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*The Miracle of the Harvest. The Cistercians, French
Connections and the Hegwald Workshop on Gotland*

Abstract: This article examines the representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest*, a rare pictorial motif on thirteenth century works, which was carved on four baptismal fonts by the Hegwald workshop operating on Gotland. The unique pictorial representations of this legend on the Hegwald fonts indicates that the workshop was most likely operating around the year 1200 or in the early decades of the thirteenth century and not, as Johnny Roosval suggested in 1918–1925, in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. Central to the development of the Romanesque font industry on Gotland was the arrival of the monks from the Cistercian monasteries of Clairvaux and Cîteaux in France, to Alvastra, Nydala (both on the Swedish mainland) and to the Baltic island of Gotland in 1152/53–1164, where the Cistercians founded the monastery of *Beata Maria de Gutnalia* (Roma). With these developments, a massive stone industry evolved across the North and introduced a major influx of French influences that impacted the numerous workshops producing baptismal fonts, including Hegwald's. A review of the tetradic scholarship concerning the Hegwald workshop, the subject of the *Miracle of the Harvest*, the known written and visual evidence, and the construction history of the parish churches, is integrated and analysed within the historical context of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Danish-French alliances that contributed to these Baltic developments during the Valdemarian dynasty (1157–1241).

Keywords: Absalon, Anders Sunesen, Archbishop of Lund, Baltic Crusades, Baptismal Fonts, Cistercians, Denmark, Flight to Egypt, France, Gotland, Hegwald, Medieval Art, Miracle of the Harvest, Sculpture, Stephen the Stable Boy, St Stephen

The Miracle of the Harvest

The Cistercians, French Connections and the Hegwald Workshop on Gotland

Harriet M. Sonne de Torrens



*Fig. 1. Two kings affirming the written word. Early thirteenth century. Stånga baptismal font, Gotland.
Photo Baptisteria Sacra Index (BSI).*

*Introduction*¹

The conflated compositions carved on the baptismal fonts attributed to the Hegwald workshop have long been acknowledged as some of the more outstanding and unusual works produced in Gotland's Romanesque period.² The Hegwald workshop was one of six workshops, first identified by Johnny Roosval (1879–1965) in his survey on the Gotland Romanesque fonts *Die Steinmeister Gottlands* (1918), which carved the Romanesque fonts on the Baltic island of Gotland: Calcarius, Sighraf, Hegwald, Majestatis, Byzantios and Semi-Byzantios.³ The Romanesque production of figurative fonts is usually understood as the first phase of the major font-making industry that evolved on Gotland, concurrent with the carving of figurative fonts in Scania, a region also under the jurisdiction of medieval Denmark.⁴ At first glance the pictorial programs on the Hegwald fonts appear primitive and chaotic, defying the canonical traditions for depicting sacred history. The workshop's animated and gesticulating style of conflating events and extending the action beyond the architectonic frames on the more than twenty vessels attributed to Hegwald was quite unlike the styles of the other Gotland workshops.⁵ The Hegwald imagery accentuates authority, both ecclesiastic and military, through the use of swords and pictorial references to the written word in the form of scrolls and books (fig. 1).

The architectonic frames used in the narratives are not rigid blocks of stone but instead are comprised of twisted knotted rope and interlaced motifs, recalling an earlier aesthetic, as seen on the metal borders of the twelfth-century Danish Lisbjerg golden altar. Indeed, the combination of these storytelling devices, spirited figures and the continuation of Urnes-Romanesque interlacing, a pictorial reference to the earlier pre-Christian type of interlaced ribbons, animals and snakes, encouraged Roosval to propose that the Hegwald master was the earliest workshop to carve figural programs on the Romanesque fonts produced on Gotland.⁶ He noted that the Hegwald style was “die Pforte zwischen alter und neuer Gottländerkunst.”⁷ Today we understand that there was no decisive break or precise date range for when artistic preferences for past motifs ceased to be relevant. Instead, the earlier aesthetic predilections in northern regions continued well into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but were recontextualized within the new Continental perspectives.⁸ Moreover, if we look farther afield, we do find Romanesque figural styles, analogous to Hegwald’s spirited figures, in the region of Bèarn, which borders France and Spain. Romanesque parallels are carved on the capitals at the Cathedral of Sainte-Marie d’Oloron, located on the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, and at the Collegiate Church of Saint-Pierre, Chauvigny, east of Poitiers, as seen in this scene of the *Annunciation to Mary*, dated to the mid-twelfth century (fig. 14, on page 56).⁹ So, while the tubular carving style of some of the artisans working in the Hegwald workshop, such as Stånga, differed from the other Gotland workshops it was not necessarily indicative of an earlier or primitive period.

In fact, the Hegwald pictorial programs should be considered the most complex and sophisticated of the six Gotland font workshops. The Hegwald artisans skillfully conflated events from a wide range of sources, such as oral traditions, local legends, hagiographical, apocryphal and biblical sources, and, then visually presented them within a contemporary perspective. This is especially the case with the representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest*, first identified by Roosval in *Die Steinmeister Gotlands*.¹⁰ This single motif is rare on thirteenth-century works and non-existent on twelfth century works. In addition, the Romanesque churches in which the Hegwald fonts with the representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest* are located have been assigned later dates that correspond more closely to when the *Miracle of the Harvest* begins to be rep-



Fig. 2. *Miracle of the Harvest*. Early thirteenth century. Ganthem baptismal font, Gotland. Photo BSI.

resented. These developments immediately question the earlier dates ascribed to the Hegwald workshop.

The *Miracle of the Harvest* is carved on four Hegwald fonts located in two of the three districts of Gotland: two vessels are situated in the central district in the churches of Ganthem (fig. 2) and Halla (fig. 3), with two additional fonts in the southern district, in the churches of När (fig. 5) and Stånga (fig. 6).¹¹ The scenes on the Halla (fig. 3) and När fonts (fig. 5) combine the *Miracle of the Harvest* with the *Massacre of the Innocents*. The scene on the Stånga font includes Joseph from the previous *Flight to Egypt* scene with the *Miracle of the Harvest* (fig. 6). Of the eleven fonts which are attributed to the Hegwald workshop and ornamented with events from Christ’s childhood on the basin



Fig. 3. *Miracle of the Harvest and Massacre of the Innocents*. Early thirteenth century. Halla baptismal font, Gotland. Photo BSI.



Fig. 4. *Flight to Egypt and Fall of the Idols*. Early thirteenth century. Halla baptismal font, Gotland. Photo BSI.

sides and underbowls, these four fonts are the only works with a representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest*.¹² In fact, based on the research in the *Baptisteria Sacra Index* (BSI), the four vessels are the only known baptismal fonts in the Latin West to depict the uncommon event of the *Miracle of the Harvest*.¹³ In the English scholarship, the *Miracle of the Harvest* is also referred to as the *Miracle of the Cornfield* or the *Miracle of the Instantaneous Grain*.¹⁴

This article reviews the tetradic scholarship on four interrelated topics: the Hegwald workshop, the legend of the *Miracle of the Harvest*, what is currently known concerning the written sources and the pictorial evidence, and the construction history of the churches in which the fonts are located. The four separate areas of research will be reviewed and integrated within the historical context of the ecclesiastic Danish-French alliances that evolved during the period of the Valdemarian dynasty (1157–1241). Gotland was the Baltic's international centre where merchants, warriors, clerics and pilgrims took refuge and stopped on route between the West and the East – many influences reached Gotland.¹⁵ In this article, however, the focus will remain on the French influ-



Fig. 5. *Miracle of the Harvest and Massacre of the Innocents*. Early thirteenth century. När baptismal font, Gotland. Photo BSI.



Fig. 6. Joseph (from the Flight to Egypt) and Miracle of the Harvest. Early thirteenth century. Stånga baptismal font, Gotland. Photo BSI.

ences and the Danish connections, which facilitated the growth of the Cistercian order and their political expansion in the Baltic region, for these appear to have been some of the dominant influences adopted by the Hegwald workshop. I will present evidence that invalidates the earlier proposed dates for the workshop and, instead, offers support for the investigations that have argued for later dates for the Hegwald workshop.

The Mass Readings and Legends

Representations of the *Miracle of the Harvest* are presented as part of the Infancy cycles on the Hegwald fonts. The depiction of childhood and hagiographic events are associated with the designated Mass readings for the feast days in the Christmas and Epiphany seasons: Christmas (December 25), St. Stephen (December 26), the Holy Innocents (December 28) and the Epiphany (January 6). However, as will be discussed later, there is no reference to the *Miracle of the Harvest* in the canonical or non-canonical texts.

The legend of the *Miracle of the Harvest* commences with the arrival of the three Magi in Jerusalem, who were seeking the King of the Jews, as recounted in the Mass reading (Matt. 2:2): “Where is the one who has been born king of the Jews? We saw his star when it rose and have come to worship him.” This results in Herod’s distress and ultimate decree that all children in Jerusalem under the age of two years be killed (Matt. 2:16–18). The representation of this infanticide event is known as the *Massacre of the Innocents*. The Magi depart for Bethlehem where they find the Child and are warned in a dream not to return to Herod (Matt. 2:12). The Gospel reading for the Mass on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, December 28, is Matthew 2:13–18. These verses describe *Joseph’s Second Dream* (Matt. 2:13), the angel telling him to flee with his family, the Holy Family’s *Flight to Egypt* and the *Anger of Herod* (Matt. 2:13–15), and the *Massacre of the Innocents* (Matt. 2:16–18). After *Joseph’s Second Dream* (Matt. 2:13), the Holy Family flees from Bethlehem to Egypt.

The legend of the *Miracle of the Harvest* occurs in Mary and Joseph’s flight from Herod’s soldiers on their *Flight to Egypt* (Matt. 2:13–15). When the family passed a farmer sowing seeds in the field, the Child told the farmer that the grain would grow and ripen immediately, miraculously to full maturity. When Herod’s soldiers arrived and asked the farmer if he had seen the Holy family, he replied that he had seen them when he was sowing the seeds. The soldiers assumed this must have occurred several months before and, therefore, turned around and rode back in the opposite direction.¹⁶ The Holy Family, saved from Herod’s soldiers, continued on their journey to Egypt. This is the essence of the miracle legend emphasizing the Child’s divine powers.

In addition to the Gospel readings for the Mass on the feast days in the seasons of Christmas and the Epiphany, the Hegwald compositions include details and features that are part of the non-canonical texts such as the *Prot-evangelium of James*, *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, the *Latin Infancy Gospel*, *Arabic Infancy Gospels* and the *Armenian Gospel*. The Hegwald programs, for example, include pictorial references to the stories about the midwives Salome and Zelomi, and to the weightless Child in the *Nativity* scenes, which is from the *Latin Infancy Gospel*,¹⁷ the Virgin spinning purple thread in the *Annunciation* scene from the *Protevangelion of James*, and, lastly, the *Fall of the Idols* and the *Miracle of the Palm Tree*, both of which are derived from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*.



Fig. 7. Legend of Stephen the Stable Boy. Early thirteenth century. Stånga baptismal font, Gotland. Photo BSI.

On the Hegwald fonts, the representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest* is accompanied by other miracles, such as the *Fall of the Idols* (in the upper right hand corner of the *Flight to Egypt*) on the Halla font (fig. 4),¹⁸ the legend of *Stephen the Stable Boy with the Resurrected Cock* (St. Stephen, the patron saint of horses – *Staffan Stalledräng*) on the Stånga font (fig. 7),¹⁹ and the *Conversion of Governor Affrodosius* in Egypt on the Halla font (fig. 8).²⁰ The conversion of Governor Affrodosius and the Christianization of Egypt would have evoked contemporary associations with the on-going attempts to Christianize Egypt following the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 to Saladin. The Hegwald workshop had a unique predilection for representing miracles, which distinguishes it from the programs carved by the other Gotland workshops.

