MEDITATIVE QUALITIES OF THE PICTORIAL NARRATIVES IN THE MURAL PAINTINGS OF ALBERTUS PICTOR: A STUDY OF THE JONAH AND THE WHALE PREFIGURATION AND CHRIST'S CRUCIFIXION

By

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ABSTRACT

Albertus Pictor rose in popularity among the parishes' clergy and the Swedish diocese surrounding Lake Mälaren. Albertus's paintings remain of interest in current society for the vibrantly colored depictions and the insight the murals provide into the medieval devout society. In addition to the didactic utility of the murals, which previous scholarship has examined, I investigated the meditative qualities of Albertus's church paintings. The evident compositional influence Albertus draws from manuscript tradition further emphasizes the meditative impact of the murals on the medieval congregation. The supplemental analysis of meditation in the church paintings advances the scholarship of Albertus Pictor to develop a more comprehensive art historical evaluation. The utilization of a case study, painted during the 15th century, of two examples of the prefiguration of *Jonah and the Whale* in Härkeberga and Täby churches and two depictions of *Christ's Crucifixion* in Täby and Härnevi churches, demonstrates the connection of the meditative properties of the Passion of Christ to the Old Testament depictions as illustrative inspiration to reflect Christ's life. *Christ's Crucifixion*, as the quintessential representation of the Christian faith, provides the most direct link from the meditant to the divine. *Jonah and the Whale*, one of the oldest prefiguration narratives in the Christian tradition, contributes a long art historical record to extract symbolism and apply to Albertus's usage. As a practice to reflect on Christ's sacrifice, meditation was firmly planted in medievalism by the time of Albertus's work. The didacticism and religious meditation existed harmoniously within his murals.

INTRODUCTION

Albertus Pictor, a prolific medieval Scandinavian artist, established an expressive visual program within church interiors that maintained the Christian medieval tradition, but also continues to resonate in contemporary Swedish society due to the dimensional and undamaged decoration. Albertus's paintings remain of interest for the vibrantly colored depictions and the insight the murals provide into the medieval devout culture. In addition to the didactic utility of the murals, which previous scholarship has examined, this paper investigates the meditative qualities of Albertus's church paintings. Looking at previous research on medieval meditation, prominently located in devotional manuscripts, establishes the commonality of meditation during the Medieval Period. The evident compositional reference Albertus draws from the manuscript tradition further emphasizes the meditative impact of the murals on the medieval congregation. Devotional texts in circulation during the period would have imparted inspiration for Albertus.

The analysis of meditation in the church paintings advances the scholarship of Albertus Pictor to develop a more comprehensive art historical evaluation. The utilization of two case study examples of the prefiguration of *Jonah and the Whale* in Härkeberga and Täby churches and two depictions of *Christ's Crucifixion* in Täby and Härnevi churches will demonstrate the connection of the meditative properties of the Passion of Christ to the Old Testament depictions as illustrative inspiration to reflect Christ's life. *Christ's Crucifixion*, as the quintessential representation of the Christian faith, provides

the most direct link from the meditant to the divine.[1] The content of Albertus's work warrants further analysis and interpretation, which I explore through the subject of medieval meditation. *Jonah and the Whale*, one of the oldest prefiguration narratives in the Christian tradition, contributes a long art historical record to extract symbolism and to Albertus's adaptions of the precedents. The churches themselves, Härkeberga, Täby, and Härnevi, provide the most well preserved vaulted ceiling examples of Albertus's work, with liminal damage caused by the Reformation or modern restoration. Albertus Pictor's paintings showcase the artistically rich regional style of the period with captivating figural narratives and elaborate decoration.

Albertus rose in popularity among the parishes' clergy and the Swedish diocese surrounding Lake Malaren by continuing the abundant, artistic tradition of biblical and moral image painting throughout the interior of churches (Figure 1). The regional style of Christian religious images painted on church interiors began with the initial construction of churches within the area, in the Romanesque Period (1000 AD). The construction of the first churches in Scandinavia coincides with the regions emergence into medievalism.[2] The regional style of Scandinavia, however rich in content and color, still remains a conundrum for scholars, because of its position on the "periphery" of Europe

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[1] Meditant or medicant, as a term, refers to the person employing meditation. Michelle Karnes utilizes the term throughout Michelle Karnes. *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages*, (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, Illinois, 2011). Please refer to her book for additional information on the imagination of the meditant and the cognitive ability of the medieval viewership. Also see, Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1996). Bestul uses the term meditant instead of medicant throughout the book, but the two terms mean the same.

[2] William J. Diebold "Medievalism," (*Studies in Iconography*: Vol. 33, Special Issue Medieval Art History Today-Critical Terms, 2012), pp. 247-256, defines medievalism and re-emphasizes its importance in the study of the Middle Ages.

during the Medieval Period, in the literal and figurative sense.[3] Regionally and scholastically unavailable, Scandinavian histories remain localized. While continental Europe presents a longer medieval and Christian tradition, Scandinavia entered the Medieval Period at the turn of the 11th century and continued until around 1520 AD. Art historically, the end of medievalism in Scandinavia marked the beginning of the Renaissance in the region, nearly a century than the rest of Europe.

The Renaissance in Scandinavia followed similar stylistic qualities found in Northern Renaissance painting (Flemish) of vibrant and three dimensional subjects and landscapes with small scale architecture.[4] Urban Larsson's copied painting of *Vädersolstavlan*, an earlier painting from 1535 shows Stockholm City, a representation of the city during the beginning of the Renaissance in Sweden (figure 2). Albertus's mural paintings, produced at the conclusion of the Medieval Period in Sweden (roughly 1470 to 1509 AD), resemble Central and Western European Gothic painting, such as the Jeanne D'Evreux's *Book of Hours*. However, in the context of the regional style Albertus introduced a stylistic differentiation, maintaining the flattened composition often seen in Early Christian art, but adding a level of volume to the program, most evident in the acanthus vine motifs. The gradient coloring that Albertus incorporates into the composition foreshadows the painting of the Renaissance in Scandinavia.

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[3] Knut Helle, ed. *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia: Prehistory to 1520*, Volume 1, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, United Kingdom, 2003). Contains several articles ranging from interests in geography to cultural climates during the Viking era and Middle Ages, providing a survey of Scandinavian history. The term "periphery" is not only used by the editor, but several of the authors within the volume, such as Eljas Orrman and Claus Krag.

[4] Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *The Northern Renaissance*, (Phaidon Press Inc.: New York City, New York, 2004), pp. 119-146, also ties Northern Renaissance manuscripts to private devotion and briefly discusses other avenues of devotion such as small necklaces or altarpieces.

Contemporaries of Albertus present less formal distinction with cartoonish expressions, illustrating medieval uniformity and disinterest in anatomical correctness. The island of Gotland, off the South Eastern coast of Sweden, is the location of several medieval churches exhibiting religious mural paintings, such as the Öja Church, painted by the Master of the Passion of Christ (figure 3). Other regional examples, with elements from manuscripts including the *Biblia Pauperum*, arguably express didactic and meditative characteristics as examined in Albertus's work. Albertus's murals supply undamaged examples demonstrating the medieval function and elicit allure to contemporary society.

In Sweden, Protestantism was slower to take root. King Gustav Vasa's political decisions postponed the growth of the Protestant religion in Sweden, resulting in a strong Lutheran monarchy.[5] Following the year 1517, and Martin Luther's ninety-five theses, segmentation occurred across Europe based on differing Christian beliefs.[6] The first wave of the church revolution entered Scandinavia as early as 1525, with the monk Hans Tausen preaching Lutheran ideals. In 1397, Denmark and Sweden was united under one ruler; by 1513 Christian II rose to power with the opposition of the Swedes.[7] Christian led an invasion into Sweden to end the civil war between the two regions, directed by Sten

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[5] A.G. Dickens, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, (Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.: London, England, 1966), pp. 88 Also see *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia* for more detailed history of Vasa's strive for power, converting the country to Protestantism in order to head the country religiously and politically. "The Birth of the Swedish Nation State," Smorgasbord, The Shortcut to Sweden, http://www.sverigeturism.se/smorgasbord/smorgasbord/society/history/nation.html

[6] Europe before Luther's theses was enveloped in conflicts, between papacy and emperor, and within the church itself. Christian Europe headed toward revolution and reform before 1517, for a more detailed history of the events leading up to the Reformation see, Will Durant, *The Reformation: A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300-1564*, (Simon and Schuster: New York City, New York, 1957).

[7] "The Reformation in Scandinavia," The Reformation, Last updated 7/11/2015, thereformation.info/Scandinavia.htm

Sture in Sweden, and bring Sweden back under his power, executing several senators for heresy.[8] Christian's assault resulted in papal support in Rome severing from the Northern region. The opposition against Christian emerged from Gustav Vasa, the son of one of the senators put to death by Christian. Vasa became king and exiled Christian II, with Vasa's precondition to Protestantism from trips to Lübeck, his proposal for Protestantism was met with agitation by the Swedish population. Vasa threatened to abdicate the throne if the Swedish church did not submit to the king. Vasa remained king and took control of the church, including their holdings and power over ecclesiastical appointments. Protestantism adopted church buildings already present in Sweden, altering the interiors, mainly through the application of white-wash over murals painted during the Romanesque and Gothic Periods. During the late 19th and into the 20th centuries, restoration of some murals provides historians with a look at the vibrant, artistic tradition that once thrived in Sweden, but does not illustrate the original magnificence of the painted spaces.[9] A few of the churches painted by Albertus Pictor and his workshop, along with other painting schools, escaped the ravages of the Reformation.[10] Albertus

[8] "Chapter 12: The Reformation in Germany and Scandinavia," Carrie: A Full-Text Electronic Library, European University Institute, Last updated 1/29/2013, http://vlib.iue.it/carrie/texts/carrie_books/gilbert/12.html

[9] Restoration still continues and has been taken over by the Svenska Kyrkan, the National Church of Sweden. Pia Melin has been a key figure in the restoration projects for Albertus's murals. Visit Svenska Kyrkan, Last updated 2016, https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/. Also see Åke Nisbeth, "Deterioration and Restoration of Some Swedish Mural Paintings." (*Conservation within Historic Buildings: Preprints of the Contributions to the Vienna Congress*, September 1980), Pp. 126-129, for a brief overview of the restoration trends in Sweden.

[10] Anna Nilsén, *Program och Funktion I Senmedeltida Kalkmåleri: Kyrkmålningar I Mälarlandskapen och Finland 1400-1534*, (Almqvist and Wiksell International: Stockholm, Sweden, 1986) demonstrates scholarship compares Swedish church interiors to other Nordic countries such as Finland.

added the paintings to the Härkeberga, Härnevi, and Täby churches during the late 15th century, in the middle of his career.[11]

The Swedish Royal Library and National Archives, once located in Stockholm's castle, unfortunately perished in the late 17th century fire that consumed the palace in the early afternoon on May 7th.[12] This direct loss of information impacts the factual history of Albertus, leaving the details on the painter and his workshop inconclusive. Analysis of Albertus's paintings delivers the most accurate information relating to the culture of Sweden and the workshop painting the murals. Albertus's signature painted within six of the thirty-six churches attributed to the painter through stylistic comparisons and financial records provides the material supporting Albertus's work belonging to his workshop. Medieval Sweden offers a challenge to art historians because of the limited amount of primary sources concerning artist commissions in churches due to the state archives burning down in 1697. Previous research has acknowledged the unique cohesion of medieval visual language and vibrantly depicted pictorial narratives and design of Albertus Pictor's works, but this thesis introduces an additional interpretation to his compositions.

Albertus's paintings display Germanic influences, first noted by Henrik Cornell and Sigurd Wallin in 1933 and a later edition published in 1972, which they and art historians after them have assumed as his national identity. The assumption of German

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[11] The Härkeberga Church has a more definite date for Albertus's paintings, placing the work in the 1480s, see Tord Harlin and Bengt Z. Norström, *The Pride of Härkeberga: Meet the artist Albertus Pictor*, (Enköpings kyrkliga samfällighet, Enköping, Sweden, 2003). Dates for Täby and Härnevi are more uncertain, information provided by the Svenska Kyrkan.

