sjuhundra Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Husby Sjuhundra Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 103 cm, W 55 cm, D 30 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>The sculpture is mentioned by Gotthard Johannson in his 1917 inventory of the Husby Sjuhundra Church. (Aktarkivet, Husby Sjuhundra Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Husby Sjuhundra Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group and might be related to the geographically close Rimbo, Runtuna and Fröslunda Madonnas (3/308).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson**

**Description:**

The Husby Sjuhundra Madonna is seated on a bench, similar to a Gotland bench, her right upper arm stretched out, her left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin has wavy hair on both sides of her head; it extends down onto her back. The mantle covers both shoulders, and is swept from right to left and under the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is smiling, her nose is straight, and her eyes are thin but almond-shaped. The waist is accentuated by a belt. The dress is full-length and extends onto the base where the tips of two pointed shoes are visible. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left side, held up and supported by her left hand. The right arm of the Christ Child, the right forearm or the Virgin and both crown are missing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Lohärad Madonna is seated on a bench, her right arm stretched out (lost from the forearm), the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna is wearing a veil which extends down on her shoulders, and underneath is curly hair. Her face is petite and girlish, with small kind eyes, a straight nose and a tiny mouth. The mantle covers both shoulders and is richly draped from right to left and under the Christ Child.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Lohärad Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Uppland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Lohärad Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Statens Historiska Museum (inv. nr: 7444)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 77 cm, W 30.5 cm, D 24 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Alder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>There are existing remains of red with a floral pattern on the lower part of the dress and mantle. The Virgin’s hair is painted in gold and part of the facial paint is visible.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archival material:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Lohärad Madonna was not mentioned by Gotthard Johansson in his 1917 inventory of the church. (Aktarkivet, Lohärad Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comments:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>According to Andersson, the Lübeck style was present in various Swedish locations at the turn of the century (thirteenth century) and he named the Lohärad Madonna and the Väversunda Madonna. Andersson thought that if Lübeck was the place of origin of the Bunge Master, then perhaps Visby would be the natural place for the workshop (this had already been suggested by af Ugglas and Roosval) (2/147-148). The Lohärad Madonna exhibits the characteristics of the B1 Group.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
The bottom part of the dress is vertically loop shaped down to the Virgin’s ankles. The Christ Child is on the Virgin’s left side, slightly elevated and his feet are resting on the Virgin’s thigh. The Virgin’s right forearm, the head, and both arms of the Christ Child are missing. There are also holes, for example, one in the Virgin’s lower abdominal area and one by her right foot. There is a metal dowel with a large metal hook attached to it on the left side of the Virgin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Additional photographs</th>
<th>Photographs by: Alexandra Fried</th>
<th>Face and hook (unknown function)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Image 1" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Image 2" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description:
The Nora Madonna is seated on a bench, her right arm stretched out holding a sceptre, the left one supporting the body of the seated Christ Child. The wavy hair is covered by a veil which extends down her back. The figure wears a mantle which covers more of her left shoulder than the right one. The dress has a round neck and a recess for a thin belt accentuates the waist. It is full-length and creates a diagonal draping over the legs and also two u-shaped folds between the Virgin’s knees. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left hand holding a book and the right one is raised in benediction.
The Rimbo Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right arm stretched forward holding part of a sceptre, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. Her hair is carved in a wavy pattern and extends down her back. The mantle covers more of the left shoulder than the right one. The round-necked dress has a thick belt at the waist with a strap hanging over. The garments are full-length and only the tips of the shoes are visible on the round base. The small Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left hand holding a small book. Both figures were once crowned (some of the Christ Child’s crown is still intact) and the Christ Child’s right arm is missing.

Photograph by: Alexandra Fried
The Roslagsbro Madonna is seated on a bench (reminiscent of a Gotland bench) her right arm is stretched forward (it is a replacement) and the left one supports the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a large crown; the hair is wavy and extends down the Virgin’s back. Both shoulders are covered by a mantle which is draped under the Virgin’s right arm and across her lap and underneath the Christ Child. The Virgin’s dress has a round neckline and she has a prominent belt around Virgin’s waist. The mantle and dress are draped with stoop pleats in front of the Virgin’s legs. The dress is full-length and only exposes the tips of the Virgin’s shoes. The Christ Child is seated high and frontally on the Virgin’s left knee, and both his feet rest on her left thigh. The Christ Child’s right arm is stretched forward and slightly raised (it seems to have been held in benediction). The Virgin’s left forearm and crown are missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Roslagsbro Madonna is seated on a bench (reminiscent of a Gotland bench) her right arm is stretched forward (it is a replacement) and the left one supports the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a large crown; the hair is wavy and extends down the Virgin’s back. Both shoulders are covered by a mantle which is draped under the Virgin’s right arm and across her lap and underneath the Christ Child. The Virgin’s dress has a round neckline and she has a prominent belt around Virgin’s waist. The mantle and dress are draped with stoop pleats in front of the Virgin’s legs. The dress is full-length and only exposes the tips of the Virgin’s shoes. The Christ Child is seated high and frontally on the Virgin’s left knee, and both his feet rest on her left thigh. The Christ Child’s right arm is stretched forward and slightly raised (it seems to have been held in benediction). The Virgin’s left forearm and crown are missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Group: | B1 |
| Sculpture: | Roslagsbro Madonna |
| Region: | Uppland |
| Provenance: | Roslagsbro Church |
| Current location: | Roslagsbro Church |
| Dimensions: | H 130 cm |
| Date: | c. 1300-1325 |
| Material: | Oak |
| Polychromy: | There are traces of white and gold paint on the Virgin’s dress and some fragmental traces on the Christ Child. |
| Archival material: | Conserved by Bo Wildenstam in Alfred Nilsson’s workshop in 1954-1955. (Aktarkivet, Roslagsbro Kyrka) |
| Comments: | The Roslagsbro Madonna exhibits the characteristics for the B1 Group. See discussion on Danderyd Madonna. |
### Description:

The Skokloster Madonna is seated on a throne with high bank posts (on the model of a Gotland bench), her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin has an unusually round head and is wearing a veil which is draped on the sides of her head in folds. Both of the Virgin’s shoulders are covered by a mantle which is draped under the Virgin’s right arm and across her lap and underneath the Christ Child. The mantle and dress are full-length and extend down to the base of the sculpture; the Virgin’s shoes project from underneath the long garments onto a polygonal base. The Christ Child sits on the Virgin’s left side, held up by the Virgin and turned slightly to the right. The Virgin’s right forearm, both of the Christ Child’s arms and both crowns are missing.