The Baptismal Fonts

The *Miracle of the Harvest* is carved on the underbowl of the Stånga font with no space for Herod's soldiers (fig. 6). Reading from left to right, the first scene on the underside of the basin is the *Flight to Egypt* (fig. 9) with Joseph in the next

arcade (fig. 6), pointing upward to the *Adoration of the Magi* that is carved on the upper side of the basin. The Magi, the first Gentiles to recognize Christ's divinity, were considered to be the patron saints of travellers and pilgrims. Joseph leads the donkey which carries Mary, who is holding a cross and the Child. The presence of the cross proclaims the advent of Christianity as they enter Egypt, confirmed by the *Fall of the Idols* as rendered on the Halla font. To the right of Joseph on the Stånga font is the farmer cutting the miraculous grain (fig. 6). The legend of St. Stephen and the resurrected cock at Herod and Herodia's feast is given prominence on the upper side of the basin (fig. 7). The diminutive and haloed figure of Stephen holds his arm on the right, a grieving gesture that foretells his distress and pending martyrdom in Jerusalem (fig. 10).

The representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest* on the Hegwald fonts, always positioned in close proximity to the *Flight to Egypt*, is carved as either a



Fig. 8. Conversion of Governor Affrodosius with Personified Egypt. Early thirteenth century. Halla baptismal font, Gotland. Photo BSI.



Fig. 9. *Flight to Egypt*. Early thirteenth century. *Stånga baptismal font*, Gotland. Photo BSI.

single composition or abbreviated and conflated with the *Massacre of the Innocents*, as on the Halla and När fonts (fig. 3, 5). In the conflated scenes only essential features were carved. On the sides of the När basin the following scenes are rendered: the *Annunciation to Mary*, the *Visitation*, the *Flight to Egypt*, a conflated scene under one arch that depicts the *Miracle of the Harvest* and the *Massacre of the Innocents*, a representation of Herod and Herodia's feast with the resurrected cock that cried "*Christus est natus*," (fig. 11), followed by a depiction of the *Nativity of Christ*. On the När font, the farmer on the left cuts the grain next to a soldier decapitating a child with a grieving mother behind him. The feast of Herod and Herodia does not include Stephen, as Roosval originally suggested. Instead the scene shows a roughly hewn, if not incomplete, motif of *Samson and the Lion* (on the left) and John the Baptist dressed in skins (on the right) with Herod aggressively holding a raised sword warning the viewer of John the Baptist's pending decapitation (fig. 11).

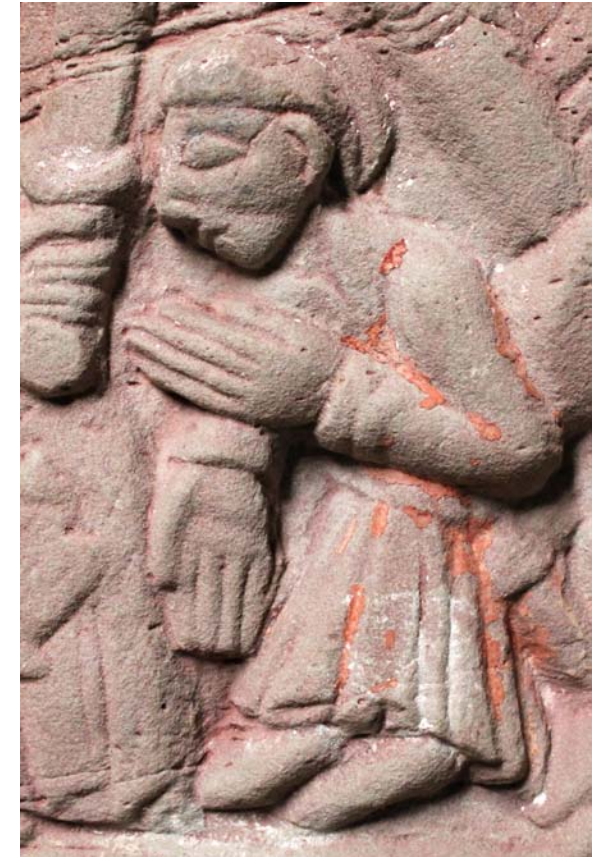


Fig. 10. *Stephen the Stable Boy*, detail fig. 7. Early thirteenth century. *Stånga baptismal font*, Gotland. Photo BSI.

The presence of these two biblical figures, Samson and John the Baptist in the När composition, both prefigurations of Christ, is a learned declaration of the advent of Christ, followed by the *Nativity of Christ*. Hugh of St. Victor discusses events in Samson's life as the prefiguration of events in the life of Christ in *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum*.²¹ These ideas and writings by Hugh of St. Victor were familiar to the leaders in the northern Church. For, as we know, the writings of the Victorines were part of the library at the Lund chapter, and both Archbishops of Lund, Absalon (1178–1201) and Anders Sunesen (1201/1202–1224), were educated in the Victorine abbeys in Paris.²² The Archbishopric of Lund during this period was the primate Church with

jurisdiction over Gotland and, hence, in addition to the other networks, would have maintained connections with leaders on the island.

The composition of the *Miracle of the Harvest* on the När font is highly abbreviated, and, like many of the other När scenes, appears to be in an unfinished state. Divine intervention is affirmed by the presence of the *Hand of God* pointing to the miraculous grain in both the När (fig. 5) and Halla (fig. 3) compositions. On the underside of the När basin the following scenes are carved (left to right): three Magi bearing gifts, an enthroned Christ and Madonna, the miracle of the multiplication of fishes and loaves, the stoning of St. Stephen, Herod with one Magus, followed by the three Magi. The program on the När font proclaims the divine authority of the Church.

On the side of the Halla basin the following scenes are represented: the *Annunciation to Mary*, the *Nativity of Christ*, the *Magi Before Herod*, the conflated *Miracle of the Harvest* and the *Massacre of the Innocents*, the conflated *Flight to Egypt* and the *Fall of the Idols* (fig. 4), the *Conversion of Governor Affrodosius with Personified Egypt* (fig. 8), St. Magdalene and St. Margaret of Antioch, and lastly, the adult figures of Christ and Mary enthroned. The Governor Affrodosius holds a Maltese cross, and the personified female figure of Egypt points to the cross, indicating to viewers their conversion to Christianity. A similar motif of Affrodosius next to personified Egypt appears in the stained glass window at St. Denis in Paris, demonstrating further connections with France. The underside of the basin has several scenes from the legend of the Magi. The scene of the *Miracle of the Harvest* is conflated with the *Massacre of the Innocents* (fig. 3), and framed in one arch, similar to the composition on the När font. The Halla composition of the *Miracle of the Harvest* includes: the farmer on the far left harvesting the grain with a scythe and the *Hand of God* that points to the grain, affirming divine intervention. The *Flight to Egypt* includes in the upper right corner a falling idol, just before the conversion of the Governor Affrodosius, who is seated next to Egypt combing her hair, a display of vanity (fig. 8). The rejection of idolatry and affirmation of the Christian faith speak directly to the era that produced the Hegwald fonts, for it was a crusader epoch, consumed with the obliteration of pagan beliefs in the continual Christian missions that ravaged the southern and eastern territories of the Baltic region during the Valdemarian dynasty. As numerous historians have demonstrated, Gotlanders were active participants as merchants, warriors and



Fig. 11. *Samson and the Lion, Resurrected Cock, Herodias and Herod, John the Baptist.* Early thirteenth century. När baptismal font, Gotland. Photo BSI.

resident supporters of the hundreds of visitors that sought to replenish their supplies or seek refuge on Gotland during their Baltic travels.

The pictorial cycle on the sides of the Ganthem basin includes the *Nativity of Christ* (in two scenes), the Magi before Herod, the *Flight to Egypt*, the *Miracle of the Harvest*, the *Massacre of the Innocents*, Herod with a soldier and two Magi. The underside of the Ganthem basin is dedicated to scenes from the legend of the Magi. The Ganthem composition of the *Miracle of the Harvest* includes two figures, the soldier in the process of removing his sword from its scabbard on the right, and the farmer on the left cutting a sheaf of grain with a scythe (fig. 2). There is no pictorial reference to St. Stephen, *Stephen the Stable Boy*, or to the resurrected cock at Herod's feast on the Ganthem font, and the upper portion of the composition is too worn to know if the *Hand of God* was originally part of the composition.

The representation of St. Stephen, either his martyrdom (Acts 7:58) or as *Stephen the Stable Boy*, is a uniquely northern trend on baptismal fonts. On other medieval fonts St. Stephen is usually portrayed as a deacon (Acts 6:5).²³ On the Viklau font, Stephen, the stable boy, is rendered holding horses' stir-

rupts and standing to the right of John the Baptist on the underside of the basin. Both are early Christian martyrs and both are mentioned in the early ballads as having suffered under Herod (fig. 12). The stoning of St. Stephen is rendered on the fonts at Simris (Scania) and at När, Stenkyrka and Vänge on Gotland.

In addition to the Halla and Stånga fonts, the legend of St. Stephen, *Stephen the Stable Boy* at Herod and Herodia's feast with the resurrected cock is portrayed on several works, which are dated from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries and were made either in Medieval Denmark or near a Cistercian monastery: the Hajom font (Västergötland, Sweden), c. 1200, includes Stephen on horseback and Herod's feast with the resurrected cock; the Broddetorp altar frontal (Västergötland, Sweden), c. 1175–1200, with the Massacre of the Innocents, one of the numerous golden altars produced under the Valdemarian dynasty.²⁴ Niels M. Saxtorph notes there may have been a Romanesque painting of *Stephen the Stable Boy* at Herod's feast table, c. 1200, in the church of Daugård (Jutland, Denmark).²⁵ *Stephen the Stable Boy* at the feast of Herod appears on the altar frontal of c. 1325 from the Cistercian abbey of Løgumkloster (Jutland, Denmark), and in the wall painting in the Danish church of Keldby on Møn, dated also to c. 1325.²⁶ By contrast, later medieval representations of St. Stephen in Sweden render him as a Deacon holding stones.²⁷

Hajom was less than ten hours by foot from what was one of the largest and richest Cistercian abbeys at Ås, on the western coast in Halland, then under the jurisdiction of Denmark. It is known that the Cistercian order was involved in the breeding, raising and sale of horses, an exceedingly prosperous endeavour supported by the Danish monarchy, given the military needs at that time in the Baltic region.²⁸ Therefore, it does not seem far-fetched to suggest that the Cistercian order would have supported the promotion of the legend of St. Stephen as a patron saint in the medieval northern jurisdictions of Denmark and Gotland, an idea that was originally proposed by Roosval.²⁹ Horses were a vital necessity and in high demand in warfare, and an important component of the on-going trade and the Christian missions in the Baltic region.