[12] "The Stockholm Castle Fire of 1697," Codex Gigas, National Library of Sweden, http://www.kb.se/codex-gigas/eng/long/handskriftens/castle-fire/

heritage has overshadowed his possibly true identity as a Swedish born painter.[13] Cornell and Wallin also assert in their 1972 publication, *Albertus Pictor: Sten Stures and Jacob Ulvssons Maler,* Albertus painted for the Governor (Regent of Sweden) and the Archbishop of Sweden, establishing the partial patronage of the rural churches.[14]

In 1961, Erik Lundberg published a book entitled *Albertus Pictor*; here we get a first glimpse at the paintings of other Swedish schools contemporarily with Albertus. Lundberg established the similarity between the styles of Albrekt Pärlstickare and Albrekt Målare, which is now widely accepted.[15] Thus, Albertus Pictor, Albertus Ymmenhusen, Albrekt Målare (Albert Painter), and Albrekt Pärlstickare (Albert Pearl Embroiderer) became the same person. Lundberg's work is also the first in-depth analysis of the composition and program of the murals, accompanied by iconographic research. Through Lundberg's analysis, he comes to the conclusion that Albertus Pictor was the student of Peter Målare, translated from Swedish to Peter the Painter, this was further emphasized by art historian Mereth Lindgren in 1987.

Previous scholarship completed by various historians and art historians Jan Öberg, Pia Melin, Hans Hartman, Christina Sandquist-Öberg, Kerstin Landström in the early 2000s, suggests Albertus Pictor emigrated from Germany, with his signature

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[13] David B. Roberts, "Albertus Pictor: A Native-born Swede?" (Konsthistorisk tidskrift, Vol. 83, No. 1, 2014), Pp. 40-47.

[14] See Henrik Cornell, *Albertus Pictor: Sten Stures und Jacob Ulvssons Maler*, (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm, Sweden, 1981) for the German version of the patronage of Albertus's work, for the Swedish translation see Henrik Cornell and Sigurd Wallin, *Albertus Pictor: Sten Stures und Jacob Ulvssons Maler*, (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm, Sweden, 1972).

[15] Erik Lundberg, *Albertus Pictor*, (Sveriges Allmänna Konstförenings Publikation Lxx: Stockholm, Sweden, 1961), pp. 40-44.

present in at least six churches showing a connection to German heritage.[16] The increased research on Albertus in the 2000s also indicates that previous notions of attribution of the paintings from the churches thought to belong to Peter Painter belong to Albertus's workshop. The original confusion relates to the slight differences in figures and ornamentation within the paintings, a result manifested by the various artists within the workshop, whose exact number is unknown.[17]

The mystery surrounding Albertus's lineage and origination continues with the patronage of the murals within the parish churches. The church diocese in Sweden established the parish churches throughout the countryside. Parishes were incapable of funding the church construction and decoration completely; therefore, the completion of the church relied on funds from local wealthy donors.[18] First examined by Cornell and Wallin, historian Göran Dahlbäck in 2009, has deduced that the work was more likely paid for by the nobility or the diocese, based on coats of arms painted in or near the choir of the church. Out of the 31 churches Dahlbäck studied, 21 illustrate coats of arms belonging to the "realm," meaning local nobility, Governor (Sten Sture), Archbishop (Jakob Ulfsson), diocesan bishop, or the diocese in general. Dahlbäck's research shows several connections to the Archbishop Ulfsson and the Sture family, but the patronage was not concentrated to the two.[19]

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[16] Jan Öberg, "Albertus Pictor: Kända Signeringar," (*Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, Vol. 73, No. 4, 2004), pp.228-239.

[17] Ibid, pp. 166 and Mereth Lindgren, Louise Lyberg, Birgitta Sandström, and Anna Greta Wahlberg. *A History of Swedish Art*. (Bokförlaget Signum, Bohusläningens Boktryckeri AB: Uddevalla, Sweden, 1987), pp. 82

[18] Phillip Pulsiano, ed., *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, Scandinavian Encyclopedia, Garland Publishing, Inc. New York City, New York, 1993, pp. 489.

[19] Göran Dahlbäck, "Vem betalade Albertus Pictor arbete? Några reflexioner I beställarfrågan," in Jan Öberg, Erika Kihlman and Pia Melin, ed. *Den Mångsidige Målaren Vidgade perspektiv på Albertus Pictors bild- och textvärld Föredrag från ett symposium vid Stockholms universitet oktober 2005*. (Sällskapet

David Roberts, in 2014, discusses the first note of Albertus Pictor from the town archives of Arboga, in Västmanland, Sweden. The Arboga archives detail Albertus becoming a painter of Burghership in 1465, information implying Albertus was an experienced painter at that time.[20] David Roberts contests the common theory that Albertus was a German immigrant, begun by Cornell and Wallin and accepted by later historians. He offers the possibility that Albertus's ancestors were immigrants or Albertus studied in Germany before coming back to Sweden and employing his Germanic style in the church decoration.

Despite the lack of information, scholars have to approach the study of Albertus as the individual; through financial records, historians listed above, know Albertus took over the workshop of Johan the Painter in 1473, after the latter's death. [21] Although Albertus signed his last name Ymmenhusen in his works, this indicates Albertus originated from Immenhausen, Germany. This information becomes another difficult thread to trace because the current Immenhausen, near Hessen, Germany, has no evidence of Albertus during the expected time of his training. However, several locations in Germany, once named Immenhausen, no longer exist today.[22]

Moving away from Albertus's paintings and into information regarding the regional history and artistic style, the scholarship of Kersti Markus, Anna Götlind, and

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Runica et Medievalia- Stockholms universitet: Stockholm, Sweden, 2007), pp. 42- 45. Dahlbäck presents a graph with a breakdown of what coats of arms are located in the churches and who they belong to, if that information is available.

[20] Roberts, "Albertus Pictor: A Native-born Swede?" discusses a Burghership, or citizenship, and shows Albertus's advancement as an artist. Also see Kerstin Landström and Lasse Modin, *Albertus Pictor*, (Kristianstads Boktryckeri AB: Kristianstad, Sweden, 2009), pp. 11, which overviews Albertus's connection in Arboga.

[21] Lindgren, *A History of Swedish Art*, pp. 87

[22] Roberts, "Albertus Pictor: A Native-born Swede?"

Anna Nilsén, since the 1980s, provides evidence that Albertus already worked within an established artistic tradition in Scandinavia. Anna Nilsén has published books and articles on the "chalk paintings" throughout Sweden, including topics of program and function, the idea of light and color in mural paintings, and decorative arts (sculpture) on chancel screens in the parish churches of Sweden.[23] Kersti Markus, art historian, focuses on the Baltic region and the relationship of the Baltic's art to that of Scandinavia, mainly Sweden, considering Sweden controlled the Baltic and trade strongly influenced the region.[24] Historian Anna Götlind's interests lie in the technological diffusion occurring in Medieval Sweden, seen in her book, *Technology and Religion in Medieval Sweden*, by utilizing examples from the church murals that illustrate technology.[25] Further, she discusses the Cistercian order's influence of the dissipation of technology in Sweden. Although not as strongly felt in Sweden as Norway and Denmark, James France in 1992 further explores the influence of the Cistercians in Scandinavia, providing a history of the Cistercian's settlement of Scandinavia and ultimately their extinction in the Nordic countries.

Albertus's murals also fit within the architectural historiography of Scandinavia, because they respond directly to the architectural interiors of the churches creating a

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[23] Anna. Nilsén, Ed and trans. Martin Naylor, *Focal Point of the Sacred Space: The Boundary Between Chancel and Nave in Swedish Rural Churches: From Romanesque to Neo-Gothic*, (Sjuhäradsbygdens tryckeri AB: Borås, Sweden, 2003) looks at the development of the chancel screen in churches and how that reflects shifts in the relationship between the clergy and the laity. Refer to Anna Nilsén, "Albert Målare och Inskrifterna," (*Konsthistorisk tidskrift*. Vol. 74, No. 1, 2005), pp. 49-58 for Nilsén's discussion on Albertus Pictor.

[24] Kersti Markus, *Från Gotland Till Estland: Kyrkokonst och politik under 1200-talet*. (Mercur Consulting OY: Kristianstad, Sweden, 1999).

[25] Anna Götland, *Technology and Religion in Medieval Sweden*, (Sahlanders Gradiska AB: Falun, Sweden, 1993) analyzes the illustrations of technology in mural paintings.

consistent artistic composition with their medieval interiors. The investigation of the Scandinavian architectural tradition was exemplified from Anna Nilsén's study on the visual program of mural paintings. Mereth Lindgren also discusses the style of Romanesque and Gothic church construction, during the Middle Ages, in a survey fashion. In another architectural survey, Marian C. Donnelly in 1992 examines the influences of the "barn" parish churches, the general establishment of churches within Scandinavia, and the move from Romanesque building to Gothic style churches.[26]

After the establishment of the architectural tradition, the manuscript tradition expresses an additional avenue of study that provided influence for Albertus. Henrik Cornell in 1925 extensively investigates the various editions of the *Biblia Pauperum*.[27] His book with Wallin discusses the inspiration the blockbook supplied for Albertus's paintings. The impact of the *Biblia Pauperum* on Albertus's work continues through the scholarship by Lundberg (1961) and into the research in the early 2000s by Pia Melin and Christina Sanquist-Öberg. The incorporation of the narratives from the blockbook into other mediums, such as church decoration and stained glass programs presented throughout Europe. As a medieval artist, Albertus adopted the practice of the manuscript as a source of inspiration, exhibiting his composition as a manuscript page stretched over the architecture, utilizing several manuscript examples. Pia Melin in her dissertation, *Fåfängans Förgänglighet: Allegorin som livs- och lärospegel hos Albertus Pictor*, 2006, also discusses the manuscripts *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and *Ars Moriendi* as

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[26] Marian C. Donnelly, *Architecture in the Scandinavian Countries*, (The MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992), pp. 29-73.
[27] Please see Henrik Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum*, (Thule-Tryck Inedalsgatan: Stockholm, Sweden, 1925) for the descriptions of the different styles of the *Biblia Pauperum*.

additional influences for Albertus's visual program. This paper proposes Albertus's motivation extends into the larger context of the manuscript tradition, incorporating motifs from a longer iconographic history and considers the effect of devotional manuscripts on his murals.

Albertus's incorporation of manuscript tradition, represented by the vegetal motifs and the Christian images, continues the already established regional style of subject and decoration throughout the church, but offers a unique and creative style, stepping closer to shaded dimensional art forms. Mereth Lindgren writes, "his figures became more vigorous [than earlier paintings], his ornamentation more fulsome and ponderous."[28] Although compositionally familiar at the time of creation, hindsight shows the shift from the previous flattened and inconsistent compositions to Albertus's balanced and dimensional program.

Preceding scholarly research has formed a foundation with Albertus as a prolific painter referencing medieval conventions. While further study on Albertus as an individual is complicated and inconclusive, additional knowledge on Sweden's Medieval Period is attainable through analysis and different interpretations of the mural paintings. Influences on Albertus's paintings presented in Section I, "The Utilization of the Christian Manuscript Tradition by Albertus Pictor," expand on the knowledge of the *Biblia Pauperum*, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, and *Ars Moriendi*, as manuscript influences for Albertus. This section examines the larger medieval tradition as a source of iconography that Albertus incorporated into his visual program. The relationship with his

[28] Lingren, *A History of Swedish Art*, pp. 87

work to manuscripts, such as *Biblia Pauperum* and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis,* will focus on the meditative qualities of Albertus's murals, rather than the didactic characteristic covered by several art historians, such as Henrik Cornell, Pia Melin and Latinist Christina Sandquist Öberg.

The subtle differences of Albertus's workshop and that of previous church decoration, becomes more evident in the discussion in Section II, "The Relationship Between Decoration and Architecture: The Placement of Albertus's Work Within a Larger Tradition." The first section demonstrates the larger architectural traditions of Europe and the insertion of Scandinavia into the larger medieval context. This section also establishes the medieval practice of church decoration within continental Europe and Scandinavia and Albertus's paintings placement within medieval convention. The already familiar regional style of decorated church interiors supplied the framework for Albertus's work.