### Group: B1

| Sculpture:  | Skokloster Madonna |
| Region:     | Uppland           |
| Provenance: | Skokloster        |
| Current location: | Skokloster |
| Dimensions: | H 142 cm, W 61 cm, D 44 cm |
| Date:       | c. 1300-1325     |
| Material:   | Oak               |
| Polychromy: | None              |
| Archival material: | It was conserved by Sten Dalén in Stockholm in 1941. (Aktarkivet, Skokloster Kyrka) |
| Comments:   | The Skokloster Madonna exhibits the characteristics of the B1 Group. See discussion on Danderyd Madonna. |

**Literature:**


Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Väddö Madonna is seated on a throne (modelled like a Gotland one); her right upper arm is stretched forward and the left hand supports the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin wears a veil with flowing folds on either side of her finely carved face. The features are feminine, straight nose and sensual mouth. The neckline of the dress is round and there are three shallow recesses on the Virgin’s chest. The mantle covers both shoulders and is draped underneath the Virgin’s right arm, across her lap and underneath the Christ Child who is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh. The dress is full-length, a belt accentuates the thick waist of the Virgin, and only the pointed shoes are visible from underneath the garment. The Christ Child is seated high, leaning back on the Virgin’s thigh in a cross-legged pose. The Virgin’s right forearm, both of the Christ Child’s arms, and both crowns are missing.
What is left of the Västeråker Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right arm has been stretched forward, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna is wearing a veil which extends down over her shoulders and a mantle covers both shoulders. The neckline of the Virgin’s dress is v-shaped and it is richly draped in front of the Virgin’s legs. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s hand as she is holding him up by her arm and the Christ Child is turned to the right. This sculpture is very severely damaged and has been attacked by woodworm. A large section of the Virgin’s stomach is missing. Her crown, her right forearm, the head and both arms of the Christ Child are missing.

According to Jacobsson (442) the Statens Historiska Museum bought the sculpture from Nils Nilsson Antique shop on Stora Nygatan in Stockholm in 1935, The figure belonged to the Vik Castle Collection and was sold shortly after C.S Dahlin took over the castle. Many of the items from the Vik Collection came from Balingsta Church, but one of von Essen’s relatives reported that the Madonna came from Västeråker Church.

(Aktarkivet, Västeraker Kyrka)

The Västeråker Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B3 Group is very similar to the Över Selö and the Nousis Madonnas.

Literature:
Description: (n.s,p)

The Västra Ryd Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench; her right arm stretched forward holding a sceptre which rests on her knee. Her left hand is holding up the mantle. The eyes of the Virgin are half closed. The Madonna wears a veil and there is curly hair underneath. A mantle covers both shoulders (more on the left side) and a belt with a long strap marks the waist line of the Virgin. The garments are draped in tiny ridges across the Virgin’s legs and large almond-shaped shoes stick out on the base. The Christ Child is seated high on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding a book in his left hand. His crown and right arm are missing. The head of the Virgin and its crown are replacements.
Description:
The Vätö Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench; her right arm stretched forward, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. Her hair is curly and hidden under a veil which extends onto her shoulders. A mantle covers both her shoulders, and the dress has a v-shaped neckline. The mantle is swept from right to left and underneath the Christ Child and the garments are elegantly draped over her legs by the help of her hand (highly unusual). The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, wrapped in his own mantle. The head of the Virgin is a replacement because of its disproportion to the rest of the larger-state body.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Vätö Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Uppland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Vätö Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Statens Historiska Museum (inv. nr: 23002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 149 cm, D 36 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300 (body)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak, crown alder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>The dress and mantle are painted red, green and gold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Vätö Madonna exhibits the characteristics of the A2 Group and the design of the dress as well as the cushioned bench are reminiscent of Romfartuna Madonna.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Literature:
Andersson 1975, 74.
| Description: |  |
| --- |  |
| The Virgin is seated on a simple throne in an upright position. Her dress is painted in a gold colour and the folds are thin and vertical. The Virgin’s mantle is painted in red with a green star pattern, and it completely covers her left shoulder whereas the right one is barely covered at all. The white lining is visible as the cape covers her knees and behind her right arm. The folds of the cape make deep, falling folds between the knees of the Virgin. Her neck is long and wide in comparison to her head, which appears elongated. Two curls of hair frame the Virgin’s face and the rest of the hair is covered by the veil, which is painted in horizontal black and white stripes. Her face is pale with two circles dramatically indicating her cheeks, and her mouth is tiny. The Virgin’s crown is painted in gold and there are indents for stones or materials that would have the same impression. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding a book in his left hand and his right hand is held in benediction. |  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Dalby Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Värmland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Dalby Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Dalby Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 100 cm, W 41 cm, D 36 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Limewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>The dress is painted red, green and gold. The figured is fully covered in polychrome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>According to ATA documents it was restored by Alfred Nilsson in 1928 who was also permitted to exhibit the Dalby Madonna in Örebro. The sculpture was also restored in 1982 by Urban Ullenius in Stockholm. It is mentioned in Helge Kjelln’s inventory of Dalby Church. (Aktarkivet, Dalby Kyrka) (Helge Kjellin’s archive, Dalby Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Dalby Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group and has a very close relative in the Nora Madonna from Uppland (3/319-320).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Glava Madonna is seated on a bench; her right upper arm stretched forward, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna sits in an upright position, a veil is draped over her head, a mantle covers both shoulders and is draped in sweeping pleats over her body. The garments are full-length and only the feet are visible on the base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, with both feet resting against the Virgin’s right knee. Both figures are crowned and the crowns are decorated with large palmetto leaves. Her right forearm and the Christ Child’s forearms are missing.
Group: A1
Sculpture: Norra Ny Madonna
Region: Värmland
Provenance: Norra Ny Church
Current location: Norra Ny Church
Dimensions: H 122 cm, W 44 cm, D 30 cm
Date: c. 1250-1275
Material: Oak
Polychromy: The dress is painted in red, green, black and gold.