The Scholarship

Johnny Roosval, Sweden's eminent art historian, was trained under the tutelage of Heinrich Wölfflin and Adolph Goldschmidt at the University of Berlin (1889–1903).³⁰ He retained close contact with the German scholars in sub-



Fig. 12. John the Baptist (left) and Stephen the Stable Boy (right, holding stirrups). Viklau baptismal font, Gotland. Photo BSI.

sequent decades, especially Georg Pudelko, a fellow 'fonter' and medievalist, who would repeat Roosval's dates of 1095–1130 for the Hegwald fonts in his survey the *Romanische Taufsteine* (1932) to support the precocious dates of other fonts, such as the one at Freckenhorst.³¹ Roosval's stylistic analysis of the Hegwald workshop in *Die Steinmeister Gottlands* commences with a historical overview of baptismal fonts in England, France, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Finland, in which he situates the Romanesque fonts of Gotland.³² The broader European context was an important part of the era's efforts to align and to date regional medieval developments within a more universal understanding of how artistic ideas evolved regarding the making of medieval baptismal fonts. Dating medieval baptismal fonts, like many medieval works, is especially problematic given the absence of documentation and the changing circumstances for many of the vessels, so comparative works are an important component of art historical analyses. Roosval's broader continental perspective on medieval fonts enabled support from comparative works

which, at that time, had been assigned similar dates, such as the fonts from St. Boniface in Freckenhorst (Westphalia, Germany), the Merseburg Cathedral font (Merseburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Germany), and Castle Frome (Hereford, England).³³ Many of these works have since been reviewed and assigned later dates. One of the early features used by Roosval to classify and, consequently, date the Hegwald fonts was the ‘chalice shape,’ the preferred shape of the Danish and Gotlandic fonts. According to Edward S. Prior and Arthur Gardner (1912), English fonts with a chalice-shape were dated to c. 1066–1140; the authors linked the shape to contemporary metal works, a parallel trend that was adopted within the German scholarship given the absence of monumental sculptural works in the first half of the twelfth century.³⁴ Roosval writes:

Wie es sich auch verhalten mag mit der Genesis des dritten Haupttypus – des Kelches – (vgl. S. 85), so ist er doch während der ganzen Zeit seines Daseins künstlerisch mit dem Metall verwandt. Mehrere Exemplare gehören auf Grund ihrer Ausschmückung zu der Gruppe englischer Skulptur, die Prior und Gardner unter dem Namen ‘Metal-workers style’ zusammenfassen und die sie 1066–1140 datieren. Chadesley Corbett (Worcestershire) Castle Frome und Eardisley (Herefordshire) sind gute Beispiele (Fig. 28–31), Prior und Gardner führen damit zusammen ein Portal in Kilpeck und Iffley (Oxfordshire), beide in derselben Gegend wie Eardisley und Chadesley Corbett.³⁵

Within this constructed framework Roosval initially assembled and dated the Hegwald fonts into a thirty-five year period from c. 1125 to 1160 in his first publication, *Die Steinmeister Gottlands* (1918).³⁶ The Hegwald fonts were determined to be the earliest of the other Gotland workshops followed by Byzantios, Semi-Byzantios, Majestatis, Sighraf, Calcarius and the fonts with *musselcuppor* (later referred to as the *paradise fonts* by Oscar Reutersvärd), in that chronological order.³⁷ The second half of the twentieth century witnessed a proliferation of investigations and revisions to earlier studies on medieval art and architecture. Gradually, medieval fonts were re-evaluated according to regional conditions. Since Roosval’s analysis the chalice-shaped fonts at Chaddesley Corbett (Worcestershire, England), Castle Frome, Kilpeck und Eardisley (Herefordshire, England), with their Norman cables and interlacing, have been assigned later dates in the twelfth century, as more archeological and historical information about their respective churches, the masons and the Herefordshire School of sculpture have emerged.³⁸

Roosval, too, noted the similarities between some of the Gotland workshops, and began to revise his dates for the Gotland workshops in a series of three articles published in 1925 and 1926.³⁹ Based on the single-master theory and methodology of stylistic analysis, Roosval divided the Hegwald works into two groups. The first group was attributed to the *Hegwald Master* and dated to c. 1095–1130, earlier than he had previously dated the fonts in 1918; later, Roosval referred to this phase as the ‘active carving’ period in master Hegwald’s life. The second group of works belonged to what Roosval referred to as the “Hegwald Posthumus’ workshop”, dated from c. 1130 to 1150.⁴⁰ In 1925 Roosval hypothesized that the Hegwald Master was ‘influential’ during this latter period but not actively carving fonts between c. 1130 – 1150. Roosval speculated that Hegwald probably died in the year c. 1145, although there is no evidence or documentation to support this claim.⁴¹ The decisive arguments which prompted Roosval to alter his dates for the Hegwald workshop concerned the dates assigned to the completion of the Lund Cathedral and the dates assigned to the earliest known motif of *Christ Crowning the Virgin Mary* in Santa Maria Trastevere, which was dated to c. 1140, and the date of the same subject on the Cathedral of Sens, c. 1190.⁴² Roosval believed that a variation of the same event, *Christ Crowning the Virgin Mary*, was represented on the Viklau font by the Hegwald workshop (fig. 13).⁴³ These points, combined with the stylistic similarities he noticed between the Hegwald and the Byzantios fonts, and the Byzantios similarities with carvings at the Lund Cathedral, reshaped his new perspective on the dates for the Hegwald workshop.⁴⁴ At that time the Lund Cathedral was believed to have been completed in 1145, the year when the high altar was consecrated. The Viklau font was considered the work that displayed the tenuous links, the transitional period, that connected Hegwald with the Byzantios workshop: “Det är Viklau-funten, som visserligen är hopsatt av Hegwalds element, men som i sin småaktigare figurstil förnekar den gamles kraftlynne, utan att ännu äga Byzantios’ positiva nyheter.”⁴⁵ The När font, along with the Rone, Endre and Sjonhem fonts, was dated to post-1145, in the period of the “Hegwald Posthumus’ workshop”, as Roosval believed these works were influenced by the Byzantios workshop. The Ganthem, Halla and Stånga fonts were reconsidered in Roosval’s later revisions and remained part of the first period, which he dated to c. 1095–1130. Later historians such as Georg Pudelko (1931–1932),⁴⁶ reinforced the precocious dates suggested by Roosval,⁴⁷ arguing that the Heg-



Fig. 13. *Queen and King. Viklau baptismal font, Gotland. Photo BSI.*

wald fonts were examples of early works within the larger context of Romanesque art in northern Europe and thanking Roosval for his contributions.⁴⁸

Since Roosval's analysis of the Gotland stonemasons, scholars have gradually assigned later dates to these works as new information became available. Today we know that the same workshops producing stone baptismal fonts on Gotland and across northern Europe were in fact also carving grave slabs, capitals, reliquaries, bases for roods, façade reliefs and portal sculpture – a trend replicated in other regions and that was repeated in the later production of bronze fonts, as the foundries making fonts were also casting bells, canons and other metal works.⁴⁹ Most recognize that the Romanesque workshops on Gotland were probably all working within the same general period. Erik Lundberg dated the Gotland workshops to the last half of the twelfth century and the Hegwald workshop from 1170–1200; Armin Tuulse dated the Hegwald workshop from 1160–1190 prior to the Sighraf workshop; more recently Tore Stenström argued that the emphasis on the Eucharist and the developments at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 concerning transubstantiation significantly impacted the themes portrayed, and suggested that the Gotland workshops

carving the Romanesque fonts were operating from 1200–1240.⁵⁰ In these date debates stylistic criteria remained a component of the on-going discourse. As Evert Lindkvist has rightly pointed out, if historians can free themselves from the limitations of depending on style, and acknowledge that there was a continuity of motifs and patterns between historical periods, there might be greater freedom in the dating process.⁵¹ The evolutionary development of single masters, which guided Roosval in his overall chronology of the Gotland fonts, has since been questioned.

The Historical Background

The first transformative development that paved the way for Gotland's stone industry was the ecclesiastic break from the Bremen-Hamburg Archbishopric, when Lund became the metropolitan archdiocese over Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Gotland in 1104. This resulted in a major shift from the secular control of the churches to the priests and bishops under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Lund. The seat of the Archbishop of Lund was designated as the *primate church* over Denmark, as well as Sweden and Gotland. While Gotland remained relatively independent of the Swedish crown, it is believed to have been incorporated into the episcopal see of Linköping in the second half of the twelfth century, which remained under the Archbishop of Lund, as the *primate church*.⁵²

The construction of Lund Cathedral, the seat of the Archbishop of Lund, introduced new skills and artistic ideas from the Continent that subsequently influenced the construction and ornamentation of other churches in medieval Denmark and on Gotland through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the early scholarship, Roosval, like Monica Rydbeck and others, considered 1145 as the year when the cathedral was completed, which, in turn, influenced the dates they assigned to the Scanian and Gotlandic font workshops.⁵³ The construction history of Lund Cathedral, however, is complex and evolved in stages over numerous decades. Equally complex is the accumulated scholarship, which is continually being revised and updated with new technology and information.⁵⁴ Most recently, the impressive archaeological excavations by Maria Cinthio and Anders Ödman, have focused on the cultural history of Lund and the construction of the lower foundation of the eastern end of the current edifice, revealing new information concerning the earlier building phases. These

excavations have raised questions concerning the initial commencement of the current or possibly an earlier structure of the Cathedral.⁵⁵

Based on a range of archaeological and historical evidence, including the 1085 donation letter by the Danish king, Canute the Holy (r. 1080–1086), Cinthio and Ödman have argued that the actual construction of the Lund Cathedral commenced in the eleventh century, prior to the appointment of the first Archbishop Asser (or Ascer) Thorkilsen (1104–37) of Lund. The 1085 document, *gävobrevet*, outlining the donation of fifty estates or *bol* by Canute the Holy to the *not yet completed church* of St. Lawrence, is presented as part of the evidence for accepting earlier dates for the construction of the cathedral (Lund: Lund University Library, Medeltidshandskrift 6, ff. 1v–2v).⁵⁶ This document, along with excavated evidence, prompted the archaeologists to propose that the building of the Lund Cathedral had started during the reign of Canute the Holy, who was murdered in 1086 and canonised in 1101 by Pope Paschal II.⁵⁷ The *Necrologium Lundense* was created for the inauguration of the main crypt as it states in the manuscript on fol. 1r., followed by a new record book in 1145 with the consecration of the high altar.⁵⁸ The dates of the different building stages in the twelfth century, prior to the fire of 1234, are still under review.⁵⁹ There is no firm consensus as to when the cathedral was ultimately finished. As Ödman notes in a recent publication, the construction of the cathedral may have continued after 1145: “Men möjligheten finns också att denna sista sekvens påbörjades senare, att kyrkobygget dessutom fortsatte lång efter invigningen 1145. Pågående forskning får utvisa detta.”⁶⁰ Some historians have suggested that the construction continued into the 1170s, prior to Eskil’s departure to the Cistercian Abbey of Clairvaux in 1177, where he retired.⁶¹

During this lengthy construction period artisans and masons were brought to Lund from northern Italy from Lombardy, Modena and Verona, to work on the new Cathedral, where similar architectural motifs and sculptural works have been identified. As art historians and architectural historians have noted, this resulted in a wide-spread impact in the design of parish churches across medieval Denmark and on Gotland, and, equally important, in the expansion of the Continental networks.⁶² Otto Rydbeck suggested that the architect was an Italian named Donatus, as noted in the cathedral’s death roll: “Donatus architectus, magister operis hujus obit” (The architect Donatus, master of this work, has died), dated to October 27 between 1130 and 1140.⁶³

Mutually beneficial agreements, commercial, military and ecclesiastical, were formed among the leading members of the Church, the royal house of Estridson and the papacy in Rome. Consequently, Gotland, strategically positioned as the Baltic hub and receiving travellers, clerics, pilgrims and merchants from the East and the West, benefited and prospered. During this tumultuous period of growth, prosperity and the Baltic missions, the primate church of this land, the Archbishopric of Lund, was under the jurisdiction of the Danish king Valdemar I (1157–1182), and his sons Canute VI (1182–1202) and Valdemar II (1202–1241), the Valdemarian dynasty from 1157 to 1241. This was the epoch in which the workshops carved the Romanesque baptismal fonts in Scania and on Gotland.