Section III, "The Iconography of the Prefiguration of Jonah and the Whale as Christ's Crucifixion and the Meditative Qualities Expressed by the Biblical Narratives," acknowledges the long prefiguration tradition of the Old Testament and the New Testament, particularly Jonah and the Whale imagery and Christ's Crucifixion in the Härkeberga, Härnevi, and Täby churches. A rise in the interest of Christ's passion demonstrated in passion images and devotional texts during the Late Medieval Period, elicited meditation. By association, Jonah's narrative, as prefiguration, recalled the story of the passion for contemplation. The case study churches provide the least amount of variation in the workshop's style and architectural style; therefore, they provide the most uniform study of the prefiguration and architectural tradition. I intend to introduce an

additional medieval tradition, of meditation, into the scholarship on Albertus. Although this work focuses on the images of Jonah and the Whale and Christ's Crucifixion images, Albertus's workshop included numerous and colorfully depicted images of biblical, moral, secular content, grotesque figures, and vegetal motifs. The mural paintings attributed to Albertus are rich with subject material awaiting further art historical research, offering further understanding of the medieval culture in Sweden.

THE UTILIZATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MANUSCRIPT TRADITION BY ALBERTUS PICTOR

Albertus Pictor's paintings weave together Old and New Testament narratives, moral allegories, and vegetal motifs, into a cohesive program, imbued with theological symbolism. His murals blanket the interior walls and ceilings of Härnevi, Härkeberga, and Täby churches, engaging the viewer to experience religious contemplation. Each biblical image functions as a representation of either Christ's life, whether literally through New Testament images or allegorically through Old Testament paintings.

Albertus's religious narratives and vegetal motifs are deeply ingrained into Christian art. Albertus incorporates three main manuscripts into his visual program: the *Biblia Pauperum*, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, and St. Birgitta's *Revelaciones*, while also looking at the influences for the vegetal motifs within the manuscript tradition, and the function of the murals as meditation inspiration based on the utilization of the manuscript's subject matter.[29]

A smaller version of the nave and chancel decoration, the weapon-house exhibits the same qualities of the paintings surrounding the viewer in an umbrella of color, an example in Härnevi Church's weapon-house of Albertus's incorporation of religious content with vegetal motifs. Härnevi Church presents the image of Christ's face on a shroud held by angels above the door to the main congregational space, his gaze piercing downward toward incoming individuals (figure 4). The color that illuminates Christ's

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[29] Anthony Butkovich, *Revelations: Saint Birgitta of Sweden*, (Ecumenical Foundation of America: Los Angeles, California, 1972) walks through Birgitta's revelations comparing her visions to the moments in the Bible, detailing the moments in Birgitta's life that ultimately led to her sainthood.

image above the entry door was obtained from Early Medieval influences. Christ's face is shaded in grays, defining his cheek bones and nose, while painted lines form his penetrating eyes, eyebrows, and beard. His golden hair flows straight down on the sides of his face, lying under a bright green, intertwining, vegetal crown of thorns, while blood drips down his forehead from the crown. The two angels holding the shroud share the same golden hair and shaded gray skin, but exhibit black and green painted wings emanating from their backs. Below the image, spirals of delicate green and red acanthus leaves, climb towards Christ's face. Above the scene, the tendrils curl downward, with rosette designs at the end of the spirals. The brightly colored image and subject matter reference both medieval manuscript influence with illumination and Christ's crucifixion. The image, positioned above the entry door, functions similarly to the Tympanum on St. Foy at Conques' west portal, the subject initiating reflection on judgement and how to receive penance for sins. Devotional meditations on Passion images, such as Christ's face in Härnevi, were easily disseminated through manuscripts.

St. Birgitta of Sweden's *Revelaciones*

Historical events during the 14th century in Europe, leading up to the period of Albertus's work affected the social climate for decades, even centuries after. The Hundred Years War between England and France destabilized the two countries and broke down the feudal system, a papal schism occurred after the Papacy moved from Rome to Avignon, and the Black Plague killed thousands of people across Europe.[30] Born

[30] M. M. Postan, "Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War," (*The Economic History Review*, Vol. 12, No. ½ 1942), pp. 1-12.

around 1302 or 1303 in Uppsala, Sweden, St. Birgitta of Sweden matured to adulthood during this particular period of despair. Beginning at age seven, she received visions, especially revolving around the Passion of Christ.[31] Birgitta came from a wealthy family with royal lineage, her father, for example, a governor of Uppsala. She married Ulf Gudmarson, a wealthy nobleman, and bore four children through the marriage; her daughter, St. Catherine, would become the most famous. St. Birgitta's religious upbringing and event associated with her birth, led to her destiny as a holy woman and sainthood.[32] Birgitta attended several pilgrimages and became a strong opponent of the papal schism, advocating for the pope to return to Rome. She founded the Brigittine Order, in Vadstena, Sweden. The monastery, in Vadstena, allowed nuns and monks within the same compound, but with separate living quarters. The order was not approved by the church until 1370 by Pope Urban.[33] She wrote *Revelaciones*, beginning in Sweden and concluding in Italy. Her visions, recorded in *Revelaciones*, lacked revision, directly written by herself or dictated to a scribe with no changes to follow.[34] Later manuscripts, created in the 15th century and still in existence, utilized Birgitta's vision as inspiration for illustration (figure 5). Her posthumous popularity, after her death in 1373, resulted in her revelations spreading throughout Europe. Birgitta, also considered a prophet,

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[31] William Patterson Cumming, *The Revelations of Saint Birgitta* (Oxford University Press: London, England, 1929), pp. xxiii

[32] Julia Bolton Holloway, *Saint Bride and her Book, Birgitta of Sweden's Revelations*, (Focus Information Group: Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1992), pp. 3. Describes the event before Birgitta's birth. While pregnant, her mother traveled on the sea, and the ship wrecked. Birgitta's mother was able to make it to shore where she was approached by a person in a vision and told her, "'You are saved because of the goodness that is in your womb. Therefore, nurture it with the love of God for it is a gift given to you from God.'"

[33] Cumming, *The Revelations of St. Birgitta*, pp. xxiii and xxvi.

[34] Ibid, xxvii. The original was often destroyed, but Peter of Alvastra managed to maintain a copy in Latin which became what is now the *Revelationes Celestes*. Several were created in the monastery at Vadstena, the location of her order.

envisioned the ultimate break in the church and called for reform to prevent the schism that led to Protestantism. Albertus incorporates fragments of her visions into his composition.

A mural inspired by Birgitta's *Revelaciones* is located in the choir of Härnevi Church (figure 6). The painting shows the Nativity scene with Mary kneeling in front of the wooden manger, looking down at the Christ child with a soft gaze while Joseph watches from inside the manger, looking upon the scene. A cow and donkey lay beside the unrecognizable form of the Christ child. Polychrome painted ribbing frames the scene. Albertus creates a horizon line with the placement of textured landscape and a figure looking at the scene from the background. His angular style is exhibited in the lined blue robe of Mary, her golden hair flowing down her back. Historian, Anthony Butkovich, suggests that Birgitta meditated on pseudo-Boneventura's *Meditationes Vitae Christi* in order to receive the visions of the Nativity. Bonaventura references the Nativity several times throughout the devotional text.[35] Often, artists would place Birgitta within illustrations of her visions, to acknowledge her connection to the divine and the acceptance of her vision of the scene.[36]

Albertus's inclusion of Birgitta's visions indicates his reliance on manuscripts for his artistry. The later images designed to interpret St. Birgitta's revelations emerged in woodblock books (figure 7). Woodblocks, or Blockbooks, were created with wood cut images exhibiting a flat and simple composition with a lack of detail lines. Carving into a

[35] Anthony Butkovich, *Iconography: St. Birgitta of Sweden*, (Rosán, Inc. Ecumenical Foundation of America: Los Angeles, California, 1969), pp. 52. Butkovich references Henrik Cornell's observation that the *Revelaciones* had a major influence on the arts.
[36] Ibid.

woodblock is less malleable and leaves behind more angular and flat images that are then inked and pressed onto a page.[37] If a scribe decorated a woodblock manuscript with color, the addition of color transpired after the transfer of ink onto a folio. Scholars, such as Pia Melin, attribute the influence of Albertus's paintings to two particular woodblock manuscripts. The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and *Biblia Pauperum* for example are two manuscripts occasionally illuminated and highly reproduced during the Late Middle Ages. The church marketed manuscripts to the common medieval people and lower clergy for teaching and preaching; whereas, earlier hand painted manuscripts were generally created for important individuals. Although the main influences for Albertus were both the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and *Biblia Pauperum*, other manuscripts and artistic traditions impacted his paintings. This is especially noticeable within the vegetal motifs that deeply decorate the churches and will be examined further later in this section.

Speculum Humanae Salvationis

The *Biblia Pauperum* and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* were widely reproduced, allowing for Albertus's adoption of the manuscripts' prefiguration concept and pictorial narratives. Originally created in 1324 by Dominican monk, Ludolph of

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[37] David M. Robb, *The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript*, (A.S. Barnes and Company: New York City, New York, 1973), pp. 313. During the Fifteenth century, the development of the printed book changed the production of manuscripts, changing over to woodblock and metal engravings as a means to print books. Germany during this period became a leader in the printed manuscript in order to print several copies of books. The printed technique from wood however, can be traced to the late 14th century. Also see Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor [Biblia Pauperum] A Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 d.2*, (Duquesne University Press: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1990), pp. 5 for additional information on blockbooks. Blockbooks besides being a cheaper option of manuscripts and readily accessible the blockbook technique was also spread easily to other countries with the engraved wood block.

Saxony, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, a medieval Latin poem, translates to *The Mirror of Human Salvation* or *The Reflection of Human Salvation*.[38] *The Mirror of Human Salvation* has forty-eight chapters containing biblical or secular histories accompanied by a miniature narrative at the top of the folio to function as a reminder of the Fall and Redemption in connection to Old Testament narratives.[39] This particular manuscript, transitioned from an illuminated manuscript to a blockbook, explains the Old Testament as a prefiguration for the life of Christ.[40] The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* has a relationship to the devotional literature tradition through the inspiration to reflect on Christ's life and what that represents to mankind.[41]

One excellent example of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* is from the Sir George Grey Special Collections located within the Aukland, New Zealand, City Libraries. Gunther Zainer produced this particular book in Augsburg, Germany circa 1473. Zainer both printed and hand painted the book, leaving the manuscript brightly colored.[42] Workshops printed several copies of the *Speculum* before 1500 and copies

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[38] Robb, *The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript*, pp. 261 Also see Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum Humanae Salvationis, 1324-1500*, (The University of California Press: Berkeley, California, 1984) for a history on the manuscript and its transformation from an illuminated manuscript to a blockbook.

[39] Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror*, to see the variations of the Speculum still existence, also see Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz, *The Mirror of Salvation [Speculum Humanae Salvationis] An Edition of British Library Blockbook G. 11784*, (Duquesne University Press: Pittsburg, PA, 2002), pp. 5 Labriola and Smeltz state that *The Mirror of Salvation* was utilized by the clergy as a reference guide. Accompanied with the commentary is the facsimile for blockbook G. 11784.

[40] Christopher De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, (Phaidon Press Inc.: New York City, New York, 1994), pp. 227

[41] Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1996), pp. 63.

[42] "Speculum Humanae Salvationis. (The Mirror of Human Salvation)," Aukland Libraries, Grey Collection-The Gift, Accessed 2016, http://www.georgegrey.org.nz/TheCollection/CollectionItem/id/55/title/speculum-humanae-salvationis-the-mirror-of-human-salvation.aspx

were intended for laity viewership.[43] The folio example provided, comes from just one edition of the *Speculum,* out of twenty-five complete manuscripts known to still exist (figure 8).[44] The paintings show the initial sin of Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit, opposite is Adam and Eve cast from paradise following their sin.

Genesis 3:1 states, "now the Serpent was more crafty than any other wild animal that the Lord God had made." The serpent mentioned is pictured in the *Speculum* curling its long scaled body around the trunk of the tree.[45] The serpent, given a human face wearing a crown, convinces Eve that by eating the fruit from the tree, she would not die "for God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God."[46] Enticed by the notion of becoming like God, Eve ate the fruit and offered some to Adam, who also ate; the act inevitably led to their punishment and their continual curse of knowledge. After eating the fruit and having their eyes opened, they realize they are nude and sewed "fig leaves together and made loincloths for themselves." [47] The synoptic narrative depicts the vegetal garment on the right, the angel casts them out of the garden, both Adam and Eve hold green vegetation between their legs as they leave.