Archival material:
Helge Kjellin dates the Norra Ny Madonna to 1300, and compares it to Hürup Madonna in Schleswig Holstein and states that the continuous creases are typical of the French influenced school. The sculpture was mentioned in Ragnar Blomqvist’s inventory of 1928 where it was also noted that it was restored in 1911.
(Aktarkivet, Norra Ny Kyrka)
(Helge Kjellin’s archive, Norra Ny Kyrka)

Comments:
According to Andersson (following af Ugglas and Norberg), the Fröskog Madonna, as well as the Glava and the Norra Ny figures, should perhaps be related to an East Norwegian workshop rather than to sculptural activity in the diocese of Skara. Despite this, Andersson observed that the Glava Madonna and the Norra Ny Madonna show similar characteristics to the Danish school” (2/137). Karlsson discussed that sculptures of English character could have influenced the sculptures such as the Norra Ny Madonna. These sculptures, Karlsson claimed, are interesting but little examined, strongly provincial although naively charming, and certainly underlined the close connections with Norway. Karlsson also explained that although thirteenth-century France had a close relationship with
(Comments are continued on the next page)

Literature:
Comments:
England, and that the south and east-Swedish regions were mainly influenced by Gallic art, the rest of Sweden was influenced by English art (2/232-233) The Norra Ny Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 Madonnas and is especially similar to the Torsåker Madonna, Vånga Madonna and Stora Kil Madonna. These mid-western sculptures could, with high probability, have been carved in the same local workshop (3/283-284). I would like to believe that there was a workshop in south Värmland or in Västergötland that produced these sculptures for the churches along the route to Trondheim or that there was a travelling woodcarver in the area but I do not see these sculptures as Norwegian (3/283-287).

Description:
The Norra Ny Madonna is seated on a bench inside a shrine. Her head is large in comparison to the petite body. Her dress is painted in gold and her cape is painted in red and covers her shoulders completely. The Virgin wears a crown, and her hair is cut in large waves. She supports the Christ Child protectively with her left hand and in her right hand is part of a sceptre. Christ has his right hand raised and an orb in his other hand. The Christ Child wears a gold gown and a white cloth covers his knees. The folds of the Virgin’s dress and cape are cut in a thin vertical pattern from the waist and below, and the folds above her waist are barely visible. The tabernacle itself is most likely the result of a thorough restoration. The canopy is most certainly a reproduction.

Additional photographs

Photographs by: Alexandra Fried
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Ny Madonna is seated on a bench (Gotland style) with a back board and a tabernacle. The head and hair are covered by a veil which extends down to the Virgin’s shoulders. The mantle covers both shoulders and falls underneath the Virgin’s right arm, across her lap with a v-fold and underneath the Christ Child. The dress has a round neckline and a belt accentuates the waist. The garments are full-length and only the tips of the Virgin’s shoes stick out on the base. The Christ Child stands on the Virgin’s left thigh, and the upper body is cut off (or perhaps the small figure was compiled by two pieces). The Virgin’s crown and right forearm are missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>B3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Ny Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Värmland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Ny Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Såguddens Museum Arvika (inv. nr: 385)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H (tabernacle) 158 cm, W 46.5 cm, D 34 cm, H (Madonna) 89 cm, W 31 cm, D 27 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Alder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>Ny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Ny Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the B3 Group and is, in my opinion, an import from Gotland (3/369).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fornvännern, 1911, 216 fig 6.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Segerstad Madonna is seated on a bench, the left hand supporting the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a veil, and her mantle covers both shoulders; it is draped richly on each side of the Virgin, and a belt with a buckle accentuates the waist. The garment is full-length and only the tips of the shoes stick out from underneath the dress. The Christ Child is seated high on the Virgin’s left thigh. The sculpture has been severely damaged and looks as if it has been sanded down. A thin strip of the Virgin’s right side, her crown, as well as the head and both arms of the Christ Child are missing.

Group: B1
Sculpture: Segerstad Madonna
Region: Värmland
Provenance: Segerstad Church
Current location: Segerstad Church
Dimensions: H 94 cm, W 31 cm, D 25 cm
Date: c. 1300-1325
Material: Oak
Polychromy: None
Archival material: None
Comments: The badly damaged Segerstad Madonna can be assigned to a small group that should include the Björke, Väversunda, Lohärad, Tingstäde, Segerstad, Marum, Sproge and Hangvar Madonnas which are perhaps the output of a single sculptor from Gotland who may have moved his shop to the mainland or exported to it (3/349).

Literature:
af Ugglas 1915, 514.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
| Description: |
| The Södra Råda Madonna was seated on a bench; her right upper arm stretched forward, the left one holding onto the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin was wearing a crown with large palmetto leaves and wavy hair on the sides of her head is visible. Also, a mantle covers the hair and falls down her back. The Virgin is wearing a mantle which only covers the very edge of her shoulders and is draped over her knees and between her legs. The dress and mantle are full-length and only the tips of the feet are visible on the round base. A belt marks the Virgin’s relatively low waist. The disproportionately small Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding a book in his left hand. The right forearm of the Virgin, the face and right arm of the Christ Child are missing. The sculpture perished when Södra Råda Church was totally destroyed by fire in 2001. |

| Group: | A2 |
| Sculpture: | Södra Råda Madonna |
| Region: | Värmland |
| Provenance: | Södra Råda Church |
| Current location: | Destroyed in fire in 2001 |
| Dimensions: | H 108 |
| Date: | c. 1275-1300 |
| Material: | Oak |
| Polychromy: | None |
| Archival material: | None |
| Comments: |
| The Södra Råda Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group and belongs to a local workshop |

| Literature: |

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
The Stora Kil Madonna is seated on a bench; right arm stretched forward holding a sceptre. The mantle and dress are draped in long straight vertical folds and pleats down the rigid body of the Madonna. The hair is wavy, and the lower part of the dress is reminiscent of the dress of the Norra Ny Madonna, also from Värmland (3/288-289).

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson

**Description:** (n.s.p)

The Stora Kil Madonna exhibits characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and has a similar relative in the Norra Ny Madonna, also from Värmland (3/288-289).

**Literature:** None
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The poor quality Trankil Madonna is seated on a bench, the left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. A veil covering her head is draped on the sides of the Virgin’s head with pleats. The mantle covers both shoulders and is draped underneath the Virgin’s right arm and underneath the Christ Child. The dress is full-length and only the tips of the Virgin’s feet are visible on the rounded base. There are two dowels inserted into the Virgin’s upper body, one in her larynx and the other below the belt. The Christ Child is seated high on the Virgin’s left thigh, and, uncommonly, has shoulder-length hair. Both figures were originally crowned; the right forearm of the Virgin and both of the Christ Child’s arms are missing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additional photographs

Photograph by: ATA
The Visnum Kil Madonna is seated on a bench with her left hand and arm supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna is wearing a veil, and has wavy hair. The mantle is draped over her shoulders, and the right side is swept under her right arm and underneath the feet of the Christ Child. The dress is carved with thin vertical folds which are divided by a girdle at her high waist. A pair of feet sticks out from underneath the dress. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, crossing his legs, without showing the sole of his foot. The Virgin’s right forearm, both arms of the Christ Child and both crowns are missing.