The Cistercians and Continental Networks

The second major event that fostered the development of the northern stone industry and ultimately impacted the production of Gotland’s Romanesque fonts and, in particular, the introduction of the new French aesthetic, was the arrival of the Cistercian monks and masons from the Burgundian houses of Cîteaux and Clairvaux to Scandinavia.⁶⁴ With the Cistercians’ arrival in the North, a new communication network developed between the North, France and the Continent that continued through the medieval period.⁶⁵ The arrival of the Cistercian order, an episcopal organization that supported and promoted the new feudal hierarchy, was a pivotal turning point that gradually impacted every aspect of medieval life on Gotland and medieval Denmark, contributing to the consolidation and growth of the northern Church. It was through the Danish connections between the Archbishop of Lund, Eskil (1138–1178) and his friendship with Bernard of Clairvaux that the French Cistercian connections began and that they grew to be the most powerful monastic order in Scandinavia.

On Gotland the Cistercians founded the monastery of *Beata Maria de Gutnalia*, known as *Roma*, in 1152/53–1164, strategically on the ancient judicial site of the *Alltinget*, in the centre of the island, transferring the site’s historical judicial authority to the Cistercian monastery.⁶⁶ Historians have demonstrated that, while Cistercians sought isolated locations for the monasteries, areas rich in natural resources, they needed to have urban connections in order to exist, trade and be self-sufficient, which is why, as in the case of Roma on Gotland,

they often settled at sites with judicial, spiritual and commercial connections.⁶⁷ The date of the consecration of *Gutnalia* is believed to have been 1164, but the completion of the monastic complex was probably c. 1200.⁶⁸ The strategic central location of Roma on Gotland and the fact that Gotland was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Lund, as affirmed in the 1213 letter from Innocent III, demonstrated the key role of the Cistercians and the authority of the primate church on the island.⁶⁹ The central district of Gotland was under the ecclesiastic jurisdiction of the abbot of Roma, thus providing further evidence of the Danish connections between the Cistercians in Roma and Gotland. The monastery of Roma held additional land elsewhere on Gotland, including a present-day farm in Halla called Möllebos, where a building dating to about 1200 has been identified as a Cistercian construction.⁷⁰ The Cistercians were active participants in the Baltic holy wars and, as Kersti Markus has noted, the monastery on Gotland, Roma, acquired additional land in Estonia after the conquest of the new territories by the Danes, in fact, Roma became a “most powerful clerical landowner in Northern Estonia.”⁷¹

Connections with France were reinforced when the leading members of the House of Estridsen, the Valdemarian dynasty and the Church began to be educated not in Germany but in Paris, following Eskil’s adoption of the Cistercian order. Archbishops Absalon⁷² and Anders Sunesen contributed to the dissemination of French ideas.⁷³ Both are known to have studied at the Danish College in Paris and at the abbey schools affiliated with Victorines, St-Victor and Ste-Geneviève. Gradually the education of northerners in France would include the Swedes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷⁴ In addition, the early abbots at Roma either came from Cîteaux or, as in the case of later abbots, were trained there, and the French connection remained strong into the thirteenth century.⁷⁵ Cistercian abbots were required to travel to Cîteaux every few years to attend the Cistercian General Chapter and, those unable, were admonished, reinforcing the French connections.⁷⁶ Visitors from Clairvaux frequented the Danish daughter houses, which would have extended to other daughter houses in Sweden and likely Gotland.⁷⁷ The network of the Cistercian’s monasteries and numerous filial lineages that existed between the Swedish and Danish monasteries with Clairvaux, such as Clairvaux-Nydala-Roma, guaranteed bondage with the French mother house well into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷⁸ Eskil, the Archbishop of Lund, was at Sens Cathedral in 1164, where he

consecrated the first Archbishop of Linköping, Stefan (1164–85), a Cistercian, in the presence of Pope Alexander III and Thomas Becket.⁷⁹ French Cistercians continued to be active participants in the North and gained positions of authority in the northern Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁸⁰ Members of the Cistercian order, like the artisans producing Romanesque art works in the North, did not operate in isolation. The Cistercians on Gotland were part of a larger institution and network, actively supported by the primate Church, the Archbishop of Lund, and the ruling royal houses, as well as being engaged in active trade in the Baltic region and on the Continent.

The Cistercians and the Arts

In recent decades historians have investigated the Cistercian attitude to the arts. Conrad Rudolph has shown that Bernard of Clairvaux’s views on the role of the arts in the renowned treatise *Apologia* distinguished different types of art, as well as the different roles of art within monastic settings for monks versus the settings for lay persons.⁸¹ Essentially, Bernard of Clairvaux was “concerned with one thing and one thing only in his chapters on art: excessive art as inappropriate to the profession of the monk.”⁸² Ebbe Nyborg has substantiated related critical nuances in his analysis of the northern Cistercian double-sided crucifixes where the plain backs were viewed by the assembled monks and the ornamented fronts were designated for lay persons.⁸³ Historians have acknowledged that the rigid earlier views on the arts within the Cistercian monastic communities underwent changes that began in the late twelfth century and continued through the thirteenth century.⁸⁴ By the year 1300 figural artworks were ornamenting Cistercian monastic complexes and the interior spaces of the Cistercian abbeys, 150 years after the death of Bernard of Clairvaux.⁸⁶

The Ecclesiastic Workshops

As in other regions of Europe the Cistercians established in Scandinavia quarries to construct and maintain their own Cistercian monasteries with the aid of lay brethren. This, along with needed devotional objects, furnishings, grave slabs, instruments and vessels, to name only a few, was essential for the Cistercians to perform their rituals. Trade would have supplied some works and but many others were commissioned or made within their own workshops.⁸⁶ The lay brothers of the Cistercian order were active artisans with workshops that supplied items

for trade and local use. It is known that Roma was engaged in the use of water power, drainage systems, sheep farming, metal-work and the fishing industry.⁸⁷

We know that the French Cistercians from Clairvaux had trade connections with the Baltic region, arriving with their own ships, having been given full exemption by Valdemar II (1202–1241), from paying all tolls in buying and transporting skins and wax in Denmark, with no limit on quantities.⁸⁸ Roma, despite its interior location on Gotland, was accessible by ships via the inland water routes and was involved in trade.⁸⁹ Cistercian monasteries were actively engaged in iron production and managing iron mills, several of which have been identified as active production centres in Sweden and Denmark, including Roma, which is known to have been involved in the metalwork industry.⁹⁰ In 1988, Lennart Karlsson (1933–2014) showed that Gotland's Romanesque ironwork on the parish portals—the C-shaped hinges—were unique and modelled on the prototype found at the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny in Burgundy, France, revealing visual connections.⁹¹ The same C-shaped hinges were replicated by the Sighraf workshop on the Romanesque church with the semi-circular apse portrayed on the base of the Tingstad font (Östergötland, today in Stockholm's Statens Historiska Museum).

Carl Ramsell af Ugglas and Roosval were some of the early historians, followed by others in later decades, to acknowledge the influence of the French Cistercians in the making of liturgical and devotional furnishings, as well as Gotland's architecture.⁹² Roosval defined the *Cistercienserperioden* from 1170 to 1220 to correspond with the arrival and establishment of the French monks at *Beata Maria de Gutnalia* (Roma).⁹³ There are several works in the Gotland Museum in Visby (Gotlands Museum, formerly Gotlands Fornsal) that Roosval identified as having French influences, such as the crucifixes from Viklau, Bäl, Ganthem, and the renowned Viklau Madonna, dated to c. 1160–1170, in addition to several works by the Sighraf workshop.⁹⁴ Af Ugglas also noted the French influences in the Romanesque period, but focused primarily on the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries' French influence in the wooden *Madonna and Child* statues on Gotland.⁹⁵ An array of new scholastic themes, theological priorities and iconographical motifs via the French connections were integrated into the pictorial repertoire of the Gotland workshops.⁹⁶ The influence of French artisans in the North continued beyond the dates proposed by Roosval, well into the thirteenth century, as af Ugglas noted. In fact, it is known that a French

architect, Étienne de Bonneuil, designed the ambulatory and radiating chapels at the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Uppsala, Sweden (from 1287).⁹⁷

The Cistercians and the Stone Industry

It is not fully known to what extent the Cistercians were involved in the wider stone industry and art production on Gotland but in recent decades more information has been surfacing proving their involvement. There is no doubt that local merchants and land owners participated in the construction activity and stone industry on Gotland on various levels, as noted by other historians, whether in the actual construction work or in the payment for the churches and furnishings. Nevertheless, the Cistercians, as they settled on Gotland and across the North, brought new, professional ashlar masonry techniques, brick-making and knowledge about the cutting and squaring of stone hewn from quarries in regions where quarries had never existed before.⁹⁸ The cutting, quarrying and exportation of stone as an industry did not exist here during the pre-Christian period, nor had it been developed to any great extent under the earlier jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen and the northern presence of the Benedictine Order.

Given the industrialized approach to the monumental construction and wide-spread stone industry activity across the regions where Cistercians settled in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is impossible to ignore the impact of the Cistercians and to state, categorically, that the Cistercians were not also involved in Gotland's stone industry at some level. Recently, the inscription on the font in Ausås Church, Scania, has been traced to the Cistercians in the region, which provides evidence of their involvement in the stone industry in the Danish Kingdom.⁹⁹ Additionally, Ingeborg Wilcke-Lindqvist has shown that the professional stone workshops at the Cistercian abbeys of Nydala (Småland, Sweden) and Julita (Södermanland, Sweden) were producing stone products, such as fonts, for local use.¹⁰⁰

The transfer of scholastic ideas and the Victorine spirituality migrated northward via the French connections. In the *Nativity* scenes by the Sighraf workshop, Mary and Joseph hold hands, a left-handed gesture, not a right-handed gesture, that signaled their spiritual rather than carnal union, a controversial subject around the year 1200, a marital union supported by the Cistercians and Victorines.¹⁰¹ This same unusual gesture is replicated in the *Nativity* scene illus-

trating the Christmas vigil prayer in the *Missale Vetus Oxomense* (Spain, Burgo de Osma Cathedral, MS. 165, c. 1200, fol. 4v), which refers to the moment when the angel tells Joseph to accept Mary as his wife (Matt. 1:18–20). This missal, written and illustrated in the scriptorium at the Cistercian abbey of Fitero, in Navarra, c. 1200, is an example of what Bernard of Clairvaux would have termed an appropriate role of the arts.

Roma, like Nydala and Vitskøl in Jutland, adopted the architectural design of the Fontenay Abbey, and gradually transferred Cistercian architectural features to the churches on Gotland.¹⁰² In addition to the architectural influences, the devotion to the popular French St. Dionysius (St. Denys or St. Denis), martyred bishop of Paris, migrated northward.¹⁰³ There are several churches on Gotland dedicated to St. Dionysius. The following churches on Gotland were dedicated to him: Anga, Atlingbo, Barlingbo and Guldrupe, all four located in the central district of Gotland under the ecclesiastic jurisdiction of the Cistercian abbot of Roma, who maintained close ties with the Royal House of Estridsen in Denmark; those at Martebo and Othem in the northern district, and Havdhem in the southern district, are also dedicated to St. Dionysius.¹⁰⁴ In addition, statues of St. Dionysius from the Gothem church, dated to c. 1295–1330, and from Guldrupe, both located in the central district of Gotland, are held in the Gotland Museum in Visby.¹⁰⁵ All of these examples, and more not mentioned, when combined, indicate influential ideas migrated northward via the French ecclesiastic connections.