Albertus produces similar depictions of the story among his murals, such as the image of Eve eating the fruit from the tree, in Härkeberga Church (figure 9).[48] Located on

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[43] Ibid
[44] For a look and comparison of some of the other *Speculum* manuscripts see Wilson and Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror*. This includes examples of the illuminated manuscript form and the blockbook form.
[45] Michael D. Coogan, ed. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha, An Ecumenical Study Bible*, (Oxford University Press: New York City, New York, 2010), Genesis 3:1
[46] Ibid, Genesis 3:5
[47] Ibid, Genesis 3.7
[48] Cornell, Albertus Pictor: Sten Stures und Jacob Ulvssons Maler, pp. 8-11 and Herman Bengtsson, "Simsonmotivet- Förlagor och Funktion," in Pia Melin, ed. *Albertus Pictor Målare av Sin Tid I Bilder I urval samt studier och analyser*. (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien: Stockholm, Sweden, 2009), pp. 115-123. Herman Bengtsson and Henrik Cornell discuss the similarities between the

the ceiling of the church porch, this image does not picture Adam and Eve within the same frame; however, Eve is already holding vegetation to guard her nakedness while she is eating the fruit, combining the two narratives. The long personified serpent spirals around the trunk of the tree that bends toward Eve, accommodating the polychrome ribbing's shape. Albertus uses the same golden orange tone for Eve's hair, the serpent's hair, and the tree trunk. Eve grasps the fruit, readying for a bite, while the serpent looks down at her with anticipation. Another example, from the Håbo-Tibble Church, illustrates Adam and Eve both eating the fruit in the same frame, while the serpent, again shown with a human face, is coaxing Eve to take the fruit. Once more, Adam and Eve are already holding bundled plants together to cover themselves (figure 10). The green plants Adam and Eve both hold, present lined differences in the texture of the leaves; the fruit they hold match in color to the leaves. The serpent's body, twined around the tree, shows rough skin with its attention focused on Eve, encouraging her to bite into the fruit. Red stenciled rosettes fill up the space around the scene.

Albertus takes his visual program and concept of the Old Testament as a prefiguration for the New Testament, directly from the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and the *Biblia Pauperum*. The *Biblia Pauperum*, *Bible of the Poor*, provides two depictions from the Old Testament and one from the New Testament on each folio

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Biblia Pauperum and Albertus's paintings with the Samson narrative example. They also show an example of a copperplate engraving copy of the image from the mid-20th century by Master E.S. For a complete and descriptive facsimile see Henrik Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum*, (Thule Tryck. Inedalsgatan: Stockholm, Sweden, 1925). Cornell separates the facsimile into titles on the folios in both Latin and German, he has also compiled a list of the manuscripts, or fragments of manuscripts, still existing and what type they belong to.

accompanied by quotations relevant to the narratives.[49] The blockbook produced during the 15th century in Germany, serves the function to show the Old Testament as a prefiguration for the New Testament. Some scholars, like Robert G. Calkins, believe that despite the literal translation of the title, the intended audience of the manuscript was the clergy to use as a teaching mechanism to promote the unity of the Bible.[50] Similar to the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis,* the *Biblia Pauperum* contains strictly biblical content, whereas, other blockbooks during the time were religious in content but not solely biblical.[51]

Biblia Pauperum

Another possible purpose for producing the *Biblia Pauperum* was to promote conversion of the Jews. Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz suggest this purpose is evident in the way the narratives of the Old Testament complement the depiction of a story from the New Testament. The design of the book is numerologically significant; three frames of scenes form the base of the illustration while two pairs of figures are depicted both above and below the New Testament narrative. The numbers three and four are both religiously significant along with the product of the two numbers.[52] The *Biblia Pauperum's* visual program functions as a narrative, unfolding history as God sees it, his plan considered *sub specie aeternitatis*.[53]

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[49] Henrik Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum*, provides one of the most comprehensive comparison iconographic analyses for the Biblia Pauperum. Please see text for further comparative details.
[50] Robert G. Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, New York, 1983), pp. 284
[51] Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor*, pp. 5
[52] Ibid, pp. 7
[53] Ibid, pp. 8

A folio example from the *Biblia Pauperum* shows, “Christ is Mocked and Crowned with Thorns” (figure 11). This illustration appears in other copies of the *Biblia Pauperum*, such as the book kept in the Esztergom Cathedral library and the edition found in the British Library. The central image shows Christ’s punishment with the crowning of thorns. In the narrative, the thorned crown is pushed down onto his head with a stick. The Old Testament prefigurations of Noah’s nakedness mocked by his sons - one the left- and children mocking Eliseus -on the right- flanks the New Testament depiction.[54] Both Old Testament depictions prefigure the mocking of Christ in the New Testament. Noah is shown covered by one of his sons as the other two laugh and mock his nudity and drunkenness. The figure of Eliseus is scaled as the same size of the architecture within the frame, while children stand below pointing up at his figure and laugh. Other iconography depicting the mockery of Christ, suggested in additional Old Testament images, appears in an image of two scouts returning to Chanaan with a large stalk of grapes, referencing the pole used to buffet the head of Christ in the previous depiction.[55]

Painted by Albertus’s workshop, the image of Noah’s mockery appears on the ceiling of Härkeberga Church (figure 12). In Albertus’s version of the prefiguration narrative, Noah is still shown lying drunk upon the rocks, his head positioned on top of his awkwardly bent arm and covered with a dark tunic. His nakedness is assumed by the viewer and witnesses one of his sons use a blanket to cover him. While one son makes an attempt to save his father from shame, he is seen simultaneously conversing with another

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[54] Ibid, pp. 122
[55] Ibid, pp. 166 and 154

son that laughs and points down at Noah. Positioned in the background, another son uses his hands to cover his face in shame over his father's nakedness. Angular rocks provide the landscape for the scene and a fox carries a duck by the throat in the foreground. Once again, rosette designs intersperse within the empty space.

The Latin transcriptions accompanying the narratives suggest the influence from the *Biblia Pauperum*. Printed on the folio of the *Biblia Pauperum*, the scroll work transcription below the name David reads, "*Omnes videntes me deriserunt me*," translated to "All who saw me laughed me to scorn."[56] The pattern of the scroll work, also present on the scene from Härkeberga Church says, "*Nuda verenda vidit patris dum Cam male ridet*."[57] Translated, the description reads, "When Cam sees his father's nakedness, he laughs mockingly;" this relates to the description below the image in the *Biblia Pauperum*, "*Nuda verenda vidit patris dum Cham male ridet*." Almost word for word, Albertus transcribes the Latin in the book and places it in his painting.[58]

Not every scroll work transcription Albertus incorporated into his visual program is exact when compared to the Latin in the *Biblia Pauperum*, suggesting Albertus was educated and familiar with Latin. Other editions of the *Biblia Pauperum* show different schemas of design, presenting the narratives within circles rather than framed by architecture (figure 13).[59] The figure shows a different version of the *Biblia Pauperum* considered the Weimar type; this particular example is folio 15r from Italy in the 15th

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[56] Ibid, 122 and 79

[57] Albertus Pictor Målare av sin tid II, 176

[58] Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor*, pp. 79 shows the slight differentiation of the son's names: Cham, Ham, or Cam. Coogan, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*. Genesis 10:10 refers to Noah's children as Shem, Ham, Japheth.

[59] Elizabeth Soltész, *Biblia Pauperum, Facsimile Edition of the Forty-Leaf Blockbook in the Library of the Esztergom Cathedral*. (Corvina Press: Budapest, Hungary, 1967), pp. IV and V

century.[60] The image shows the narrative of Christ entombed after his death, the prefigurations flanking Christ's synoptic narrative shows Jonah's sacrifice interred within the whale and Joseph's enclosure in the well. Out of the remaining examples of the *Biblia Pauperum*, the more popular style is the one depicting the narratives framed within architecture. Instead of painting an architectural space, as the manuscripts depict, Albertus utilized the physical architecture as his framework. He integrates decorative vegetal motifs in order to pronounce the architectural space through a framing application and enhances the connection to the manuscript tradition.

Iconography of Vegetal Motifs Utilized by Albertus Pictor

The rosette stencils and acanthus vine motifs within Albertus's murals present a long iconographic history, but for the purpose of this paper I focus on the motifs manifested within the Christian manuscript tradition. The vegetal motif investigation demonstrates the longer manuscript tradition that *Revelaciones*, *Biblia Pauperum*, and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* reside within and follow an established Christian visual-language.

Commonly used in the Greco-Roman world as an addition to architecture, the acanthus motif often appears as "decoration in friezes and borders or some other prominent part."[61] However, the vegetal motifs become a supplemental promotion to the image it surrounds. The use of the motif in later buildings, considered in the classical

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[60] Ibid, V. For a more extensive understanding of the typology of the Biblia Pauperum manuscripts.
[61] Constantine Udhe, "The Acanthus Scroll," (*The Workshop*, Vol. 4, No. 12, 1871), Pp. 177-178. Udhe discusses the scrolling work of the acanthus beginning with the Greeks and evolved in later periods, such as the Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance.

tradition, exhibit the acanthus as decoration, which still carry the power and authority associated with Greco-Roman forms. Christianity molded a predominantly sculptural art form into a painted decorative form. Classical imagery remains imbedded in the Christian visual language with the acanthus motif appearing in many illuminated manuscripts around the border of pages, in initial pages, or expressed in letter decoration. Following the Carolingian Empire, the Ottonian Empire also encouraged the development of the arts, including manuscript illumination.[62] Expanding on manuscript traditions and presenting a form of the acanthus vine hybridized with the lily motif that will be discussed further later.

The development of the acanthus tendril, as Alois Riegle terms, has a hefty iconographic history that results in differences in stylistic rendering.[63] The origin of the acanthus motif employed within art, lends itself to several stories; one legend begins with a young girl's death and burial. Her nurse placed a basket of her toys over the grave and an acanthus plant grew from the grave twining around the basket. The sculptor Callimachus, coming upon the sight, "was so charmed by the lines that he perpetuated them in stone."[64] The acanthus motif, attributed to the work of Callimachus, becomes a popular design in Roman architecture. One example of the exaggerated acanthus form is on the Ara Pacis Augustae, the Altar of Peace of Augustus from the 1st century B.C.

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[62] Martin Kitchen, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Germany*, (Cambridge University Press: New York City, New York, 1996), pp. 36-55 details the historical developments during the Ottonian and Salian Empires, refer to text for further information.

[63] Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1992), Pp. 220. Riegl names the spiraling acanthus as the acanthus tendril, which had evolved from the details, like those seen on the Euphronios Krater. For additional decorative examples and their meaning see "The Decorative Styles. I. Greek Decoration," (The Decorator and Furnisher: Vol. 23, No. 1, Oct. 1893), Pp. 14-16.

[64] Hildegard Schneider, "The Acanthus at the Cloisters," (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 10, June 1945), pp. 248-252.

(figure 14). The Ara Pacis's reliefs of ornamentation weave together ivy, laurel, and the spiraling acanthus with stylized rosette carvings. The twisting acanthus vine grows from the large leafy base.

The introduction of the rosette with the acanthus in Roman architecture continues into medieval art forms. The acanthus motif exhibited in the Ara Pacis displays the rosette in the center, while a vine spirals around with a stylized form of the leafy acanthus plant, and then continues to connect to another acanthus form creating a repetitive motif.[65] The repeating spiral vine motif is one that Albertus uses in his visual program (figure 15). The acanthus and rosette design in Täby Church exhibits the acanthus vine of green and red with green five petalled rosettes within the delicate acanthus connecting in a line on the underside of a transverse arch. The smaller delicate vined variation of the acanthus is produced throughout Albertus's murals as thinner and feather-like, such as those seen in Täby Church (figure 16). However, the smaller vine is a common motif employed by other painting schools in Scandinavia, such as the Gamla Uppsala Church in Sweden, painted by the Tierp School, a contemporary of Albertus (figure 17).[66] While the Gamla Uppsala example of the vine motif is more delicate, Albertus's employment of the more wholesome acanthus vine fills the space.