Norberg thought that Norwegian inspired Madonnas could be found in the churches of Värmland and pointed to the Visnum Kil Madonna (2/112-113). The Madonna exhibits characteristics from the A2 and B Groups and is reminiscent of the Hudene Madonna.
Västergötland
The Bälinge Madonna is seated on a throne, her left arm supporting the Christ Child and the right arm is slightly stretched forward. The Virgin’s right hand is placed on the Christ Child’s right foot. The right hand is, uncommonly, carved from the same piece of wood as the body of the Virgin (the hands are normally separate pieces, dowelled on). The garment has a rounded neck and sparse folds, starting as a veil and extends down to the base where the Virgin’s feet are visible. The Virgin’s crown is damaged and the Christ Child’s nose are missing. The Christ Child is holding an orb with both his hands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Bälinge Madonna is seated on a throne, her left arm supporting the Christ Child and the right arm is slightly stretched forward. The Virgin’s right hand is placed on the Christ Child’s right foot. The right hand is, uncommonly, carved from the same piece of wood as the body of the Virgin (the hands are normally separate pieces, dowelled on). The garment has a rounded neck and sparse folds, starting as a veil and extends down to the base where the Virgin’s feet are visible. The Virgin’s crown is damaged and the Christ Child’s nose are missing. The Christ Child is holding an orb with both his hands.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Berg Madonna is seated on a throne, her right hand touching the right foot of the Christ Child, the left hand supporting the side of the Child. Her hair is wavy and tucked behind her ears. She is also wearing a crown (from a later period). She has feminine features and large round eyes. The Virgin is wearing a robe, carved with long vertical pleats and she is also wearing a full-length dress. Two pointed shoes are visible on the flat base. The Christ Child is sitting in the Virgin’s left thigh. In his left hand he is holding a round object and his right arm and hand are raised in benediction. There is no significant pigment left on the sculpture, and the Virgin’s right hand must be the result of a restoration as well as the crown. The Christ Child’s head is a replacement and the crown is missing.
The Brismere Madonna is seated on a throne; her right arm stretched forward holding a sceptre in her hand. The right hand is supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a robe and a full-length dress. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, the right foot resting on the Virgin’s right thigh and the left foot dangling between the Virgin’s knees. The head of the Virgin has suffered severe damage and it seems as if it has been attacked by an axe and there is a huge crack running through most of the figure. Also, the hair of the Virgin is different from contemporary Madonnas, and instead of being styled in the customary flat hairstyles, the Madonna’s hair is airy and curly. The right arm of the Christ Child is missing and an iron dowel is still in place. The head of the Christ Child appears to be a later addition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>113</th>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sculpture:</strong></td>
<td>Brunn Madonna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region:</strong></td>
<td>Västergötland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance:</strong></td>
<td>Brunn Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Current location:</strong></td>
<td>Västergötlands Museum, Skara (inv nr. 1599)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions:</strong></td>
<td>H 109 cm, W 31.5 cm, D 24 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material:</strong></td>
<td>Oak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polychromy:</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Archival material:</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comments:</strong></td>
<td>The Brunn Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A2 and could be a simplified copy of the Husby Sjuhundra Madonna (3/308).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literature:</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description:**

The Brunn Madonna is seated on a throne, the right arm stretched forward, left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna is dressed in a mantle which covers both shoulders and is swept under the Christ Child, who is seated on the Virgin’s left side. The Virgin’s hair is flat wavy and a veil covers her head. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left side and is unfortunately severely damaged. The Virgin has a large oval hole on her right side, extending from her belly up to her chest. There is a large crack in her face. The Virgin’s right forearm is missing from a large round hole. Both arms of the Christ Child are missing, as well as part of his right leg. Both figures have been crowned and only the base of the structure has survived on the Virgin.
The Ekeskog Madonna is seated on a throne, her right upper arm stretched forward, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. Her head is dressed with a veil which extends down on her shoulders. The figure is also wearing a mantle which barely covers her shoulders and her dress has a rounded neck. The dress is carved with what appear to be folds and creases; a heavy belt with a buckle accentuates the waist. The Virgin bears a proud facial expression with a contented smile. The Christ Child is seated frontally on the Virgin’s left thigh with his feet pulled up. His left hand is placed on a book on his left thigh and his right arm is missing. The faces of the figures are damaged, as are both crowns.

<p>| Description: |
| The Ekeskog Madonna is seated on a throne, her right upper arm stretched forward, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. Her head is dressed with a veil which extends down on her shoulders. The figure is also wearing a mantle which barely covers her shoulders and her dress has a rounded neck. The dress is carved with what appear to be folds and creases; a heavy belt with a buckle accentuates the waist. The Virgin bears a proud facial expression with a contented smile. The Christ Child is seated frontally on the Virgin’s left thigh with his feet pulled up. His left hand is placed on a book on his left thigh and his right arm is missing. The faces of the figures are damaged, as are both crowns. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Gillstad Madonna is seated on a throne; her left hand supports the Christ Child, and her right hand is extended to her waist. The dress has a rounded neck with vertical pleats falling down to her waist. The mantle swirls dramatically down on the right side, forming u-shaped folds on the lower part. The Virgin’s face is round with protruding ears, and wavy hair, parted in the middle. The Christ Child sits on the Virgin’s left knee, holding an orb in his left hand and his right arm is raised in benediction. Both of his feet are resting on the Virgin’s right thigh. The smaller figure’s crown and the Virgin’s right forearm are missing. The Christ Child’s right hand has a fairly large hole in it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>115</th>
<th>Group: A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture: Gillstad Madonna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: Västergötland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance: Gillstad Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location: Gillstad Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions: H 100 cm, W 35 cm, D 21 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: c. 1275-1300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material: Oak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy: The dress is painted in yellow, brown, blue and red.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material: The sculpture is mentioned in Erik Bohm’s inventory of the Gillstad Church in 1930. (Aktarkivet, Gillstad Kyrka)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments: The Gillstad Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group but the face of the Virgin is reminiscent of the Berg Madonna (A1).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature: Fischer 1922, 441.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Description: (n.s.p)

The Hädene Madonna is seated on a throne, the right arm is stretched forward holding the remains of a sceptre and the left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing an oversized crown and her hair is tucked behind her protruding ears. Her neck is wide and extends down to a rounded-neck dress and a robe which falls down in thin vertical folds. The robe has a wide v-shaped opening. Her dress is full-length and only her feet are visible on the base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee and he holds a round object in his left hand and his right hand is raised in benediction. The sculpture has been heavily restored, most likely in the Twentieth century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Hädene Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Västergötland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Hädene Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Hädene Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H (tabernacle) 153 cm, H (Madonna) 89 cm, W 45 cm, D 30 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1250-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>The sculpture has been heavily restored with yellow, blue, white, black and red.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Archival material:
The sculpture was mentioned in an inventory by Anna Stina Julin in 1921. (Aktarkivet, Hädeke Kyrka)

Comments:
The Hädene Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 Madonnas and has similar protruding ears as the Fröskog Madonna (3/284).