The concurrent wide-spread activity during the massive stone building campaign across Gotland and medieval Denmark during the Valdemarian dynasty, which involved the Cistercians, as well as other members of the Church and the aristocracy, should be understood as part of a wider ecclesiastic agenda to regulate, conform and impose the New Law in the new northern feudal society.¹⁰⁶ In terms of the hundreds of baptismal fonts made at this time, as Lars Berggren has noted, there are unfortunately no extant records of liturgical commodities shipped by kings and bishops, for they were exempt from shipping tolls and tariffs.¹⁰⁷ There are no records of the shipment of baptismal fonts from Gotland, either, even in the later medieval period when hundreds of fonts were exported, but sporadic information in law codes and alliances offers glimpses of what transpired with liturgical goods.¹⁰⁸ The absence of any records concerning the fonts, but not other goods, is significant and suggests the wide-spread involve-

ment of the Church, which as Lars Berggren has noted constituted a “separate economic system, which left no traces in the secular records.”¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the bishops knew when and where the parish churches were constructed and what liturgical vessels were needed, as they consecrated the sites and the furnishings. We know that in other regions of Europe the Church and monasteries collaborated on the production of stone baptismal fonts, as demonstrated by the historians Malcolm Thurlby, Jean-Claude Ghislain and Lisbeth Tollenare in their studies about medieval baptismal fonts.¹¹⁰

The Parish Churches

The Romanesque period in the Baltic region was a turbulent era, yet a period of great expansion and prosperity for many. As Jes Wienberg has pointed out, the first stone churches on Gotland began to be built during the Wendish crusades (1147–1185).¹¹¹ With increased prosperity, further additions to new churches, such as towers and sacristies were added to the churches on Gotland during the Finnish, Estonian and Livonian crusades of 1198–1290.¹¹² The prosperity of the Gotlanders enabled the building of more than ninety-eight churches on the island, not including those in the town of Visby, and, in turn, supported the wealth of sculptural works, wooden statues and mural paintings by the various workshops.¹¹³

The dates for the Gotland churches have undergone scrutiny by various historians, archaeologists and organizations going back to the 1633 Visby publication of *Cronica Guthilandorum*, by the Danish priest H. Nilsson Strelow.¹¹⁴ The comparisons between Strelow’s dates, existing tax lists and the later dates assigned by art historians and archaeologists working for *Sveriges Kyrkor* have been re-examined.¹¹⁵ Like many of the other Gotland parishes, the four churches in which the Hegwald baptismal fonts with representations of the *Miracle of the Harvest* are situated (Ganthen, Halla, När and Stånga), underwent rebuilding and modifications in different stages from the late twelfth to the fourteenth century during the peak of the stone-building industry. During this period the earlier twelfth-century wooden churches, *stavkyrkorna*, with their uncut stone foundations, gradually transitioned into churches constructed of ashlar or *quader* stone, the cut cuboid blocks that had been widely introduced with the Cistercians’ building techniques on Gotland and in medieval Denmark.

Each of the four churches which commissioned a Hegwald baptismal font with a representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest* had a Romanesque church constructed of stone and underwent reconstruction in approximately the same period.¹¹⁶ The ashlar stone apse and nave of the När church were constructed at the end of the twelfth century.¹¹⁷ By the mid-thirteenth century a western tower with a clear defense function was added. Around 1300, the Romanesque choir and the nave were replaced with corresponding building parts in the Gothic style.¹¹⁸ The oldest parts of the Ganthem Church are the apsidal chancel, which were constructed at the end of the twelfth century, c. 1180.¹¹⁹ The nave was built at the beginning of the thirteenth century, c. 1210,¹²⁰ at the same time, the construction of the unusually high, western tower was begun, considered to have been completed around the middle of the 13th century (c. 1225–1250).¹²¹ The archaeological evidence suggests that between 1180–1220, the nave, the oldest part of the current Halla church, was built with a flat wooden ceiling.¹²² Strelow cites that in 1193 a church existed at Halla, probably a stave church, and that it was rebuilt in 1196.¹²³ The rectangular choir and sacristy were added in the mid-fourteenth century. The choir is richly ornamented with paintings from the Passion Master. Remains of a medieval stained glass window are located in the choir.¹²⁴

The Stånga church has a Romanesque foundation with a semi-circular apse which has been dated to c. 1200–1229.¹²⁵ The Romanesque foundation was identified when excavated by architect Sven Brandel's restoration in 1929. Strelow's reference to 1160 for the Stånga church is believed to have been to the stave church. Lennart Karlsson has identified the wrought ironwork on the south choir door at Stånga as early thirteenth century and traced it to the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny in France.¹²⁶ This date corresponds with the dates attributed to Stånga's Romanesque foundation. The previous Romanesque nave and western tower at Stånga were replaced in the fourteenth century with sculptural works by the Egyptian workshop, dated to the mid-thirteenth century.¹²⁷ The apse and sacristy from the thirteenth century were retained during the fourteenth-century conversion, but were newly built in 1864–1865 according to the original model.

In summary, the När, Ganthem, Halla and Stånga churches have partial remains of earlier Romanesque stone churches that were constructed after the wooden churches, in stages from c. 1180 to 1229, followed by several later alterations.

The Written Sources

The precise written source for the legend of the *Miracle of the Harvest* is unknown.¹²⁸ The story is not found in the New Testament, other Greek or Latin infancy texts, the Apocrypha, the *Golden Legend*, nor in any of the liturgical plays associated with the *Massacre of the Innocents*.¹²⁹ A variation of this miracle is found in the *Gospel of Thomas* in verse 12, but this version of the event is not narrated as part of the *Journey to Egypt* nor is Christ an infant, but a child of eight years, and Mary is not present in the *Gospel of Thomas* account.¹³⁰ Identifying the precise source has proved to be impossible and the tracing of the history of this event elusive. The later written evidence of the legend of the *Miracle of the Harvest* in secular Christmas carols suggests that there were oral traditions that widely circulated versions of it in Scandinavia, England, France and Germany, prior to the earliest known written sources.¹³¹

The earliest written source known today for the legend of the *Miracle of the Harvest*, one that is closest to the events rendered in the Hegwald compositions, appears to be part of an Old French ballad, dated to c. 1275, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Fr. 1533, fols. 13–16).¹³² The German scholar Robert Reinsch transcribed the Old French text, the *Grain Miracle*, 178 lines, in 1879 and includes extensive textual references.¹³³ The poem is believed to have been originally written by Gautier de Coinci (c. 1177–1236), a Benedictine prior, musician, poet, composer and author of several very popular religious works, including a large collection of Miracles of the Virgin in French, which enjoyed a wide circulation during the Middle Ages.¹³⁴

By the year 1300 the legend of the miracle grain was well known in England, France, Italy, Sweden and most likely Ireland and Wales.¹³⁵ For instance, the widely known late fourteenth century *La vie de Nostre Benoit Sauveur Ihesusrist*, the translation and expansion of the Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes*, includes a reference to the legend.¹³⁶ The event is also recorded in the manuscript, *La Vie de Nostre benoit Sauveur Jésus Christ, La Sainte Vie de Nostre Dame, L'Exposition du Miserere mei Deus* by Jean Colombe (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Fr. 992), dated to ca 1475–1485. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries several variations existed and were reprinted. In Francis James Child's five volume set of popular old English and Scottish ballads, ballad number 55 is the old English Christmas song called the "Carnal



Fig. 14. *Annunciation to Mary. Capital, mid-twelfth century. Collegiate Church of Saint-Pierre, Chauvigny, France. Photo: Flickr Creative Commons.*

and the Crane.¹³⁷ The ballad is about a crane who is instructing a catechumen, a crow, about the childhood of Christ. The song recites a series of events in the order of the feast days: beginning with the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, it proceeds with the *Nativity*, the story of the Magi, a reference to the legend of the roasted cock that came to life at the feast of king Herod, the *Massacre of the Innocents*, and the *Flight to Egypt* and concludes with the story of the *Miracle of the Harvest*.¹³⁸

In the ballads, the legend of *Stephen the Stable Boy* appears in conjunction with several other events celebrated during the Christmas week.¹³⁹ The role of *Stephen the Stable Boy* varies in the written accounts. Versions recount how Herod, when visited by the three Magi enquired about where the king of Jews is, replies with rage that he will only believe this if the boiled rooster on the table is resurrected, at which point, the boiled fowl is revived and crows thrice 'Christ is born.' In a Swedish folk song it is *Stephen the Stable Boy*, who tells Herod, not the three Magi, with the same result. A fifteenth century manu-

script in the British Museum has "A Carol for St. Stephen's Day" which recounts this legend (London: British Museum, MS. 2593).¹⁴⁰ In Sweden the song known as *Staffan stallebräng* (*Stephen the Stable Boy*) has been preserved.¹⁴¹ In *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, the legends of the cock and the *Massacre of the Innocents* are combined, as rendered on the Broddetorp altar frontal.¹⁴²

Comparative Works

Little consideration beyond identifying the subject was given in the early scholarship regarding the representations of the *Miracle of the Harvest* on the Hegwald fonts or, for that matter, to iconographical investigations in general. The subject of the *Miracle of the Harvest* was, however, discussed within French academic circles. In 1913 Émile Mâle noted that the depiction of this miracle



Fig. 15. *Miracle of the Harvest. Wall mural. c. 1200-1225. Church of Saint-Hilaire in Asnières-sur-Vègre, Pays de la Loire, France. Photo Wikimedia.*

was carved on the south doorway of the fourteenth-century Basilica of Nôtre Dame at Avioth (Meuse, France), which, at that time, he considered to be the earliest known example.¹⁴³ Since Mâle's publication scholars have identified more representations of the *Miracle of the Harvest*, the earliest of which, except for the Hegwald fonts, are located in France.¹⁴⁴ Thus far, none of the extant works have been dated to before 1200. In fact, representations of the *Miracle of the Harvest* before the fourteenth century are few in number compared to other medieval works. Nevertheless, more works since Mâle's publication have demonstrated that the subject of the *Miracle of the Harvest* was more widely represented across the Latin West in the thirteenth century than previously thought.¹⁴⁵

The earliest identified representation is in the parish church of Saint-Hilaire in Asnières-sur-Vègre (Pays de la Loire, France) in northwestern France, south of Le Mans, which was under the jurisdiction of the canons of the Cathedral of Le Mans and the French king, Philip II, in the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁶ In that parish church there is a representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest* in a pictorial cycle on the north wall of the nave with other scenes from the *Childhood of Christ*, c. 1200–1225 (fig. 15).¹⁴⁷ This work pre-dates the written accounts and, like the Hegwald compositions, corresponds more or less with Roosval's dates for the *Cistercienserperioden*, c. 1170 to 1220. Like the Hegwald examples, the event in the mural cycle in Saint-Hilaire in Asnières-sur-Vègre is depicted as a separate scene next to the *Flight to Egypt* in the Infancy narrative. In later medieval representations, this changes and the *Miracle of the Harvest* becomes part of the background when depicting the *Flight to Egypt* in manuscripts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The linear narrative cycle at Saint-Hilaire is similar to the cycles rendered on the Hegwald baptismal fonts. After the *Presentation in the Temple* in Saint-Hilaire, a scene very similar to the scene carved on the Gumlösa font in Scania, there is a representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest* followed by the representation of the *Flight to Egypt*. In the Saint-Hilaire composition of the *Miracle of the Harvest* three soldiers are shown standing, dressed in armour and questioning a farmer who has a seed bag draped over his shoulders; the farmer holds a scythe and stands next to the fully grown grain. After this scene is a representation of the Madonna and Child, seated on the donkey led by Joseph.