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[65] Kim Williams, "Spirals and Rosettes in Architectural Ornament," (*Nexus Network Journal*, Vol. 1, 1999), pp. 129-138. Williams discusses the ancient history behind the spiral and rosette motif, including the idea behind the ionic volute and the perfect ratio behind the design.

[66] For additional information on Gamla Uppsala Church see Bengt Z Norström and Tord Harlin, *Medeltidsmålningarna I Gamla Uppsala kyrka, The Medieval Paintings in the Church of Old Uppsala*, (Z-Production: Uppsala, Sweden). And see Tore Littmarck, *Gamla Uppsala: From Ancient to Modern Time*, (Dahlins tryckeri AB: Old Uppsala Parish Vestry, 2002) for a longer survey of the history of the area and church.

Another popular Greco-Roman form adopted by Christianity is the grape vine, seen in depictions of Dionysus, such as a Greek kylix dating from 530 BCE, now residing in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen Museum in Munich, Germany (figure 18). The acanthus leaf also partners with the grape vine motif in an Early Christian 4th century mosaic.[67] The decorative mosaic is located on the ambulatory ceiling of the Santa Costanza mausoleum (figure 19). The twisting vine motif curls around the portrait of Costanza, Emperor Constantine's daughter, and on opposite sides lies a depictions of a grape harvest by Putti. The cherub-like, nude Putti, grasp the vine tendrils climbing toward the hanging grapes. The grape vine, symbolizes the Eucharist in Christian imagery. The Eucharist represents the body and blood of Christ, first instituted at the Last Supper by Christ himself.[68] At the Last Supper, Christ foretold of his betrayal to the chief priests. Following the moments of his prophesy, while they ate, Christ broke bread and said "'Take; this is my body'" and then raising his cup of wine in thanks he spoke, "'This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many.'"[69] This moment becomes an immortalized moment within the Christian religion, reenacting within church communion. The melancholy and power of the moment is also depicted within artistic representations as seen in Santa Costanza mausoleum.

The Late Antique example elucidates the mix between Greco-Roman and Christian ideology with the application of the acanthus and the grape vine symbolizing Dionysus and the Eucharist. Santa Costanza exhibits the vine and acanthus, shifting away

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[67] "The Mausoleum of Santa Costanza: Ancient Mosaics and Round Church," Revealed Rome, last modified September 29, 2011, http://www.revealedrome.com/2011/09/basilica-of-santa-costanza-church-in-rome.html

[68] P. Benoit and T. Worden, "The Holy Eucharist," (CrossCurrents, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1958) pp. 295-314.

[69] Coogan, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Mark 14:22-24

from the Greco-Roman Period's fundamental aspect of architectural carved decoration and toward the medieval use of the motif as a special decoration in flattened composition. The Eucharistic vine motif, Albertus utilizes as an architecture design, seen in the underside of an arch in Härnevi Church (figure 20). The green vine remains uniform in width as it climbs along the archway, with large leafs and grape cluster connected to the vine by smaller delicate lines of the vine plant.

The acanthus form is a popular figure found in medieval art, mainly for its versatility, beauty, power language, and for the symbolism of the "Heavenly Garden."[70] Albertus's elaborate vegetal motifs surrounding the figural images further punctuate the concept of the garden of Heaven. The Ottonians institute an abstract form of the acanthus vine, seen in the incipit page from the *Commentary on Daniel* (10th century) and an initial page from the *Gospels of Otto III* (11th century) (figures 21 and 22). Both examples demonstrate the intertwining vine motif, tightly bound together with leafy, curling ends resembling fleur-de-lis patterning. Albertus expresses a similar design in the Härnevi Church, painted on eight webs of the choir vault. Framing the synoptic biblical narratives, the green and red shaded vines crawl off the webbing twisting on itself, while the ends separate into threes as seen in fleur-de-lis decoration (figure 23). The hybrid lily/acanthus vine that Albertus employs is also present as a regional style. Located in the Västergötland province of southern Sweden, several "lily stones," a type of rune stone, include carved lily vines (figure 24). One such stone resides in the Historiska Museet in

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[70] Norbert Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture*, (Yale University Press: London, England, 2000), Pp. 206. Nussbaum claims that the German Gothic introduces a unique style to the Gothic Period with decorative ribs that act as vines themselves, added vegetal painting within the webs provide an additional layer in the heavenly garden symbolism.

Stockholm, Sweden. Historians believe the stones mark graves of Christians. The lily vine presents a similar motif seen in Ottonian illuminated manuscripts and Albertus's painting.

The rosette design dates to the prehistoric site Sungir, Russia, about 27,000 years ago (figure 25). The rosette belongs to a long decorative history. The rosette design traveled to Mesopotamia, leaving archaeological evidence from old civilizations, such as two gold necklace pendants dated to the 17th to 16th centuries B.C. (figure 26). The pendants, intricately designed with rosettes forming a larger rosette, while the opposite side illustrates figures representing a deity. The Roman Republic and Empire exploited the rosette design in an architectural fragment from the 2nd to 1st centuries B.C. (figure 27). The fragment, located in France, exhibits various styles of rosettes separated into rows and columns within a large layered rosette design in the center. As seen earlier, the Romans utilized the rosette in sculptural decoration, often accompanying the acanthus vine.

The rosette develops into a symbol for the Virgin Mary in the Christian visual tradition.[71] Albertus utilizes the rosette and a stylized fleur-de-lis as stencils throughout the interior of the churches (figures 28 and 29). This technique is also a regional style; the Keldby Church in Denmark includes rosette stenciled paintings throughout the composition (figure 30). Albertus develops a program employing several varieties of the rosette that occasionally become homogenized into a vine, or the rosettes stand by

[71] Rosettes represent the Virgin Mary with the sign of the rose while the fleur-de-lis symbolizes Mary with the lily flower. "'Mondays with Mary'- The Flowers of the Blessed Virgin Mary," Tom Perna, Evangelization. Catechesis. JP2 Generation, Last updated 3/3/2014, http://tomperna.org/2014/03/03/mondays-with-mary-the-flowers-of-the-blessed-virgin-mary/

themselves, filling the space, adding to the composition representing the virgin and the heavenly garden.

The combination of the rosette, acanthus, fleur-de-lis, and Eucharistic vines is a common element also incorporated into manuscript painting. The rosette and acanthus are painted as separate vegetal motifs, unlike the Ara Pacis, in the *Carmelite Missal of Nantes* from the 15th century. The acanthus and rosettes provide the border decoration surrounding an image of the Eucharistic Mass and text. The fleur-de-lis decorated the gowns of two of the women acknowledging Mary with the Christ child at the altar, and painted on the face of the altar where the Eucharist is placed (figures 31 and 32). The *Book of Hours*, master of the Harley, also from the 15th century, shows the rosette, acanthus, and grape vine crowding the space on the page (figure 33). The motifs converge together within the two borders surrounding the image of a male figure receiving the divine word; the amalgamation of the motifs generates a crowded composition difficult to distinguish one vegetal motif from the other. The covered space exhibits Albertus's similar technique in blanketing the ceiling and wall space with decoration.

The vegetal motif examination establishes the longer manuscript tradition that influences Albertus decorative composition. The analysis demonstrates the motifs decorative tradition previous to Christian adoption and the transition from sculptural adornment to the representation in flattened painting programs. The Christian visual tradition utilizes the motifs mainly within manuscript painting, which Albertus exploits as his source of inspiration. The combination of religious narratives taken directly from manuscripts and blockbooks, accompanied by the decorative vegetal motifs, exhibits an

all-encompassing composition incorporated by Albertus to allude to a manuscript page reflected onto the ceilings and walls.

Concept of the Book

The visual manuscript tradition, influencing Albertus, originates from the central idea of Christianity, The Book, or the Word of God.[72] In the book of John 1:1-2, states, "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," which elucidates the significance of the Bible to the Christian faith.[73] The Bible is the direct portal to the divine with the Old Testament as a recording of God's dealings with people over the centuries. The New Testament provides the narrative of Christ's life. The New Testament exhibits the importance of the Bible twofold, as the direct word of God through Jesus's life as the "word made flesh," meaning the Word –or Logos- that is God was incorporated into a human body (Christ).[74] The Logos was created by God and was therefore God. This references Genesis 1.26, the moment God decides to create man and allowing mankind "dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth."[75] Further, Jesus was the Logos, created by God, and God embodied, but not God by nature.[76]

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[72] Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels*, (Random House: New York City, New York, 1979), pp. 119-141, explains that medievalism drew on a new idea called Gnosticism, which introduces spirituality into religion. The spirituality allows for a deeper connection with the Logos that devotional manuscripts offer.
[73] Coogan, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, John 1:1-2 this section also explains that everything comes from God, the creator of everything including the word.
[74] Ibid, pp. xviii
[75] Ibid, Genesis 1:26 and Henrik Pontoppidan Thyssen, "Philisophical Christology in the New Testament," (*Numen*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 2006), pp. 133-176
[76] Karen Armstrong, *A History of God, The 4,000- Year Quest of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, (Ballantine Books: New York City, New York, 1993), pp. 109

The codification of the Bible advanced the power of Logos in The Book, spreading the Word throughout Christendom. The belief of the medieval populous of the Logos as God's divine intervention, creating all creatures, imbued The Book with power that further propelled Christianity into a religious majority. The Book as the divine, also maintains power through the belief God is the perfect "Being," which man could achieve salvation through his Logos.[77] The Middle Ages produced an illiterate population, resulting in books with less scripture and instead image representations as the Logos.[78] The illuminated manuscripts maintained the power in The Book and created a divine portal through the institution of images, a gateway that Albertus mimicked in his murals.

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[77] Ibid, pp. 110

[78] Herbert L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, (Broadview Press: Ontario, Canada, 2004), pp. 90

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DECORATION AND ARCHITECTURE: THE PLACEMENT OF ALBERTUS'S WORK WITHIN A LARGER TRADITION

Henrik Cornell, in a 1929 article claimed that Albertus himself painted the churches of Härkeberga and Härnevi, both located outside Enköping, Sweden. No evidence supports the assumption that the master of the workshop painted the two churches. However, over the years and through additional scholarship, attribution of churches to Albertus instead of Peter Pictor developed. During the last half of the 15th century, Albertus Pictor became a popular artist throughout Sweden's Lake Mälaren area, stretching to include the other church in my case study, Täby church. Cornell also states that Albertus "developed a richer figure painting than any other of the Swedish ecclesiastical painters."[79] Albertus's biblical narratives and angular figures earn the distinction from other medieval contemporary artists. Painting decoration with both figural –generally religious in content- and vegetal motifs throughout church interiors, resembling manuscript pages, expresses the style of the region. The regional style of mural painting within churches began around the same time as church building spread to Scandinavia, around 1000 AD. The architecture of Scandinavia provided the canvas for the church artists, the unique style of integration of painting onto the interior structure of the churches, formed a bond between painting and architecture.

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[79] Henrik Cornell, "Art Activity in Sweden," (*Parnassus*, Vol. 1, No. 6, Oct. 1929), pp. 13-15.

Regional Architectural Style of Scandinavia

Archaeological evidence provides helpful information to track the Christian conversion of Scandinavia through the evolution of church building from 1000 to roughly 1500.[80] Scandinavia at the time of conversion consisted of three main regions, which are modernly labeled Norway, Sweden and Denmark.[81] Stylistically, the architecture and art of the region retains conformity to establish a regional style. However, subtle differences present style uniqueness in the three countries. Denmark and Sweden's art and architecture follow similar patterns and styles seen in Germanic art and architecture, while Norway illustrates more English influences.[82] Medieval Scandinavian church construction followed a typological progression, of wood to stone and then finally brick. While the rest of Europe moved from the Romanesque to the Gothic Periods, producing grand scale stone and brick churches, Scandinavia advanced from wood construction based on Viking culture houses to stone and brick on a smaller scale, generally maintaining the layout produced by the wood churches.[83] Marian Donnelly considers the

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[80] Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (Yale University Press: New Haven, Connecticut, 1997), pp. 1-31 outlines the timeline of Christianity's spread in Continental Europe and how the persecution of Christians resulted in the religious minority rising to the majority. This is also seen in Robert Bartlett, "The Conversion of a Pagan Society in the Middle Ages," (*History*, Vol. 70, No. 229, June 1985), pp. 185-201.The conversion of Scandinavia varied on success, but the key players in orchestrating the conversion were the secular rulers, see Alexandra Sanmark, "The Role of Secular Rulers in the Conversion of Sweden," in Ed. Martin Carver, *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*, (The Boydell Press: Suffolk, UK, 2005).