Literature: None
The Härna Madonna is seated on a throne; her left hand supporting the Christ Child and her right arm is stretched forward. The dress has a rounded neck with vertical folds on the upper body. The lower part of the dress is covered by the mantle. The mantle covers both shoulders and on the left side is tucked underneath the Christ Child; the right side is draped between her legs. The Virgin’s feet are sticking out underneath the garment. There are remains of two praying figures on the base. The Christ Child sits frontally on the Virgin’s left knee, holding an apple in his left hand. The Virgin’s right forearm, Christ’s right arm, and both crowns, as well as, the heads of the praying figures are missing.
Description:
The Hemsjö Virgin is seated on a throne, with her left hand supporting the Christ Child. Her right arm is stretched forward to her right knee where she holds a sceptre. The robe is drawn together over her shoulders and leaves a narrow space at the chest and waist, extending and falling gracefully down on the sides of her legs. Her hair is carved in tiny waves underneath the veil which covers the sides of the disproportionate head. The Virgin’s feet rest on a cushion on top of the flat base. The Christ Child sits on the Virgin’s left knee, one foot resting on the Virgin’s right knee, the other one dangles between her knees. The trefoil of the Virgin’s crown and top of the sceptre are missing. A large crack runs though the Virgin’s face. The Christ Child’s crown, left forearm and right hand are missing.

Archival material:
The sculpture was mentioned in Nils Wollin’s inventory of the Hemsjö Church in 1924. (Aktarkivet, Hemsjö Kyrka)

Comments:
Andersson believed that the Hemsjö Madonna and the Härna/Varnum Madonna belonged to the same group but the Hemsjö Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and is closely related to the Öra Madonna. The two sculptures are early results of one of the workshops present in Västergötland from around the mid thirteenth century (3/290-291).

Literature:
Andersson 1966, 78, 79.

Group: A1
Sculpture: Hemsjö Madonna
Region: Västergötland
Provenance: Hemsjö Church
Current location: Hemsjö Church
Dimensions: H 102 cm, W 40 cm, D 22 cm
Date: c. 1250-1275
Material: Oak
Polychromy: None
Archival material: The sculpture was mentioned in Nils Wollin’s inventory of the Hemsjö Church in 1924. (Aktarkivet, Hemsjö Kyrka)

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>119</th>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Hol Madonna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Västergötland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Hol Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Statens Historiska Museum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inv. nr:</td>
<td>5669</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 116 cm, W 50 cm, D 57.5 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>It was mentioned by Sölve Gardell in his 1920 inventory of the church when it was noted that the sculpture deposited to the Statens Historiska Museum. (Aktarkivet, Hol Kyrka)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Hol Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group and Lindblom correctly suggested (after af Ugglas and Roosval) that a German-influenced stone carver opened up a workshop in Västergötland to which he assigned the Hol Madonna (2/117).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Description:
The Hol Madonna is seated on a throne, her right upper arm stretched forward, the left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin wears a veil and underneath is wavy hair tucked behind her ears. Her face is girlish and her eyes are round and large. Her dress has a round neck and is carved with thin pleats to her waist and her shoulders are covered by a mantle which is carved with thin vertical folds. The figures are badly damaged and only the body and legs of the Christ Child has survived on the Virgin’s left knee. The Virgin’s crown, except for the base, is missing as are her right forearm, both arms of the Christ Child and his head, as well as parts of his feet. The throne is the same type which was common on Gotland with the upward pointing ends.
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Description:</td>
<td>The Hudene Madonnas is seated on a throne with her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The hair of the Madonna is braided and the braids extend down on her back. Her face is that of a young girl with round cheeks and large bulging eyes. The dress has a v-neck and the mantle covers both shoulders. The Christ Child is seated upright, frontally on the Virgin’s left knee. The right arm of the Virgin, her crown, the Christ Child’s right forearm and his crown are missing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group:</td>
<td>A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Hudene Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Västergötland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Hudene Church</td>
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<td>Current location:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 92 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
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<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Alder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>The sculpture was mentioned in Sölve Gardell’s inventory of Hudene Church in 1920. (Aktarkivet, Hudene Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Hudene Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A1 and is fairly similar to the Kiaby and Berga Madonnas (3/279).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photograph by:</td>
<td>Lennart Karlsson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Region:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Provenance:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Current location:</td>
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<td>Dimensions:</td>
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<td>Material:</td>
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<td>Polychromy:</td>
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<td>Archival material:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literature:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Description:
The Hyssna Madonna is seated on a throne, her right arm stretched forward holding a flower which rests on her right thigh. Her left hand is supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin’s hair is tucked behind protruding and large ears. Her face is childish and her eyes are almond-shaped and she is smiling faintly. Her neckline is round and the robe has a v-closing in the front. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left foot touching the front of the Virgin’s right knee. He holds a round object in his left hand. Both crowns and the Christ Child’s left arm are missing. There is a large round hole on the top of the Virgin’s right foot.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
<th>The Kållands-Åsaka Madonna is seated on a throne, with her head covered by a veil which extends down to her shoulders and is further down the sides of her body. The dress has a round neck-line and a round recess is placed right underneath it. The waist is marked by a belt which has a flap which hangs over. The dress is full-length and only the left foot is visible from underneath the dress. Both arms, the crown, the right foot and the entire Christ Child are missing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group:</td>
<td>A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Kållands-Åsaka Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>The sculpture was mentioned in an inventory of the Kållands-Åsaka Church by Mats Bergman in 1930. (Aktarkivet, Kållands-Åsaka Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Kållands-Åsaka Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A1 but also the B2 group. K. Eckerblad dated it to the twelfth century which is very difficult to believe because of the facial features as well as the belt (3/327).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature:</td>
<td>Ugglas 1915, 573.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description:
The Kullings-Skövde Madonna is seated on a throne, her left hand supporting the side of the Christ Child. The hair is parted at the middle, covering the ears. The eyes are large almond-shaped and the mouth is delicately carved. The mantle covers her left shoulder and only slightly the right one, forming deep folds that are draped between her knees. The upper part of the garment has multiple vertical pleats, and a round recess in the chest. The Christ Child is perched on the Virgin’s left knee, his right foot resting below her left kneecap. The Christ Child’s garment follows the same programme as the Virgin’s with a round neck, rich pleats on the upper body, with a recess for a brooch placed on the chest. The Virgin’s mantle and dress are carved in two layers, the top one ends in the middle of her calf, and the other is full length, only showing the tips of her pointed shoes. The nose of the Virgin and Christ Child are damaged. The Virgin’s right forearm is missing and there is a hole on the right side where the belt is. Both of the Christ Child’s arms are missing, as well as the crowns of both figures.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Kungslena Madonna is seated in a throne, right upper arm stretched forward, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The small ears are placed high on the sides of the Virgin’s head. The dress has a v-neck with a thick border and the folds are round and vertical. She is wearing a mantle that covers both shoulders and is draped under her right arm and under the Christ Child. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, with both feet dangling between the Virgin’s legs. Both figures have been crowned, and the right forearm of the Virgin, and the right arm of the Christ Child are missing. The sculpture has been heavily restored and repainted over the centuries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Kyrkås Madonna is seated on a throne, her right arm stretched forward holding a sceptre and the left hand is supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a mantle, which covers both her shoulders, more so the left one. The Virgin wears a veil and she has wavy hair on the sides of her head. The dress of the Virgin has a thin round belt which creates a bulge at her waist. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding a book in his left hand. The figures are placed in a structure, presently consisting just of a backboard. It was most likely a tabernacle as the hinges are still present for the side doors.