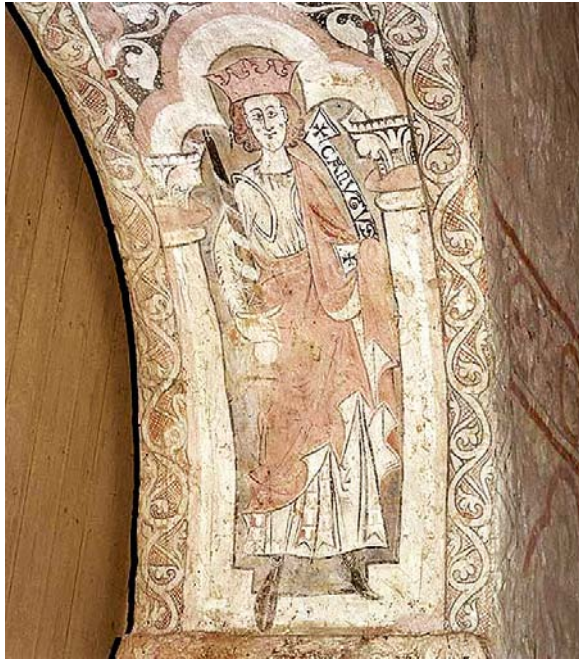
There are more slightly-later thirteenth-century works in France. In the



Fig. 16. Infancy Cycle. Tympanum, west portal. c. 1250. Rougemont, Côte-d'Or, Burgundy, France. Photo Flickr Creative Commons.

stained glass windows at the Cathedral of Saint-Julien-du-Sault (Yonne, France), dated to c. 1250, there are three separate scenes, which depict Herod's two soldiers, the farmer with the grain, and the *Flight to Egypt*. The Cathedral of Saint-Julien-du-Sault was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Sens.¹⁴⁸ There is a carved relief of the *Miracle of the Harvest* on the tympanum of the western portal of the thirteenth-century church in Rougemont, in the Côte-d'Or (Burgundy, France), dated to c. 1250 (fig. 16).¹⁴⁹ Herod's two soldiers are rendered on horseback, questioning the farmer who stands before the full-grown harvest followed by a representation of the *Flight to Egypt*. The works at the Cathedral of Saint-Julien-du-Sault and the Church in Rougemont, both c. 1250, suggest that the *Miracle of the Harvest* was widely known as a pictorial motif by the mid-thirteenth century. Located circa 300 km south of Rougemont, there is a slightly later representation of the event on the mural in the Church of Saint-Jean-Saint-Maurice-sur-Loire (Rhône-Alpes, France),

Fig. 17. *The Danish King St. Canute the Holy* (r. 1080-1086). Wall mural. Early thirteenth century. Dädesjö Church, Småland, Sweden. Photo Wikimedia.



dated to c. 1275–1300.¹⁵⁰ In the *Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons*, c. 1280–1299, from the Amien region (New York: The Morgan Library & Museum, MS. M. 729, fol. 289v), there is a representation that accompanies the *Hours of the Virgin*.¹⁵¹ The illustrated event accompanies the text, “Deus in adiutorium meum intende” (Oh God, come to my assistance) the versicle which precedes each of the hours, a textual connection, which is continued in later manuscripts.¹⁵² The *Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, MS. 54.1.2) dated to c. 1324–1328 contains a representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest*.¹⁵³ There is also a ivory pyxis casket in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, dated to c. 1300–1330.¹⁵⁴

The earliest work in Scandinavia with a scene of the *Miracle of the Harvest*, apart from the Hegwald baptismal fonts, is the painted wooden ceiling at the Church of Dädesjö (Småland, Sweden), which, at that time was under the jurisdiction of medieval Denmark.¹⁵⁵ The old Dädesjö hall church and the interior wall murals are dated to the early thirteenth century, c. 1200, which includes a representation of the Danish king, Canute the Holy, Canute IV (r.



Fig. 18. *Miracle of the Harvest*. 1260-1290. Wooden ceiling. Dädesjö Church, Småland, Sweden. Photo Bengt A. Lundberg, Riksantikvarieämbetet. Wikimedia commons (CC BY 2.5).

1080–1086) (fig. 17).¹⁵⁶ The painted wooden ceiling at Dädesjö by the Sigmunder workshop is later and dated to the last decades of the thirteenth century from, c. 1260/1270–1290.¹⁵⁷ The *Miracle of the Harvest* is one of several scenes in a series of medallions that narrate the life of Christ on the ceiling. The Dädesjö ceiling post-dates the paintings at Asnières-sur-Vègre (fig. 18). The pictorial program on the Dädesjö ceiling commences with events from the *Childhood of Christ* and concludes with scenes from the Passion cycle. This pictorial program is important in relation to the Hegwald narratives. It depicts not only the *Miracle of the Harvest*, but also *Stephen the Stable Boy* (St. Stephen), watering Herod’s horses, and his martyrdom.¹⁵⁸ Like the Hegwald pictorial programs, the Sigmunder program combines several canonical events with popular, non-canonical legends that are believed to have their sources in oral traditions celebrated during the Christmas season.¹⁵⁹ It is not until the later fourteenth century when more representations of the *Miracle of the Harvest* are known in Denmark.¹⁶⁰

In Italy, there is the English embroidered liturgical cope, dated to the late

thirteenth century, c. 1280–1299, today in the Cathedral of Santa Maria in Anagni.¹⁶¹ Mortari suggests there is a representation of the event in conjunction with a scene of the *Flight to Egypt*, although this is questionable.¹⁶² The earliest known English work would have been the wall mural at St. Andrew's Church in Headington, Oxford, originally dated to the thirteenth century, but has been re-dated to the fourteenth century.¹⁶³

In Spain there is a little-known thirteenth-century work with a representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest* painted on a wooden panel hanging in the apse of the parish church of Santa Maria in Riaza, in the province of Segovia (fig. 19).¹⁶⁴ Several painted wooden fragments hang on the wall which once included events from the Infancy cycle, *Adoration of the Magi*, *Massacre of the Innocents*, *Miracle of the Harvest*, and later events from the life of Christ, *Entry into Jerusalem*, *Kiss of Judas*, the *Crucifixion* and *Christ in Majesty*. The original purpose of these painted fragments is unknown. Generally, the event is not common in later Spanish works. On the fifteenth century sarcophagus of Don Pedro Vélaz de Guevara in Oñate (Guipúzcoa, Spain) there is a separate scene of the *Miracle of the Harvest* between the *Massacre of the Innocents* and the *Flight to Egypt* framed on the side within a Gothic arcade.¹⁶⁵

In the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the pictorial references to the *Miracle of the Harvest* figure prominently in the *Books of Hours* and the *Hours of the Virgin* produced in France, such as *Master Bedford's Book of Hours* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Lat. 1176, fol. 83r.) and in numerous other works.¹⁶⁶ In these later examples the event is often conflated with the *Flight to Egypt* and, sometimes, the *Fall of the Idols* as part of the background, accompanying the prayers for vespers in these texts. In addition, the event appears on numerous altars produced by the Flemish and Netherlandish workshops, all of which are well noted by Hans Wentzel.¹⁶⁷

Conclusion

The Hegwald works exhibit features that, paradoxically, harken back to earlier pre-Christian periods while, at the same time, they display features associated with thirteenth-century representations of the *Miracle of the Harvest* in France. This makes dating them a challenge, but – as Francis Bond wrote in 1908 when dating the English fonts – when one encounters both later and earlier features on a single font, one must assign a date that aligns with the later



Fig. 19. *Miracle of the Harvest*. Thirteenth century. Painted wooden fragments. Santa Maria in Riaza, Segovia, Spain. Photo David de la Garma Ramírez (www.arteguias.com).

features, which has been the guiding principle in this article.¹⁶⁸ Since the early twentieth century scholarship, dates attributed to comparable works, the construction of the Gotland churches and more information about the legend of the *Miracle of the Harvest*, has shifted our understanding of the context in which the Hegwald workshop was operating. In summary, what does the current information about the legend of the *Miracle of the Harvest*, the ecclesiastic and Cistercian connections with France, and the construction history of the four churches where the fonts with *Miracle of the Harvest* are located, tell us about the provenance of the *Miracle of the Harvest* on the Hegwald fonts and the date of the workshop?

First, according to the current scholarship, all known works in Scandinavia and on the Continent which illustrate the *Miracle of the Harvest* are dated to at least a century later than the dates Roosval proposed for the Hegwald fonts. The earliest known works with a representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest*, apart from the Hegwald examples, are found in France at Saint-Hilaire in As-

nières-sur-Vègre, c. 1200–1225, followed by two later works at the Cathedral of Saint-Julien-du-Sault and the Church of Rougemont, both c. 1250 and Saint-Jean-Saint-Maurice-sur-Loire (Rhône-Alpes, France), dated to c. 1275–1300. The pictorial model used by the Hegwald workshop, even though it was modified for the four different fonts, was based on the same model used in Saint-Hilaire at Asnières-sur-Vègre, dated to c. 1200–1225. This means the artisans working in France and on Gotland were familiar with a common, shared model for rendering the miracle, which migrated northward. By the time the event is portrayed on the ceiling at Dädesjö, c. 1260/1270–1290, the miracle had been known in France since the early-thirteenth century. Second, the time period, c. 1180 to 1229, according to the current investigations, has been attributed to the Romanesque structures at the churches at När, Ganthem, Halla and Stånga. More precisely, within this broader period, the Romanesque foundations for the Stånga church have been dated to specifically, c. 1200–1229.¹⁶⁹ The period c. 1200 to the early decades of the thirteenth century corresponds to the earliest known representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest* in France.

In terms of the written sources, a variation of the Old French ballad with a reference to the grain miracle has been traced to the writings of Gautier de Coinci (c. 1177–1236), however, a more precise version of the ballad with more of the pictorial details displayed in the Hegwald images has been identified in the French manuscript, dated to c. 1275 manuscript, MS. Fr. 1533.¹⁷⁰ Oral versions of the ballad must have circulated on the Continent and in the North via the ecclesiastic connections, prior to the written sources, which, in turn, influenced the pictorial programs carved by the artisans in the Hegwald workshop.

The early recognition by af Ugglas, Roosval and others of the numerous French influences on Gotland was absolutely correct, acknowledged many times over by later historians. The Cistercians and the French connections had a transformative impact on medieval life on Gotland and the workshops active at that time, including the Hegwald workshop. The representation of the *Miracle of the Harvest* on the Hegwald fonts offers additional evidence about the influence of the French connections via the members of the Cistercian order, the Church and the Valdemarian dynasty. The popularity of *Stephen the Stable Boy* may have had something to do with the saint being a patron of horses, as the breeding, replenishment and selling of horses was an exceedingly lucrative business for the Cistercians in the Baltic region during the on-going northern

crusades, a connection that Roosval had previously mentioned.¹⁷¹ This reflects the militaristic and commercial era in which these fonts were produced.

The combination of the dates for comparative works in France and the construction of the Romanesque churches on Gotland, suggests, at the earliest, a production period of c. 1200 or into the early decades of the thirteenth century for the making of the Hegwald fonts. The Hegwald workshop is the first in Scandinavian medieval art to combine the legends of *Stephen the Stable Boy* and the *Miracle of the Harvest* with the Infancy cycle for the Christmas feast days. The shift in dates for the Hegwald workshop aligns more accurately with the widespread production of stone fonts and the corresponding construction industry that swept across medieval Denmark, Sweden and Gotland – and, indeed, most of northern Europe. The Hegwald workshop was operating under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Lund, the abbot of Roma and other priests working on the island, who would have shared information, condoning and reinforcing the public image that the imagery on the numerous fonts relayed to the numerous officials, merchants, warriors and pilgrims constantly visiting Gotland.¹⁷² The public image of Gotland was politically vital to both the Church and the islanders in an era that was obsessed with eradicating non-Christian beliefs and in a society whose economic prosperity was commercially connected to the ambitious expansion of the Baltic Christian missions.