[81] Finland, Iceland, and Greenland become areas of Scandinavia, converting later around the 13th century. For additional information on the conversion of other areas of Scandinavia see Helle, *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, especially article Birgit Sawyer and Peter Sawyer, "Scandinavia Enters Christian Europe." Anna Nilsén's book *Program och Funktion I Senmedeltida Kalkmåleri: Kyrkmålningar I Mälarlandskapen och Finland 1400-1534,* also provides background history on the conversion of Finland.

[82] Donnelly, *Architecture in the Scandinavia Countries*, pp. 54

[83] Ibid, 21-30. The section provides a brief overview of architecture from Pre-history to after WWI. Images of longhouses expresses similarities to the early churches in Scandinavia, but studies show uncertainty on pre-Christian gathering buildings.

small parish churches of Scandinavia as "barn" churches, with a singular open space, consisting of nave and chancel.[84] This layout forms a predominantly rectangular uniform building resembling a barn with very little ornament on the façade and an uncomplicated triangular roofline, such as the Holtålen Church in Trøndelag, Norway (figure 34).[85] Built in 1050, the original located in the Sverresbreg Museum, the Holtålen Church shows the early church form of wood construction. Wood churches in Scandinavia, often called stave churches, do not always resemble the more popular "mast" model of tiered roofline, for example the Urnes Church in Urnes, Norway (figure 35).[86]

The Holtålen Church foreshadows the layout and simple construction seen in the stone and brick churches of Sweden during the Late Medieval Period. Similarities from early wood examples, such as the Holtålen Church, are evident in the present day Swedish rural churches like Kalmar church (figure 36). Kalmar Church consists of a simple longitudinal plan, stucco exterior, and basic roof lines in a single tier. Kalmar is an example of the second type of church building in Scandinavia, the later stone edifices. Early examples of stone construction churches remain as small parish churches, such as Botkyrka, in Södermanland, circa 1176 (figure 37). Farther north, Bromma Church, built in the late 12th century, is another stone building, considered the oldest church in Stockholm, and also contains paintings by Albertus Pictor (figure 38). Bromma resembles Botkyrka Church, but presents a circular tower instead of square. The

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[84] Ibid

[85] Ibid, Pp. 34

[86] Ibid. Urnes is also famous for the animal interlace carving on the exterior. The animal interlace associated with Urnes demonstrates another form of decoration attributed to the Viking culture, see Peter Anker. *The Art of Scandinavia*, Volume 1, (The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited: London, England, 1970), Pp. 207

transitioning between typology of church building is not exclusive to parish churches. Lund Cathedral, an early location of an archbishopric, is an early form of brick construction (figure 39). At the time of construction, Lund belonged to Denmark; the Kalmar Union eventually resulted in the provinces of Skåne, Blekinge, and Halland becoming part of Sweden, including the Lund Cathedral.[87] Lund exhibits both Romanesque and Gothic style architecture. Romanesque characteristics demonstrate a westwork, earlier examples of this are seen in the towers of Bromma and Botkyrka, and several arcades on the façade and in the interior separating the nave from the aisles, the groin vaulting with pointed arches exhibits the Gothic influence.

Other stone and brick churches illustrated a German influence with the use of two towers on the west façade, seen on the Lund Cathedral. The westwork of St. Mary's church, in Bergen, Norway, resembles the westwork introduced by the Carolingian Empire, such as that from the Corvey Abbey Church, in Germany (figures 40 and 41). Smaller parish churches would utilize the westwork tower design, but instead of building two towers, the parish churches built only one tower, seen in Danmark Church in Sweden (figure 42). The tower maintains the verticality and grandness sought through the westwork of previous examples.

The architectural developments of continental Europe permeated into Scandinavia, continuing over a longer stretch of time, but the architecture of Scandinavia retained regional pre-Christian influence. While the rest of Europe attests to a longer

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[87] Kalmar Union began in 1397 as an attempt to unite Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Through many conflicts and treaties the Union did not officially end until 1523. The Kalmar Union is outlined in Jens E. Olesen, "Inter-Scandinavian Relations," in Helle, *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, pp. 710-770, and details the political conflicts between countries and political struggles within the countries.

Christian history, Scandinavia's begins around 1000.[88] Before this date, the population of Scandinavia remained largely pre-Christian, worshiping the Norse Gods. The Viking raids became one of the transmissions of Christianity into Scandinavia. Through raiding and trading, the Vikings brought back Christian visual material funneling the conversion to the monotheistic religion.[89] Thus Scandinavia did not have an earlier Christian architecture or art tradition, but imported forms from the Continent.

Scandinavia then followed a similar progression of stylistic periods seen in continental Europe. The Romanesque Period began almost as soon as Christianity took root in Scandinavia, between 1050 and 1250. Scandinavia surpassed an early Christian period, instead the period from the first raid on Lindisfarne to the king's conversion in 1000 resembled an Early Christian Period with conflict over conversion and early forms of art, such as Christian imagery carved onto Rune Stones throughout Scandinavia.[90]

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[88] St. Ansgar in the 9th century founded churches in three main trading cities in Scandinavia, Hedeby, Ribe, Birka. However, a century elapsed before diocese were established in Hedeby, Ribe, and Århus. Donnelly, *Architecture in the Scandinavia Countries*, pp. 29

[89] The 8th and 9th centuries witnessed settlement of Vikings into the British Isles, but the settlers still practiced Viking culture, discussed in Thomas H. Ohlgren, "The Pagan Iconography of Christian Ideas: Tree-lore in Anglo-Viking England." (*Mediaevistik*, Vol. 1, 1988), Pp. 145-173. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recollects the Viking culture as heathenism, this separated the Viking settlers from the Christian population of the British Isles. See "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," Trans. Reverend James Ingram, (1823), (Everyman Press edition, Internet source, London, England, 1912), https://archive.org/stream/Anglo-saxonChronicles/anglo_saxon_chronicle_djvu.txt for references on heathenism. Also refer to John D. Niles and Mark Amodio. "Introduction: The Vikings and England." (*Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 3, Summer 1987), Pp. 279-283, for details on the conversion of the Vikings through the contact with England.

[90] The conversion of Scandinavia happened gradually, marked by the conversion of a king. For Sweden, this came with Olof Skötkonung around 1000AD, after Denmark and Norway. For additional descriptions on the development of Christianity in Sweden see Byron J. Nordstrom, *The History of Sweden*. (Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 2002), Pp. 34. However, some scholars, also seen in Nordstrom, argue that the coming of Christianity and conversion of Sweden was marked by the founding of the archbishopric in Uppsala in 1164.

The architecture of Scandinavia follows a typology, following the evolution from wood churches to stone and finally to brick.[91] While the Romanesque in Scandinavia produced three progressive building programs, the Gothic construction of new churches centered on brick material. Often, Gothic innovations adopted from continental Europe, mainly Germany, became additions to previously built Romanesque Churches. By the start of the Gothic Period, around 1250, in Scandinavia, continental Europe had been in progress of Gothic construction for almost a century. Gothic churches in Scandinavia drew from models in Germany, England, and France, but mainly from the decorative vaulting of Germany.[92] Two large churches in Sweden, Uppsala Cathedral (begun 1273) and Stockholm Storkyrkan (1468-1496), display German influence with brick construction, stellar vaulting, and small to non-existent clerestories (figures 43 and 44). The Gothic Period in Scandinavia often consisted of additions to existing churches, such as the small parish churches sprinkling the countryside. The German stellar vaulting became a popular addition to the parish churches. A white-washed example of parish church stellar vaulting, located in Vaksala Church, demonstrates the geometric German influence (figure 45). The Late Gothic Period parish churches are larger than the earlier wood churches, with additions of church porches or weapon-houses, while some added towers. Generally, the weapon-house, positioned on the south side of the church because

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[91] This typology obviously has some exceptions to the rule, in Norway wood churches remained the construction preference longer than in Sweden or Denmark, by the 12th century both countries had already turned to brick construction. Donnelly, *Architecture of the Scandinavia Countries*, pp. 37. A stone church example in Norway would be the Tingelstad Church in Hadeland built in 1100, see Pp. 38
[92] Ibid, pp. 54

that side receiving the most shelter from the wind, also served as a storage point for the people to leave their weapons before they entered the congregational space.[93]

Architectural Style of Case Study Churches

Decorative vaulting of the stellar style, influenced from Germany, provides a geometric framework for the paintings of Scandinavian artists, such as Albertus Pictor. The examination of the regional style characteristics of Romanesque barn churches with Gothic vaulting and religious murals influenced from medieval manuscripts delivers a foundation for the painting of Albertus Pictor's workshop. The three case study churches Häkeberga, Härnevi, and Täby present all three qualities: extensive mural painting, stellar vaulting, and simple parish brick church construction (figures 46, 47, and 48). The church porches of Täby, Härnevi, and Härkeberga, added during the mid-15th century, created another space for Albertus's murals.[94] At the time of the church porch additions, vaulting of the ceiling also appeared throughout the church interior and also in the church porch. In general, characteristics of the construction and additions, occurring during the 15th century, remain whole in the three churches. Early constructed sections from all three churches date back to the 13th century, these areas include the nave and chancel. Alterations to the building, directly impacting Albertus's murals, include several window

[93] Ibid, pp. 37 The weapon-house and tower were a common developments in church building in Sweden and Denmark.

[94] Secondary source material claims specifically Härkeberga church's porch was added between 1475 and 1480, Täby's was added some time during the 15th century, but there is no claim in secondary sources of Härnevi's church porch construction. See Harlin, *The Pride of Härkeberga: Meet the artist Albertus Pictor,* and Svenska Kyrkan for additional construction dates.

adjustments throughout the centuries, following the completion of the painting in the late 15th century.[95]

The thick walls incorporated from the Romanesque Period, remains intact at Täby, Härnevi, and Häkeberga. The compound piers usually seen in Romanesque churches, with several engaged columns connected to the ribbing of the vault and separating the nave from the aisles. The engaged column become engaged pilasters in the parish churches, which are rectangular in shape and connect directly to the wall that branch up and outward forming the pointed arches bordering the windows and separating the nave into bays. The other engaged columns extend from the pilaster, stretching across the vaulted ceiling (figures 49 and 50). The ribbing, spread across the ceiling, forms geometric patterning, stylistically Gothic and in particular, derived from the German Gothic.

The Gothic component in the rural churches is limited to the ceiling; other evolutions of the Gothic Period, such as the Rayonnant style's broad stained glass windows appear to be a non-existent phenomenon within the rural churches of Sweden. Härnevi, Härkeberga, and Täby do not display an intentional desire for height, as Gothic churches on the continent strived to accomplish. In appearance, the churches display the Gothic in aesthetic qualities, with the stellar ribbed vaulting and the small buttresses positioned at the corners of the building, such as in Härkeberga (figure 51). The interior of the provincial churches from the case study, only exhibit a single nave and no aisles.

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[95] Other alterations would have included lights, building of a loft in the east section of the nave for the organ and the pews, which are more contemporary additions. The bell towers characteristic of the parish church estate were added during the 17th century. Ibid

The smaller and simple exterior of the parish churches of Sweden exhibit similarities to Anglo-Norman designs, such as St. Benedict's Church in Paddlesworth, Kent, England (figure 52).[96] This stone church is similar in construction to the rural churches of Sweden with stucco. Cistercian architecture also influenced the Anglo-Norman style because the Cistercian order had established monasteries in England and Denmark, evident in the simple unadorned exteriors.[97]

Aside from the numerous influences the architecture and interior decoration assemble together, the amalgamation of the paintings into the vaulting of the churches creates an overwhelming experience in the congregational space. The compelling view of the embellished walls and ceilings of the churches, mimicking several pages of manuscripts, encompasses the viewer. Walking into Härnevi, Härkeberga, or Täby, results in the inundation on the visual sense; the images surrounding the walls and covering the ceilings propels the viewer to circle 360° in order to observe the entire composition (figures 53, 54, and 55). The umbrella effect of the decoration within the Swedish churches elicits wonderment, imagination, and reflection through Old and New Testament narratives.