Description: (n.s.p)

The Kyrkås Madonna is seated on a throne, her right arm stretched forward holding a sceptre and the left hand is supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a mantle, which covers both her shoulders, more so the left one. The Virgin wears a veil and she has wavy hair on the sides of her head. The dress of the Virgin has a thin round belt which creates a bulge at her waist. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, holding a book in his left hand. The figures are placed in a structure, presently consisting just of a backboard. It was most likely a tabernacle as the hinges are still present for the side doors.

Group: A2

Sculpture: Kyrkås Madonna
Region: Västergötland
Provenance: Kyrkås Church
Current location: Kyrkås Church
Dimensions: H 72 (Madonna), H 102 cm (tabernacle)
Date: c. 1275-1300
Material: Oak
Polychromy: None
Archival material: The sculpture was mentioned in an inventory performed in 1918 of the Kyrkås Church. (Aktarkivet, Kyrkås Kyrka)
Comments: The Kyrkås Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group.

Literature: None
Description: (n.s.p)

The Marum Madonna is seated on a throne, her right hand held in front of her chest and her right hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a mantle which covers both shoulders, more so the left one. The mantle is heavily draped over the Virgin’s knees and creates a bulky impression in front of her knees. The Virgin is wearing a veil and flat hair falls down the sides of her head. She is wearing a crown and her face has girlish features. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left arm and is severely damaged. He holds a round object in his left hand. The neck, head and left arm are missing from the Christ Child. In a picture from ATA the sculpture is taken apart and it is possible that the Virgin’s head and body do not belong together.

Group: B1
Sculpture: Marum Madonna
Region: Västergötland
Provenance: Marum Church
Current location: Marum Church
Dimensions: H 62 cm (50 cm without head, ATA)
Date: c. 1300-1325
Material: Oak
Polychromy: None
Archival material: None
Comments:
The Marum Madonna exhibits the characteristics of the B1 Group.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson

Literature:
Andersson 1966, 115 note 3.
Description:
The Molla Madonna is seated on a throne, her right arm stretched forward, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna is dressed in a robe which has a v-shaped opening in the front. The dress has a round neck. The robe extends down to mid-calf and underneath it is a full-length dress. Her face is that of a young woman and she has a smile on her face. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left arm, holding a round object in his left hand. His head is carved from a separate piece of wood and attached with a dowel. The Virgin was once crowned; there is damage to the crown of the Christ Child and his right arm is missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>127</th>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Molla Madonna</td>
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<td>Region:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Molla Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Current location:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 97 cm, W 35 cm, D 14 cm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c.1250-1275</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Alder</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>The sculpture was mentioned in an inventory performed in 1928 of the church. (Aktarkivet, Molla Kyrka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Molla Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and resembles the Hinneryd and the Munkarp Madonnas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literature:</td>
<td>Andersson 1966, 76.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Description:
The Norra Vånga Madonna is seated on a throne; her right upper arm stretched forward, her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a mantle with a collar and the dress lacks a carved neckline. The garments are heavily draped in large pleats and folds over the Virgin’s lap and legs. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, severely damaged. He is holding a sceptre in his left hand. The Madonna has been modernised (perhaps in the 16th century), a new head and a new hairstyle with long braids attached on top of the original surface. Her right forearm is missing, exposing a large, round hole. The right arm and the head of the Christ Child are missing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Öra sculpture is seated on a throne; her right arm stretched forward, the left one supporting the side of the Christ Child. The Madonna’s head is covered by a veil which extends and becomes the mantle. This is draped over her shoulders and is carved in geometric shapes over the legs. The dress is full-length and only the large feet stick out from underneath the dress. The Christ Child is placed high on the Virgin’s left thigh, and is embraced by her. The Virgin and Christ Child have suffered much abuse, as the face of the Virgin has been severely damaged and parts of the crown are lost. The right shoulder and the left forearm are missing from the Christ Child.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>129</th>
<th>Group: A1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture: Öra Madonna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: Västergötland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance: Öra Church</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Current location: Borås Museum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions: H 88 cm, W 30 cm, D 25 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: c. 1250-1275</td>
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<tr>
<td>Material: Oak</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polychromy: None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material: None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments: The Öra Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and to my eye the Bälinge Madonna and Hemsjö Madonna are close relatives (3/289).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Literature: |
| Andersson 1966, 76. |

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>130</th>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Ornunga Madonna</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Västergötland</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Ornunga Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Material:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>Anderson wrote that it would have been executed by a workshop in South Scandinavia (3/n40, 307) but the Ornunga Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group and belongs in a local workshop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literature:</td>
<td>Andersson 1956, 7-8.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description:**
The Ornunga Madonna is seated on a throne, with her right upper arm slightly stretched forward, her left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a mantle and a full-length dress. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s right thigh, supporting his feet on the opposite thigh. The sculpture is damaged, much of the Virgin’s face is ruined, but an innocent smile is detectable, also her right forearm is missing. The head and right arm of the Christ Child are missing.
Description:
The Remmene Madonna is seated on a throne, her right upperarm stretched forward. Her left hand supports the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a veil and her hair is carved in tight curls and parted in the middle of her forehead. Her eyes are almond-shaped and carved with double eyelids. Her face has a serious expression. The neckline is v-shaped and at the bottom it is draped diagonally. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, slightly elevated. The right arm, parts of the Virgin’s crown, the right arm and the forearm of the Christ Child are missing. There is also damage to the front of the base.