Notes

- 1 A special thank you to Torsten Svensson for inviting me to participate in the seminar in honour of Gunnar Svahnström on May 29 – June 2, 2013, *De gotländska landsbygdskyrkorna och hur de påverkats av förebilder från Europa: Gunnar Svahnströms Gotland*, where I presented an earlier version of this paper.
- 2 In this article, the name Hegwald is understood as a workshop that was comprised of several artisans, and not as a single master as initially proposed by Roosval (*Steinmeister* 1918, 65ff.). The source for the Hegwald name is from inscriptions on the font in Etelhem Church (Gotland): the name “HEGVVALDR” written with Latin script, and a runic inscription which has been interpreted either to name the stonemason or the patron who commissioned the work (cf. Lagerlöf 1965, 150–151). Spelling variations exist in the scholarship (Hegvald, Hegwaldr, Hegwaldr).
- 3 Roosval 1918, 83. The workshop names of Calcarius, Byzantios, Majestatis and Semi-Byzantios were fictitious names attributed by Roosval in his 1918 publication. The Sighraf workshop was named after the runic signature following the lengthy runic narrative on the tre-foil frame around the sides of the Åkirkeby font, “Se frem på dette Mester Sighraf” (Look straight/carefully at this, Master Sighraf), Wimmer 1887, 62.
- 4 In the second phase, plainer “paradise” or mussel-shaped baptismal fonts were carved with quatrefoil basins, Gothic and trefoil arcades, and sparse imagery and motifs, see Berggren 2002, 143–180; Landen 1993, 40–45; Landen 1997, 81–93; Reutersvärd 1967; Reutersvärd 1983, 360–368.
- 5 According to Lennart Karlsson’s *Bilddataprojektet* the following fonts have been attributed to the Hegwald workshop over the decades in the scholarship: Algutsrum (Öland), Dalby base (Scania) and basin by Dalby Workshop, Egby base (Öland) and basin of Sighraf influence, and on Gotland the following vessels: Ekeby base (basin by Sighraf or Majestatis influence), Endre, Etelhem, Fröjel base (basin by Fröjel workshop), Ganthem, Halla, Hög (base by Sighraf workshop), Linde base, Lojsta, När, Norrland base, Rone, Sjonhem, Sjonhem piscina, Stånga, Tofta base (basin by Semi-Byzantios), Vänge and Viklau.
- 6 Roosval 1918, 65–100. The name for the Urnes style originates from the stave church at Urnes in Sogn, Norway, where wooden carvings preserve this earlier style, see Hourihane 2012, vol. II, 286 and Karlsson 1976, 60–62.
- 7 Roosval 1918, 99.
- 8 Kersti Markus notes similar tendencies regarding the hierarchical social structures and development of architecture in twelfth-century Scandinavia, Markus 2020, 12.
- 9 Lacoste 1996.
- 10 Roosval 1918, 83.
- 11 For the Ganthem, Halla, När and Stånga fonts, see Fähræus 1974, 47; Lundberg 1937, 197; Roosval 1918, 65; Stenström 1975, 21; for the Halla font, see Svanberg 1995, 192; for the När font, see Nordström 1984, 117; Sonne de Torrens 2003, 142.
- 12 The additional seven Hegwald fonts with one or more scenes from the Infancy cycle are: Egby, Ekeby, Endre, Rone, Sjonhem, Vänge and Viklau.
- 13 This article is based on the research compiled in the *Baptisteria Sacra Index* (BSI), an iconographical index of baptismal fonts at the University of Toronto, co-partnered with Miguel A. Torrens, which to-date has documented more than c. 23,000 fonts from the Early Christian period to the seventeenth-century. A special thank you to Miguel A. Torrens, my partner and fellow-fonter, who has travelled across the Latin West with me in the pursuit of medieval fonts.
- 14 There is a different composition called the *Miracle of the Grain* associated with St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra, who persuades the captain of a grain ship to surrender his cargo to help the starving city of Myra; the saint miraculously refills the corn bags in the Vita of St. Nicholas, see Jacobus de Voragine 1993, I.21–27; Isler-de Jongh 2004, 75–87. The legend the *Miracle of the Harvest* is known as the *Sedekornslegenden* (Danish), *Skördeundret* or *Mirakel av vetefält* (Swedish), *Le miracle du blé* or *Miracle de champ de blé* or *Le miracle de la moisson* (French) and *Wunder des Weizenfeldes*, *Mirakel der Ernte* or *Mirakel bei den Erntern* (German).
- 15 Markus 2020, 331.
- 16 Émile Mâle mentions that the story is told in a fifteenth-century incunabulum from *De quelques miracles que l’Enfant Jésus fit en sa jeunesse* (29 folios) Lyons, [s.d.] (Bibl. Nat.), Mâle 1958 (reprinted 1972), 219, ff. 2.
- 17 Hennecke & Schneemelcher 1963, I, 414.
- 18 The *Fall of the Idols* is not a common motif on medieval fonts. It is represented on the Hegwald fonts at Halla and on the 15th century font at Gehrden in Zerbst (Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany). Other works with the *Fall of the Idols* include: the side-panel of the western portal of Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Moissac; the stained glass window at St. Denis, Paris, dated to 1140–1144 and Cathedral, see Delaporte 1926, 149–155; fig. 7; plates I, pls. IV–VII, colored pl. I; the French psalter, c. 1228–1234 (New York: Morgan Library, MS. 153, fol. 171); the facade of Amiens Cathedral, see Rickard 1983, 147–157. *The Fall of the Idols* also appears in relation to St. Thomas, but in a different context from the writings of Jacob of Sarug (451–521), a Syriac ecclesiastical writer and in the Apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas. In this context representations of the *Fall of the Idols* is rendered on the early 13th century stained glass at the Bourges Cathedral, dated to 1205–1220.
- 19 Roosval 1908, 44–48; Berger 1985, 108–112. The Stephen the Stable Boy legend differs from the story of the cock and St. Peter (Matt. 26:75), which from the early Christian

- period was represented with a cock on a column crowing, as seen on the Skara Cathedral relief.
- 20 Affrosdusius with a female is rendered on the stained glass from St. Denis Abbey, 1140–1144. Formerly from St. Denis, France and currently at the Church of St. Mary and St. Nicholas (Wilton, Wiltshire, England).
- 21 Hugh of St. Victor, cap. XVI, pl. 175, 680C: “Samson (Judic. XIII) significat Christum. Per angelum nuntiata est nativitas Samsonis, et per angelum annuntiata est nativitas Salvatoris. Samson leonem interfecit, et Christus diabolum occidit. Samson de faucibus leonis extraxit favum, et Christus de faucibus diaboli genus humanum. Cera, cor; mel, spiritus. Samson duxit uxorem alienigenam, et Christus gentilem Ecclesiam.”
- 22 Haastrup 1985, 99–114.
- 23 Source BSI. Hallbäck 1966, 54. Representations of St. Stephen the deacon holding stones are rendered on the following fonts: Ipswich (Parish Church of St. Matthew, 15th century), Lippoldsberg (Monastery Church of Georg and Maria [former chapel of the Benedictine convent], 13th century), and Église Saint-Étienne du Mesnil-Mauger (13–15th century, Marne, France, now at the Musée de Caen).
- 24 Kaspersen 2006, 79–127; Wienberg 1997.
- 25 Saxtorph 1979, 301.
- 26 Danmarks Kirker 1957, 1096; Saxtorph 1979, 199.
- 27 See the altars and statues in Lennart Karlsson’s database, *Bilddataprojektet*.
- 28 Tariff exemptions on horses sold by the Cistercians were granted in several regions: Denmark, Castile, and León, see Jensen 2017, 230; a letter from Danish king Erik V (r. 1259–86) exempted the brothers of the abbey from tolls in the sale of horses, an exemption that had previously been given to their abbot William. In addition, it is known that the Danish monastery of Æbelholt of the Augustinian order, dedicated to St. Thomas of Paraclito, held an annual market fair outside of its gates as of 1265, “where, among other things, horses were traded.” Poulsen 2002, 49; *Diplomatarium Danicum* 1963, 1:461.
- 29 Roosval 1908, 47.
- 30 Andersson 1982, 19–20.
- 31 Pudelko 1932, 155, note 148; Sonne de Torrens, “Legacy” 2019.
- 32 Pudelko 1932; Roosval 1918, 17–64.
- 33 Roosval 1918, 24–25, 32, 41. Today, the Merseburg font is dated to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, see Sonne de Torrens, “Legacy” 2019, 26; and the bronze font in Halberstadt is dated to the early 14th century.
- 34 Prior 1912; Sonne de Torrens, “Legacy” 2019, 6–47.
- 35 Roosval 1918, 24.
- 36 Roosval 1918, 99.
- 37 Reutersvärd 1967, 40.
- 38 For discussions on the various views on the date debates for fonts produced by the Herefordshire School of Romanesque sculpture, see Thurlby 2016.
- 39 Roosval, “dateringar I” 1925, 98–104; Roosval, “dateringar II” 1925, 295–308; Roosval, “dateringar III” 1926, 73–84.
- 40 Roosval, “dateringar I” 1925, 104.
- 41 Roosval, “dateringar I” 1925, 102.
- 42 Roosval, “dateringar I” 1925, 99–100.
- 43 Rydbeck 1923, 302; Roosval, “dateringar I” 1925, 101. The two crowned figures on the Viklau font, identified as the crowned Mary and Christ, do not have haloes, which makes the identity questionable. The examples of *Marie kröning* that Roosval discusses have both crowns and haloes, Santa Maria Maggiore and Santa Maria in Trastevere, Roosval, “dateringar I” 1925, 99–100.
- 44 Berggren & Lindberg 2014, 52.
- 45 Rooval, “dateringar I” 1925, 102. Paraphrased in English the quote reads: The Viklau font displays Hegwald elements, but without the forceful figure style of the earlier master and, not yet, the full newness of the Byzantios style.
- 46 Pudelko 1932, 120–121.
- 47 Roosval, 1918, 73.
- 48 Pudelko 1932, 120, 155 fn. 148.
- 49 For the making of graveslabs by the Sighraf workshop, see Sonne 1995, 197–203. For the export of limestone and limestone products from Gotland during the 13th and 14th centuries, cfr Berggren 2002; Berggren 2003.
- 50 Lundberg 1937, 281–301; Lundberg 1969, 127; Tuulse 1964, 83–88; Stenström 1975, 30–31, 33, 40; Lindqvist 2015, 119–124.
- 51 Lindqvist 2015, 123–124.
- 52 Peel 2015, 265.
- 53 Roosval, “dateringar I” 1925, 103.
- 54 For a review of the scholarship on the construction history of Lund Cathedral, see Ödman 2018, 166–172.
- 55 Ödman 2018, 196.
- 56 For digital copy of this letter, see: <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:14714> (accessed August 3, 2020).
- 57 It should be noted that the earliest version of the 1085 letter is found in the 1123 *Necrologium Lundense* (Lund: Lund University Library, Medeltidshandskrift 6, ff. 1v–2v) written during the time of Archbishop Asser, the first archbishop of Lund.
- 58 Lund: Lund University Library, Medeltidshandskrift 7.
- 59 Berggren & Lindberg 2014, 53.