The encircling experience produced through the integration of the murals onto the architecture provides the material from manuscripts to inspire meditation. The medieval viewer received the didacticism associated with the prefiguration and New Testament

[96] Neil Kent, *A Concise History of Sweden,* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, New York, 2008), pp. 17.
[97] Donnolly, *Architecture in the Scandinavia Countries*, pp. 55 and 56.

narratives, but also practiced meditation on the same subject matter.[98] Instead of meditating on a single scene, the churches present multiple images from the Old and New Testament to encourage the contemplation of Christ's life and Passion and aimed to motivate the medicant to imagine Christ's sacrifice for mankind's sins and reflect on how to achieve penance and salvation.

The incorporation of the subject matter provoking meditation into the architecture of the churches extracts influence from a longer architectural and church decoration tradition from continental Europe. Examining Albertus's work within the larger continental European tradition of architecture and art demonstrates that the imported styles from Europe shaped the development of Scandinavian churches into a unique regional style. While Italian city-states and Northern Germany experienced advancement in art through depth in painting during the Renaissance, the medieval North remained firmly planted in the two-dimensional renderings of medieval painting. Albertus's style incorporates the regional style of the decoration resembling a manuscript upon the ceilings and walls of churches, and other influences from parts of Europe including the polychrome, vine decoration, and flattened religious narrative imagery.

Continental European medieval art and architecture influenced the North's Christian art and architecture, but Scandinavia created a unique regional style through the union of Nordic pre-Christian architecture and mural painting drawn from manuscript tradition. Scandinavia fused medieval painting and church architecture through religious

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[98] Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Ital. 115*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1961), provides an annotated facsimile for a devotional manuscript based on the Passion.

narrative framed by stellar ribbing and vegetal motifs twining around the images and climbing up the architecture, presenting a rich cultural tradition distinctive to the region. Late Medieval Sweden exhibits some of the best examples of the synthesis of manuscript narratives with vegetal motifs. Considering the North bloomed late into medievalism, their Medieval Period lasted into the 16th century, whereas continental Europe moved from the Gothic into the Renaissance by the 15th century. Continental European artists utilized mural or fresco painting as a Christian art form within church buildings, which Scandinavia adopted into the regional style. Due to the ravages of time and the destruction by iconoclasts throughout the Medieval Period to the Reformation, few examples of the medieval church painting tradition in Continental Europe and Scandinavia remain. Fortunately, a few churches decorated by Albertus escaped the Reformation's whitewashing, leaving scholar's examples of the North's tradition to study. The decorative Christian tradition from continental Europe extends back to the early Christian period. Europe transitioned from a polytheistic population to a Christian majority, the art of the early Christian period, and that which followed, dispersed and influenced the North's Christian artistic tradition. The architectural elements of continental Europe that Scandinavia incorporates into their regional style began with the Romanesque Period.

Romanesque in Continental Europe

Romanesque, meaning Roman-like and labeled by William Gunn in a book in 1819, in Scandinavia manifests with thick walls of stone and brick that evolved from the

wood predecessors.[99] Larger church examples, such as the Lund Cathedral, also presented the Romanesque with arcades between the nave and aisles (figure 56). The Romanesque in Scandinavia encompassed the wood stave churches, whereas the Romanesque in continental Europe defined the stone and brick constructions that began the demand for verticality -reaching toward heaven- in church architecture. Following the initial conversion of Scandinavia, mainly influenced by English missionaries, missionary work continued with Germans, mostly from the Hamburg-Bremen archdiocese.[100] The German missionary presence explains the Germanic art and architecture style existent in Scandinavia. The Romanesque in Scandinavia adopted forms from the Romanesque architectural style from continental Europe.

The Romanesque in continental Europe, between 1000 and 1150, strove for larger, open, and vertical churches to accommodate pilgrim visitations and to represent Heaven on earth. The barrel vault, first developed by the Romans, provided the support for taller and expanded length of the nave of medieval churches. The transverse rib arching across the ceiling separated the nave into bays, and would eventually evolve into the groin vault utilized in Gothic architecture. The innovation of concrete, discovered by the Romans, disappeared during the Medieval Period, however, medieval stone masons recreated the barrel vaulting system with stone and brick.[101]

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[99] See Marian Bleeke, "Romanesque."(*Studies in Iconography*, Vol. 33, Special Issue Medieval Art History Today-Critical Terms, 2012), Pp. 257-267, for more detail on the origins of the word Romanesque.
[100] Lindgren, *A History of Swedish Art*, Pp. 24
[101] Eleanor Vernon, "Romanesque Churches of the Pilgrimage Roads," (*Gesta*, Pres-Serial Issue, Annual of the International Center of Romanesque Art Inc., 1963), Pp. 12-15. In part, Romanesque churches, adopted the stone structures to protect against fire.

In addition to the transverse arch of the barrel vault, Romanesque architecture characteristically included thick pillars connecting the transverse arch. St. Foy, located in Conques, France, exemplifies the Romanesque barrel vaulting system (figure 57).[102] Dating to the 11th and 12th centuries, St. Foy at Conques, established on the pilgrimage road to Santiago de Compostela, grew to accommodate the increase of pilgrim traffic.[103] People of all classes embarked on pilgrimages to holy sites or relic locations in order to receive penance for sins and connect to the divine. The pilgrimage also acted as a meditative experience, to commune with God. The growth of pilgrimages resulted from the abundance of relics dispersed throughout medieval Europe. Relics, or objects of spiritual power through the remains of saints, martyrs, Christ, or touched by a saint, martyr, or Christ, ascended in significance to the medieval population after the first crusade in 1096. The destruction of holy sites caused by the crusades, escalated the fear of losing relics and in turn the loss of the connection to the divine, triggered the dispersion of relics from Jerusalem to churches throughout Europe.[104] The hysteria of possessing a relic produced relics from martyrs and saints within Western Europe and the separation of saint bodies to multiple churches. This allowed for an increase of churches housing relics on pilgrimage roads. The Romanesque architecture in response to the relics and pilgrimages developed more than thick constructed walls, compound pillars, and barrel vaults, but also opened an avenue of creativity for artists.

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[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe*, (Yale University Press: Yale, Connecticut, 2011). The entire book focuses on how relics were a huge force in the development of Medieval Europe, Freeman analyses the phenomenon and how it created Medieval Europe.

The inventiveness of Romanesque artists, demonstrated in sculpture, is illustrated in St. Foy at Conques' capital and tympanum sculpture. The tympanum on the West portal illustrates grotesque figures representing images of hell in the Last Judgement narrative (figure 58).[105] The new concept of representing hell provided artists an opportunity of expression and originality. Not only does the journey of a pilgrimage provide a meditative experience but the subjects on the art a pilgrim encountered on the journey also evoked reflection. Violent images do not end with the tympanum, but continue within the church. For example, a capital carving illustrating St. Foy's martyrdom, demonstrating a grotesque demon awaiting the killing of St. Foy (figure 59).

The spread and growth of Christianity, geographically and authoritatively, comprised of complex developments that reinforced the expansion of Christianity. Monasticism, another progression during this Romanesque, led to monasticisms expansion into new territories, including Scandinavia, and resulting in a surge of abbey-monastic building-construction. A prime example of Romanesque architecture belonging to the monastic orders in France, Abbey Fontenay, founded in 1118 by St. Bernard, a Cistercian building, exhibits the barrel vaulting stretched from the heavy compound pillars.[106] Fontenay's transverse ribs form a pointed arch, evolving from the rounded arch

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[105] For additional examination and description of St. Foy's tympanum see Kirk Ambrose, "Attunement to the Damned of the Conques Tympanum," (*Gesta*, Vol. 50, No. 1, University of Chicago Press, 2011), Pp. 1-17.

[106] The ascetic of Cistercian art and architecture is often attributed to the St. Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia*. The *Apologia* is a treatise on spirituality, which is then interpreted on how art and architecture should be rendered to encompass that spirituality. For further explanation of the origins of Cistercian aesthetic and the order please see Francois Bucher, "Cistercian Architectural Purism," (*Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 3. No. 1, Oct. 1960), Pp. 89-105. Further analysis on St. Bernard's ideals resulting in ascetic aesthetics reference G.R. Evans, *The Mind of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Clarendon Press-Oxford: Oxford, New York, 1983). Also see Constance Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe*, (The University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, PA, 2000), Pp. 1-23, 32, and 46 for additional commentary on the *Apologia*. See

seen in St. Foy at Conques, adding extra height to the open colonnaded nave (figure 60). Born from the Benedictine order, two separate monastic orders split to form the Cluniacs and the Cistercians. The Cluniacs created extravagant monasteries, with a floor plan of radiating chapels to accommodate relics, several towers, and at least two floors, such as Cluny III, in Cluny France. Whereas, the Cistercians, built with a less extravagant purpose by wanting to provide a place of worship and living through ascetic design.[107] The Cistercian order formed an austere aesthetic with simple facades and limited forms of art. The unadorned exteriors and few sculptural elements in the interiors, observable in Scandinavian Romanesque churches does not offer a distinct relation to the Cistercian Order, especially in Sweden. Ruins of monasteries in Denmark, displays the influence of the Cistercian Order in Scandinavia, but not particularly in Sweden.[108]

Meredith P. Lillich, *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*. Volume 2, (Cistercian Publications: Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1982), Pp. 6, and Terryl N. Kinder, *Cistercian Europe: Architecture of Contemplation*, (Cistercian Publications: Kalamazoo, Michigan, 2002), for a discussion on Opus Dei, the work of God that the Rule of Saint Benedict calls, a full test of the rule can be found on "The Rule of Benedict," The Order of Saint Benedict, Last updated 9/23/2013, http://www.osb.org/rb/text/rbejms1.html#1. See David Stephenson, *Heavenly Vaults: From Romanesque to Gothic in European Architecture*, (Princeton Architectural Press: New York City, New York, 2009), pp. 165 for a short history of the Abbey and the vaulting of the church.

[107] Stephenson, *Heavenly Vaults*, pp. 164 shows Cluny III was the third church built at the abbey and it was meant to be the more lavish and the largest in western Europe it now remains in ruin. The church illustrates the success of the pointed arch forming a long vaulted tunnel and allowing for a more prominent clerestory.

[108] James France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia*, (Cistercian Publications Inc.: Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1992) and Record published by the Svenska Kyrkan, indicate no specific order associated with the parish churches of Härnevi, Härkeberga, and Täby. Further research will explore into the individual church archives. Similarities in the monasteries extend to the modular measurement, austere facades, and the type of structures on the grounds and the approach to the church for the medieval people. In Cistercian monasteries, the cloister was the central space for the monks. The Cloister resembles a Roman atrium, with a covered walkway and an arcade, providing a space for contemplation, meditation, and domestic activities described in Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, pp. 131. For an overview of Cistercian architecture see Francis D.K. Ching, *A Global History of Architecture*. (John Wiley & Sons: Hoboken, NJ, 2011), Pp. 401. This explains the Cistercian architecture had simple vaulted naves, had no crypts or towers, and the monastery was built on a geometric principle, utilizing module to build structure. Images and sculpture within the church were forbidden, however, Cistercian architecture and art would evolve and become less ascetic in aesthetic.

Moving to England, the Durham Cathedral presents another form of Romanesque advancement. Built in the 11th century, Durham Cathedral exhibits a similar space as St. Foy at Conques and Fontenay Abbey with pointed arches and heavily formed compound piers (figure 61). The Durham Cathedral, a Norman construction, founded by Benedictine monks to house the relics of St. Cuthbert. The Durham Cathedral advances toward Gothic architecture with groin vaulting and buttressing.[109] Groin vaulting forms cross ribbing between the transverse arches, providing geometric patterning to the ceiling (figure 62). The buttresses offer addition support to the exterior wall, positioned above the aisle in Durham Cathedral, concealed with brick, whereas the Gothic buttresses exposed for decorative purposes (figure 63). Instead of maintaining a uniform compound pier arcade, every other support in the colonnade of Durham Cathedral's nave is a large column with carved geometric decoration. The cathedral's compound piers, in comparison to those of Fontenay Abbey and St Foy, incorporate more engaged columns that reach toward the arched transverse rib, separating to also connect to the cross ribbing. The engaged columns enhance the vertical experience, opening the space further, stretching upward toward Heaven. At Durham, as in most Romanesque cathedrals, sculptural decoration focused on the westwork and to a lesser extent the transept facades. The Romanesque features of St. Foy, Durham Cathedral, and Fontenay Abbey of thick constructed walls, barrel vaulting evolving into groin vaults, and in the case of Fontenay Abbey unadorned exteriors, disseminated into Scandinavia's architectural style. Examined previously the

[109] See Richard Stemp, *The Secret Language of Churches and Cathedrals: Decoding the Sacred Symbolism of Christianity's Holy Buildings*. (Duncan Baird Publishers: London, England, 2010), pp. 152-154 for additional information on the innovations that Durham Cathedral introduced to church architecture.