Archival material:
The sculpture was mentioned in an inventory by Sölve Gardell in 1920. (Aktarkivet, Remmene Kyrka)

Comments:
The Remmene Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A1 and it appears to be carved after a Romanesque model but has been modernised with early fourteenth century traits (3/330-331).

Literature: None
The Skälvum Madonna is seated on a cushioned throne, with her right arm stretched forward, the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a mantle which is draped over her shoulders and has the shape of a low cut v at the centre. The Madonna has long flowing hair and a veil over it. The Madonna has large almond-shaped eyes and a neutral facial expression. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, his left hand holding a round object, his right arm raised in benediction. The sculpture is damaged in several places, for example, there is a large hole in the Virgin’s lower right abdominal area and the front part of the base is broken off. Both crowns are missing as well as the Virgin’s right forearm.
The Skarstad Madonna is seated on a throne, her right arm stretched and the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Madonna is crowned and long, round braids are carved on top of the mantle. Her face is that of a young girl and her eyes are round and large. She has a v-shaped neckline and the mantle is draped underneath her arm and swept under the Christ Child. The lower part of the mantle is draped diagonally in front of the Virgin’s legs. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, his left foot placed in the v-shaped fold between the Virgin’s knees and his right one on top of her right thigh. The Christ Child’s right arm and left hand are missing. The Virgin’s right hand seem to be the result of a later restoration since it lacks any sort of compositional unity to the rest of the figures.

Description:

The Skarstad Madonna has details not belonging to the last quarter of the thirteenth century (like the hairstyle in the Norra Vånga Madonna). The Skarstad Madonna is related to the Norra Vånga Madonna as the Madonna is wearing a similar v-necked dress and the fabric of the mantle has been draped similarly over the figure’s legs (3/329).

Literature: None
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
<th>The Skeby Madonna is seated on a cushioned throne, her right arm stretched forward. Her left hand is supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin is wearing a mantle which covers both shoulders and is draped on each side of her body. The Virgin is crowned and her hair is parted in the middle and pulled back on the sides of her head. Her dress has a round neck and there is a round ornament on the chest. The Christ Child is seated frontally on the Virgin’s left knee, his mantle having identical folds on the left side. His legs are crossed. The Virgin’s right hand (exposing a round hole), the Christ Child’s right hand, and his crown are missing. The Virgin’s crown is damaged at the edges and her nose has been cut off.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group:</td>
<td>A3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Skeby Madonna</td>
</tr>
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<td>Region:</td>
<td>Västergötland</td>
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<td>Provenance:</td>
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<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Västergötlands Museum, Skara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 78 cm, D 81 cm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Skeby Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A1 and A2 Groups and is reminiscent of the Södra Råda Madonna and Varnum Madonnas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Description:

The Tådene Madonna is seated on a throne. The Madonna wears a tall crown, and her hair is pulled back. Her face is unusually detailed for a sculpture in Västergötland. The eyes have double eyelids, a petite nose and the mouth has a faint smile. The Virgin is wearing a dress with a round neck decorated with a thick border. She has a mantle draped over her shoulders, and gracefully under her right arm and underneath the Christ Child, who is seated on the Virgin’s left side. The mantle goes down her chins and is delicately carved on top of the dress which is full-length and only exposes the tips of her pointed shoes. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left side, his left arm stretched forward and his right hand is raised in benediction. There is a large hole in the lower part of the abdominal area, most likely caused by cracks that go straight above and below of the vulnerable area. One of the palmetto leaves on the Virgin’s crown, her right forearm and the Christ Child’s left hand are missing.
The Töreboda Madonna is seated on a throne, the right upper arm is stretched forward, and the left one is supporting the body of the Christ Child. Half of the upper body of the Madonna is cut off, leaving only the right shoulder. A mantle covers the right shoulder and it is draped across the legs of the Virgin. The dress is full-length and only the feet stick out over the base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his right foot resting on top of the Virgin’s right thigh. The neck and head of the Christ Child, the Virgin’s left upper body, neck and head, and her right forearm are missing.
The Torbjörnstorp Madonna is seated on a throne, with right arm stretched forward, and the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin’s face has large eyes, straight nose and a neutral smile. The Virgin is wearing a mantle which covers both shoulders, although more so the left one. The dress has a round neck and in the middle of her chest she has a round recess for a brooch, which has been filled with gesso or stone at one point. The Christ Child is not sitting directly on the Virgin’s left thigh, but is resting his feet on her knee while being elevate to about her waist. The Virgin’s garment spreads out over the base in a lamp-shade like patterns only exposing the tips of the Virgin’s feet. Both sculptures were originally crowned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description: (n.s.p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Torbjörnstorp Madonna is seated on a throne, with right arm stretched forward, and the left one supporting the body of the Christ Child. The Virgin’s face has large eyes, straight nose and a neutral smile. The Virgin is wearing a mantle which covers both shoulders, although more so the left one. The dress has a round neck and in the middle of her chest she has a round recess for a brooch, which has been filled with gesso or stone at one point. The Christ Child is not sitting directly on the Virgin’s left thigh, but is resting his feet on her knee while being elevate to about her waist. The Virgin’s garment spreads out over the base in a lamp-shade like patterns only exposing the tips of the Virgin’s feet. Both sculptures were originally crowned.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description: (n.s.p)