- 60 Ödman 2018, 195.
- 61 Berggren 2018, 69; Karlsson 2015, 56. Lund Cathedral suffered a fire in 1234, see Berggren & Lindberg 2014, 52. For an earlier analysis of the construction history, see Cinthio 1957, 49–107; Rydbeck 1923; Rydén 1995.
- 62 For a discussion of the Danish influences on Gotland, see Markus 1999, 22–58; Svensson 2016, 244–245; Svahnström 1981.
- 63 Rydbeck 1952, 153–64.
- 64 Peter, sent by Bernard of Clairvaux to Nydala, the daughter house of Clairvaux, was later the second abbot of Roma on Gotland, see Lekai 1977, 42; France 1992, 29–31, 41; Markus 2020, 332.
- 65 In 1443 the abbot of Clairvaux is charged with visiting the Danish and Swedish abbey in his filiation, which illustrates the continued connections between Clairvaux and the North, see Canivez vol. 4, 1936, 1423, n. 8; 1425 n. 27; 1434 n. 25; 1443 n. 35.
- 66 Swartling 1967, 8.
- 67 Burton and Kerr 2011, 56–81.
- 68 Swartling 1967, 55.
- 69 *Diplomatarium Suecanum* 1829, 1:178, no. 152.
- 70 See image “Negativarkivet Visborg: Möllebos i Halla sn,” Gotlands Museum: <http://samlingarna.gotlandsmuseum.se/index.php/Detail/objects/120921> (accessed December 26, 2018).
- 71 Markus 1999, 148–169; Markus 2016, 333–364; Markus 2020, 330–338.
- 72 Absalon, a member of the royal House of Estridson, was the grandson of the Swedish king Erik the Holy; his father was one of Sjælland’s wealthiest magnates; Peel 2015, 9; McGuire 2000, 74.
- 73 McGuire 1982, 6. For a discussion about Sunesen’s training in Paris, see Olsen 1985, 75–97.
- 74 Reuter Dahl 1843, vol. 2, 574, 576–578.
- 75 Peter of Odense, a French Cistercian, was bishop in Denmark from about 1270 to the 1280s, see Bandlien 2016, 50 note 93.
- 76 McGuire 1982, 120–121, 303 note 18. McGuire notes the abbots of Varnhem and Ryd were to be punished for failing to attend, letters no. 54 (1250) and no. 65 (1251).
- 77 McGuire 1982, 125.
- 78 Kratzke 2014, 157.
- 79 Svanberg 1983, 27.
- 80 Isarnus, native of southern France, was Archbishop of Lund, 1302–1310; Peder, a French Cistercian, was Bishop of Odense (Fyn) from 1252–1276; William the Norman, Abbot of Øm 1180–1192, McGuire 1982, 266–277.
- 81 Rudolph 1990, 193–199.
- 82 Rudolph 1990, 8.
- 83 Nyborg 1990, 88–113.
- 84 Kinder & Cassanelli 2014.
- 85 For a full discussion of the Cistercian chapter statues, developments and range of artworks across Europe, see Kratzke 2014, Luaces 2014, France 2014.
- 86 For the making of Cistercian tiles and exportation, see Burton & Kerr 2011, 180; a building workshop is believed to have been at Romakloster, Jonson et al. 2017, 65.
- 87 Götling 1990, 20–22, appendix iv.
- 88 McGuire 1982, 125.
- 89 Markus 2020, 333; Götling 1990, appendix iv.
- 90 Evidence of iron production and mining have been identified at the Cistercian monasteries of Nydala, Esrom, Gudsberga, Julita, Sorø, Varnhem, Øm, see Götling 1990, appendix iv.
- 91 Karlsson 1988, vol. 1:58–60; Götling 1990, 21–22.
- 92 Ugglas 1915, Roosval, *Medeltida Konst*, 1925, 14–18; Markus 1999, 20–28.
- 93 Roosval, *Medeltida Konst*, 1925, 14–18; Roosval, *Ciceronen*, 1926, 21–25.
- 94 Roosval, *Medeltida Konst*, 1925, 16–17; Markus 1999, 25, bild 11; Lagerlöf & Roosval 1964, 347. It has been suggested that the Viklau Madonna was brought to Viklau by the monks at Roma, Jonson et al. 2017, 622.
- 95 Ugglas 1915, 99–191.
- 96 Sonne de Torrens, “Marriage” 2019, 147–165; Sonne de Torrens 2002, 1–41.
- 97 Ugglas 1915, 25.
- 98 The Benedictine Laach Abbey near Koblenz in southwestern Germany owned numerous quarries in the region, see Pohl 2015, 251; Markus 1999, 20–58.
- 99 Blennow 2014, 49–51.
- 100 Wilcke-Lindqvist 1961, 26–39.
- 101 For later depictions of the ‘spiritual handclasp’ in Danish mural paintings, see Sonne de Torrens, “Marriage” 2019; Sonne de Torrens 2002.
- 102 For example, the crucifix window, a unique design from Roma, was also used at the parish church of Akeböck in the central district of Gotland, not far from Roma. For other features, see Kratzke 2014, 159.
- 103 For a summary and discussion of the Cistercian architectural influences on Gotland, see Markus 1999, 22–52.
- 104 Roosval, *Medeltida Konst* 1925, 60; Jonson et al. 2017, 308.
- 105 Roosval, *Medeltida Skulptur* 1925, Gothem, pl. LX.
- 106 For discussion of Anders Sunesen’s involvement in the writing of the Guta Law (Gotland Law Code), see Peel 2015, xvii–xxii.
- 107 Berggren 2002, 176.

- 108 The Haderslev law codes of 1292 included tariffs on millstones but not liturgical objects, see Poulsen 2002, 17.
- 109 Berggren 2002, 176.
- 110 Thurlby 2016, 230; Ghislain 2009; Tollenaere 1957.
- 111 Wienberg 2004, 285–298, 292.
- 112 Wienberg 2004, 285–298, 292.
- 113 Wienberg 2004, 292.
- 114 Strelow 1633, 138–143.
- 115 Wase 1995.
- 116 Andrén 2011, 143–230.
- 117 Lagerlöf & Stolt 1990, 708.
- 118 Riksantikvarieämbetet, När Church, URL: <http://www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/anlaggning/visaHistorik.raa;jsessionid=8C185DD61FF536F7ED1B9F0801BA3D0D?anlaggningId=21300000002824&page=historik&visaHistorik=true>
- 119 Riksantikvarieämbetet, Ganthem Church, URL: <http://www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/anlaggning/visaHistorik.raa?anlaggningId=21300000002672&page=historik&visaHistorik=true>
- 120 Wase 1995, 90.
- 121 Riksantikvarieämbetet, Ganthem Church, URL: <http://www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/anlaggning/visaHistorik.raa?anlaggningId=21300000002672&page=historik&visaHistorik=true>
- 122 Riksantikvarieämbetet, Halla Church, URL: <http://www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/anlaggning/visaHelaHistoriken.raa?anlaggningId=21300000004503&historikId=21000000529579>
- 123 Wase 1995, 90.
- 124 Riksantikvarieämbetet, Halla Church, URL: <http://www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/anlaggning/visaHelaHistoriken.raa?anlaggningId=21300000004503&historikId=21000000529579>
- 125 Lagerlöf & Stolt 1968, 91.
- 126 Karlsson 1988, vol. I, 412.
- 127 Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stånga Church, URL: <http://www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/anlaggning/visaHelaHistoriken.raa?anlaggningId=21300000002847&historikId=21000000526125>
- 128 Berger 1985, 105–111.
- 129 Beissel 1909, 624.
- 130 Chapter 12: “And again in seed-time the child went out with His father to sow corn in their land. And while His father was sowing, the child Jesus also sowed one grain of corn. And when He had reaped it, and threshed it, He made a hundred kors; and calling all the poor of the village to the threshing floor, He gave them the corn, and Joseph took away what was left of the corn. And He was eight years old when He did this miracle.” *The Gospel of Thomas*, Roberts 1886, vol. 8, 397. A kor was a unit of measurement that consisted of 32 pecks 1 pint (Roberts 1886, vol. 8, 397, note 2).
- 131 Edwards 1988, 263–271; Hassall 1954, 93; Wentzel 1957, 177–192; Wentzel 1965, 131–143.
- 132 Gallica. BnF. URL: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9009683f/f229.planche-contact>
- 133 Reinsch 1879; Breeze 1990, 88; Berger 1985, 91; Krause et al. 2006.
- 134 Duys 2006, 53. An extensive study of all the Gauteur de Coinci manuscripts, including the MS. Fr. 1533 is found in Krause 2006.
- 135 Breeze 1990, 81–93.
- 136 Berger 1985, 160 note 10.
- 137 McCabe 1984, 528–538; Nagy 2007, 7–40; Child 1965, vol II, 7–9.
- 138 Child cites other variations in folk literature from Catalan, French, Belgium and German folk sources, Child 1965, vol. II, 7.
- 139 For discussion about the various renditions, see Breeze 1990, 81–93; Jackson 1939–1941, 203–207; Jackson 1940, 203–210; Vendryes 1948, 64–76; Berger 1985.
- 140 MS. 2593 ballads were reprinted in Ritson (1752–1803) 1790, 83–84.
- 141 Geijer et al. 1880, 412–415, no. 91.
- 142 Grundtvig 1856, vol. II, 525; James 1901–1902, 222–230.
- 143 Måle 1958 (reprinted 1972), 219–220.
- 144 Måle 1958 (reprinted 1972), 219–220.
- 145 Berger 1985, 105–126; Réau 1927, vol. 2, pt. 2, 277; Vendryes 1948, 64–76; Vogler 1931; Wentzel 1965, 131–143; Wentzel 1957, 177–192.
- 146 Pré 1956, 7.
- 147 For information about the church, see the French Ministry database of Merimée, URL: http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/merimee_fr (accessed: August 1, 2020); Pré 1956, 1–10.
- 148 Berger 1985, 119, fig. 51.
- 149 Merimée database has images, see: <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/> (accessed July 8, 2020).
- 150 Princeton University, *Index of Medieval Art*.
- 151 Gould 1978, 66, 72, 73 and pl. 28.
- 152 For similar text associations see the manuscript from Rouen, France, (New York: Morgan Library, MS. M. 167) dated to c. 1465–1475. There is an illuminated miniature of the *Miracle of the Harvest* on fol. 17r, with the *Flight into Egypt*. As in the case of the *Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons*, the miniature accompanies psalm 70:01

- (Vulgate, 69:02) “Deus in Adiutorium meum intende”, in the liturgy of the *Hours of the Virgin*, 7 vespers. The manuscript is attributed to the Master of the Rouen Échevinage Style, Late French School, see system number 0102949 in the *Index of Medieval Art*, Princeton University.
- 153 Avril 1978, plate III:7; in the *Holkam Bible*, Hassall 1954, 4, 93.
- 154 The pyxis is located in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon, inventory number 1462, see Koechlin 1924, pl. LX (231). It is decorated with scenes from the *Childhood of Christ*, which includes the *Visitation*, the *Annunciation*, the *Adoration of Magi*, the *Nativity*, the *Presentation in the Temple*, the *Magi's Journey on Horseback*, the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, the *Massacre of the Innocents*, the *Flight into Egypt*, and lastly, the *Miracle of the Harvest*.
- 155 Söderberg 1957; Stigell 1968, 245–256.
- 156 Canute the Holy was the brother of Canute Lavard's (1196–1169) father, Erik I of Denmark (d. 1103). Canute Lavard was the second Dane to be canonised in the twelfth century; he was the father of Danish King Valdemar I and grandfather of Canute VI and Valdemar II. This painting of Canute the Holy was made when the Valdemarian dynasty was at its peak in power in the Baltic region, c. 1200.
- 157 Ullén 1969, 268; the date of 1260 assigned by Söderberg 1957, 135.
- 158 Söderberg 1957.
- 159 For an analysis of the folks songs in England, Finland and Scandinavia that refer to the legend of St. Stephen and associated customs, see Rank 1974, 133–157.
- 160 Vendryes 1948.
- 161 Mortari 1963, 28–30, figs. 26–35.
- 162 Mortari 1963, figs. 26–35.
- 163 Tristram 1955; Long 1972; Edwards 1988, 266.
- 164 Viewed *in situ* 1999 by the author. There is no published literature on the wooden fragments.
- 165 González de Zarate 2010, 342, fig. 22.
- 166 *Gallica*. Digitized Manuscripts, URL: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1-b85285841/f169.item> (accessed July 8, 2020).
- 167 Wentzel 1957, 177–192.
- 168 Bond 1908 (reprint 1985), 44, 143, 149.
- 169 Lagerlöf & Stolt 1968, 91.
- 170 Duys 2006, 53. An extensive study of all the Gauteir de Coinci manuscripts, including the MS. Fr. 1533 is found in Krause 2006.
- 171 Roosval 1908, 47.
- 172 On the ecclesiastical *hierarchy* in Denmark and Gotland, see Markus 1999, 140–141.

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