The Våmb Madonna is seated on a throne, her right hand supporting the Christ Child and the left arm is stretched forward. The mantle is heavily draped over the Virgin’s shoulders and falls down her sides in deep folds and pleats. The hair is carved in coil-shaped braids which are pulled back. The dress on the lower body is designed with the fabric falling straight down and then fans out at the bottom onto the flat base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, all the way out on the knee, sitting in an upright pose. The sculptures are severely damaged, both forearms of the Virgin are missing, leaving two gaping round holes. Both crowns are also missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>138</th>
<th>Group:</th>
<th>A3</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Våmb Madonna</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>c. 1275-1300</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Våmb Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A2 Group.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Literature:
Andersson 1966, 80.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Vånga Madonna is seated on a throne; her right arm stretched forward her left hand supporting the body of the Christ Child. The head of the Virgin has been defaced, but one can make out that the sculpture formerly had girlish features. The Madonna is dressed in a heavy robe, and a dress with a round neck, decorated with a round border. The dress and mantle are carved with long vertical creases that extend onto the round base, leaving only the pointed shoes to be exposed at the base. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his left foot dangling between the Virgin’s knees and the right one resting on the Virgin’s right thigh. The entire upper body of the Christ Child, the Virgin’s right forearm and her crown are missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Group: | A1 |
| Sculpture: | Vånga Madonna |
| Region: | Västergötland |
| Provenance: | Vånga Church |
| Current location: | Borås Museum (inv. nr: 1836) |
| Dimensions: | H 100 cm, W 38 cm, D 27.5 cm |
| Date: | c. 1250-1275 |
| Material: | Oak |
| Polychromy: | None |
| Archival material: | None |
| Comments: | The Vånga Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 Madonnas and is similar to the Torsåker and Norra Ny Madonnas (3/282-283). |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andersson 1966, 76.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
### Description:
The Vårkumla Madonna is seated on a throne in an upright position; her right arm is stretched forward holding a flower or a sceptre. Her left hand is supporting the body of the Christ Child. She is dressed in a mantle and is wearing a dress with a round neck. At the centre of her chest is a round recess which was once filled with either gesso, glass, metal or stone. The robe is gracefully hung over her shoulders, creating a low cut v-shape in the front. Her head has been remodelled or is later than the figure itself. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee, his left hand holding a book and his right hand is raised in benediction. Both figures have remains of wooden crowns. The base of the sculpture has a large crack in the centre.

### Group:
- A1

### Sculpture:
- Vårkumla Madonna

### Region:
- Västergötland

### Provenance:
- Vårkumla Church

### Current location:
- Borås Museum

### Dimensions:
- H 118 cm

### Date:
- c. 1275-1300

### Material:
- Oak

### Polychromy:
The dress bears traces of red and blue.

### Archival material:
The sculpture was mentioned in an inventory performed by Hanna Eggertz-Hegardt in 1920. (Aktarkivet, Vårkumla Kyrka)

### Comments:
The Vårkumla Madonna exhibits the characteristics ascribed to Group A1 and has a relative in the Orlunda Madonna but also demonstrates similarities to sculptures of the south, for example the Edestad Madonna (3/279).

### Literature:
None

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Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description:</th>
<th>The Varnum Madonna is seated frontally on a throne, with her left hand supporting the side of the Christ Child. The mantle is draped over the round and narrow shoulders of the Virgin. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left knee. The drapery of the Virgin’s dress is close to the drapery of fifteenth-century Madonnas and it is possible that the Madonna has undergone modernisation in this later time. The face of the Madonnas is carved with round eyes and tiny mouth. The sculpture is severely damaged, the right arm of the Virgin is missing, as is half of the head of the Christ Child, together with both his arms and feet.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group:</td>
<td>A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture:</td>
<td>Varnum Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
<td>Västergötland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Varnum Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current location:</td>
<td>Borås Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>H 69 cm, W 30 cm, D 23 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>c. 1300-1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material:</td>
<td>Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychromy:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival material:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>The Varnum Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A1 and A2 Groups and is fairly similar to the Skeby and Södra Råda Madonnas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature:</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson
Västmanland

Kumla (B1)
Romfartuna (A2)
Säterbo (A3)
Västeras
Description:
The Kumla Madonna is seated in a bench, the right forearm is stretched forward and the left hand (most likely a replacement) supports the body of the Christ Child. The dress has a v-neck and in the centre, right underneath the neckline is a round recess. A veil covers curly hair and falls down on each side of her head and down to her shoulders. The mantle covers both shoulders and sweeps underneath her right arm, across her lap with a v-shaped fold and underneath the Christ Child. The garments are full-length and only the tips of the Madonna’s feet are visible on the flat base. A belt accentuates the waist and gives shape to the loose-fitting dress. The Christ Child is half standing on the Virgin’s left thigh; his head is missing. The crown and right hand of the Virgin are also missing.

Photograph by: Lennart Karlsson

Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>142</th>
<th>Group: B1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sculpture: Kumla Madonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Region: Västmanland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provenance: Kumla Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Current location: Västmanlands Länsmuseum, Västerås (inv. nr: 436)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dimensions: H 111 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Date: c. 1300-1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Material: Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polychromy: None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archival material: None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments: Jacobsson reported that the Kumla resembled the Sundre Madonna and could be dated to the first part of the fourteenth century (2/n189, 201). The Kumla Madonna exhibits the characteristics of B1.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Romfartuna Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench, her right forearm stretched forward, the left one supporting the Christ Child. The head of the Madonna is covered by a veil and underneath it is her curly shoulder-length hair. The Virgin is wearing a mantle which does only cover her left shoulder, but the “fabric” is wrapped around her and swirled between her legs. The dress has a round neckline and very thin vertical creases on the chest. There is a thick belt with a buckle which accentuates the waistline. The dress is full-length and the Virgin is trampling two symmetrical creatures under her feet. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin’s left thigh, his legs crossed and he sits on his right foot whereas his left foot is dangling between the Virgin’s legs. His right hand is raised in benediction. It seems possible that the figures’ heads are replacements. The right hand of the Virgin is broken off and both crowns are missing.

Archival material:
The sculpture is mentioned in an inventory by Gerda Boëthius in 1917. According to ATA records, it was conserved in 1925. (Aktarkivet, Romfartuna Kyrka)

Comments:
Andersson thought that it was reminiscent of Norwegian sculpture under English influence (3/303-304). I also see similarities to the Naverstad Madonna, including the iconography of the serpent, although of higher quality (3/305-306).

Literature:
The Säterbo Madonna is seated on a cushioned bench; her right arm stretched forward holding a sceptre and her left hand holding up the edge of her robe. The Virgin is wearing a veil and underneath it is wavy hair which extends down her back. The neckline of the dress is round and has a carved flower at the top. Directly underneath the flower is a round recess which was most likely filled with metal, wood, gesso, glass or stone. The slim waist is accentuated by a belt with a buckle. The mantle only covers the left shoulder and is plainly draped on the sides of her body and draped over the Virgin’s right knee and between her legs. The garment is full length and creates a fan-like shape at the base where only the feet stick out. The Christ Child is placed on the Virgin’s right thigh, the pose uncertainly standing or seated. The Christ Child has a book in his left hand. Both crowns, and both arms of the Christ Child are missing.

**Description: (n.s.p)**

Karlsson explained the Madonnas from Över Järna and Säterbo must have been related to each other, albeit not from the same workshop, and added that the Madonna type was repeatedly produced in the Valley of Mälaren (3/315-316). In my opinion, the Säterbo Madonna exhibits some characteristics ascribed to the A2 but is carved in the style of Group A1.

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