Romanesque architectural elements adopted by Scandinavia exist in rural churches, such as Holtålen Church, Kalmar Church and Bromma Church.

The Romanesque architectural parallels between Scandinavia and continental Europe evidenced by the thick walled constructions and barrel vaulting exhibits the architectural influence on the North, however, the pictorial decoration of churches is a less obvious implementation. The modification of Romanesque churches by Gothic innovations, previous fires allowing for Gothic construction, and iconoclasm resulted in the loss of church decoration. Generally, the images remaining from the Romanesque Period are located in Italy. The city-states of Italy remained mostly Catholic, maintaining medieval Christian doctrine, after the Reformation and did not suffer from iconoclasm as severely as other areas of Europe, such as Scandinavia.[110]

The once active monasteries in Scandinavia fell into ruin after the Reformation. Whitewashing of church interiors erased the presence of the rich medieval artistic tradition in the Nordic region. Restoration attempts have revealed medieval paintings, but some church decoration remains lost and unidentifiable, such as the murals in Västerås Cathedral, in Västmanland, Sweden, also attributed to Albertus Pictor (figure 64). Fortunately, many of the murals in Härkeberga, Härnevi, and Täby have survived the Reformation's destruction of Christian images, allowing for the investigation of the influences Albertus employed in his painting.

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[110] A.G. Dickens, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe*. (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.: London, England, 1966), pp. 99 explains that Italians were more interested in intellectualism than religiosity for the Reformation to hold complete control over the populous. The country's fragmentation into separate city-states also impacted the role of the Reformation in the country.

Albertus paints polychrome onto the ribbing and arches of the church architecture, seen in the Härkeberga Church (figure 65). The polychrome acts as a unifier between the medium of paint and the architectural structure. Albertus polychrome compares to the Carolingian Aachen Chapel in Aachen Germany (figure 66). Built during the 9th century for Charlemagne, Aachen exhibits the Roman arcade, but instead of uniform stonework, the chapel was built with polychrome masonry for the arches, expressing Byzantine and Islamic influences. Albertus's application of paint as a framing mechanism for the religious subject matter originates from a larger Christian decoration tradition. A Romanesque example in Spain, located in Basilica of San Isidoro of León, Spain, also known as the Pantheon of the Kings, displays frescos covering the ceiling in an Early Christian style of flattened composition (figure 67).[111] The stylized flattened Roman robes and the striations painted on the animal images in the *Annunciation to the Sheppards*, from the 12th century, exhibits an Early Christian form similar to manuscript paintings, such as Luke the Evangelist's page from the Lindisfarne Gospels (figure 68).

Romanesque painting continued the Christian decoration tradition from the early Christian period, as seen in the Pantheon of the Kings. One characteristic particular to Christianity is Christ imagery. As the Middle Ages progressed, artists showed more imagination in depictions of Christ. By the Late Medieval Period Christ's crucifixion became the symbol of Christianity, with emphasis on Christ's contemplation of his death and the representation of the pain associated with his crucifixion. Section III discusses the

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[111] John Williams, "San Isidoro in León: Evidence for a New History," (*The Art Bulletin*: Vol. 55, No. 2, June 1973), pp. 170-184 discusses the significance of San Isidoro on a pilgrimage route, examining the different decoration in the church and crypt and how this would have been viewers by medieval pilgrims.

iconography of Christ's Crucifixion and the progression from depictions of Christ's life to Christ's Passion. Romanesque painting often displayed images of Christ's life, Christ as the judge, or Christ offering blessing. A Romanesque example in Sweden resides in Vä Church, in Scania, from the 12th century. Vä's painting demonstrates Christ with his hand raised in benediction, or blessing, his expression serious and piercing with a bejeweled halo behind his head (figure 69).[112] Vä's painting expresses Byzantine influence, not uncommon with Germanic influences within Scandinavia. The frescos in the apse of Sant'Angelo, located in Capua, Italy, show Christ Enthroned, surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists. Dated to the early 11th century, the three Archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, stand below Christ, accompanied by Abbot Desiderius and Saint Benedict (figure 70). The shaded and stylized robes illustrate Roman influence, while the colors, bejeweled robes and throne, and flattened composition displays Byzantine inspiration.

The Romanesque continued the tradition of subject matter and styles, influenced from the Roman Empire and Byzantium. Albertus's painting exhibits the strongest relationship with the Gothic Period. As emphasized before, the Gothic stellar vaulting offered Albertus a decorative geometric structural canvas. Also stressed earlier, is Albertus's evolution from the regional style's flattened and cartoonish composition, into more three-dimensional and angular images.

[112] Mats Winther, "Spirit and Psyche- Complementary Paradigms," Last updated 2015, http://mlwi.magix.net/spiritual_paradigm.htm

Gothic in Continental Europe

The Gothic Period in continental Europe, from 1150 to about 1380, began with Abbot Suger's vision, mirrored in his church, St. Denis (figure 71).[113] The term "gothic" came into existence during the Renaissance, dubbed by Georgio Vasari.[114] However, during the Gothic Period, the architecture was referred to as *opus novum* or *modernum*, meaning "new work" and "modern," respectively.[115] Suger strove to achieve the "splendor of the church" that encompassed God, himself.[116] This splendor translated into the Gothic forms, enhancing the decoration on all aspects of the church. In addition to the height of Gothic construction, the stained glass became more elaborate, allowed by the Gothic innovations of flying buttresses and elongated clerestories, among other Gothic architectural elements. The once thick Romanesque compound piers became thinner and added to the expansiveness of the space. As Erwin Panofsky discusses, the design of the Gothic generated transparency, both between religion and reason, as well as between the building and the divine. The practicality of the construction promoted transparency through deliberate architectural forms meant to dissolve the barrier between this world and God's.[117]

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[113] During Abbot Suger's life, the Apse of St. Denis was the only part of the church completed in the Gothic style, but the effect of the open and expansive window space continued in use from 1150 through 1400, eventually becoming the common height of a Gothic cathedral building. See Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger On the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1979) for the ambition behind the style and Rolf Toman, ed., *Gothic Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*. (H.F.Ullmann GmbH: Potsdam, Germany, 2013), pp. 8 for the beginning of the development.
[114] Julien Chapuis, "Gothic Art," Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Last updated October 2002, https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/mgot/hd_mgot.htm
[115] Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 36 and 37
[116] Ibid, pp. 47
[117] Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, (Plume and Meridian Books: New York City, New York, 1957), pp. 55 and 43.

The Gothic style developed not only from structural or stylistic innovations, but also from the changing context of religious practice. The existence of pilgrimages and monasteries continued, stimulating Christianity's further growth, and urbanization of towns spurred the construction of the grandiose Gothic cathedrals. Throughout the Gothic in continental Europe, sculpture on the exterior and painting on the interior remained important forms of communicating religious ideas to an illiterate audience. Whereas, Scandinavian Gothic limited exterior adornment, such as Härkeberga, Härnevi, and Täby churches with austere white stucco exteriors. The larger cathedrals in Scandinavia, such as Lund and Västerås also did not exhibit the same imposing qualities in decoration or scale as continental Europe's Gothic cathedrals.

The Gothic style spread across Europe, evolving from France's implementation of the groin vault into more complex and decorative vaulting systems. England and Germany developed embellished non-structural geometric vaulting. England produced extravagant star-shaped lierne vaulting, leaving small spaces of webbing, found in the Lady Chapel of Wells Cathedral, built 1320-40 (figure 72).[118] The later fan vaulting system resembles a spider web or a delicate hand-fan spreading along the ceiling, seen in the nave of Bath Abbey in Bath, England, constructed during the early 16th century (figure 73).[119] Germany opted for stellar vaulting that resembles a flower or a star, first found in the Pelplin Church after 1276, located in Pelplin, Poland, considered a Germanic

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[118] "Tierceron and Lierne Vaults," Looking at Buildings, Styles and Traditions, Last updated 1/26/2009. http://www.lookingatbuildings.org.uk/styles/medieval/roofs-and-vaults/stone-vaulting/tierceron-lierne-vaults.html and Banister Fletcher ,"The Evolution of English Gothic Vaulting," The Victorian Web, Last updated 8/30/2007, http://www.victorianweb.org/art/architecture/gothic/vaulting.html
[119] Stephenson, *Heavenly vaults*, pp. 182, the resemblance of the fan within the vaulting system of England coined them as fan vaulting.

territory at the time (figure 74).[120] Architectural influences in Scandinavia predominantly exhibit the Germanic stellar vaulting style. The Germanic vaulting allowed for the unique decoration of Christian images integrated into the vaulting structure.

This combination of the Gothic vaulting and biblical subject matter is essential to Albertus's work and one of the most distinctive features of the Swedish Gothic churches. The vine motifs painted on the ceiling of Fröjel Church, in Gotland, Sweden, date to 1300 (figure 75). Although the mural painting in Fröjel Church has vegetal and animal motifs, the interlace pattern forming a visual program becomes a typical occurrence in Scandinavia, the vine motif developed further by Albertus.

Generally, vegetal motifs in Scandinavian churches accompany biblical narratives such as Sweden's Södra Råda Church, painted in 1323 (figures 76 and 77). The vegetal motifs in Södra Råda act as a border separating the narratives into registers. This church is also interesting because its wood construction, but containing paintings attributed to the Gothic Period. The artist of the church also used depictions of architecture to form boundaries seen in tympanum sculpture and manuscript page decoration. Church paintings from the same period Albertus Pictor paints, such as Elmelunde Church in Denmark, which exhibits a complex biblical visual program (figure 78). Painted in the mid-15th century, the Elmelunde Master depicted the figures, vegetal and animal motifs

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[120] Norbert Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture*, (Yale University Press: New Haven, Connecticut, 1994), pp. 83. Although Pelplin is not located in what we now consider Germany it was at the time part of the Germanic lands, for further explanation on the reach of the German Gothic see Torman, *Gothic Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, pp. 190-241

with flat composition, "cartoonish" in character, which alluded to a greater amount of space left untouched.[121]

The development of a Gothic mural style was less distinct from Romanesque painting than the architectural changes. Art Historian, Ehrenfried Kluckert considers Gothic painting restricted to the period between 1250 and 1450.[122] However, in some areas, such as in Northern Europe and Florence, Italy, art took on an evolved composition of more voluminous figures and more defined perspectives by the 14th century. Gothic art is easier to identify through sculpture and manuscript painting than mural painting, likely attributed to the destruction of church decoration or the general fading of the wall and ceiling paintings. Works from the Gothic borderline on the end of the Romanesque, such as the fresco *Two Great Physicians of Antiquity: Galen and Hippocrates,* located in the Anagni Cathedral crypt of Italy, constructed during the 13th century (figure 79). The fresco still maintains a flattened composition like that of the Pantheon of the Kings; however, chiaroscuro on the two ancient figures provides more dimension, the placement of their feet on a mat attempts to create a horizon line. By the 14th century, however, areas of Europe advanced into the Renaissance.

Albertus Pictor's Murals in Comparison to Continental Europe

The Renaissance transitioned from the Medieval Period, incorporating classical forms back into art. Proto-Renaissance artists, transitioning from Gothic art to

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[121] Knud Banning, *A Catalogue of Wall-Paintings in the Churches of Medieval Denmark 1100-1600: Scania, Halland, Belkinge*, (Akad. Forl. Copenhagen, Denmark, 1976). Banning refers to the figures in the churches that express angularity and less naturalistic forms as cartoonish.
[122] Torman, *Gothic Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, pp. 386

Renaissance, such as Cimabue's fresco painting of Evangelist Luke, in the upper church of San Francesco Assisi, Italy, details the Four Evangelists painted between 1277 and 1280. Cimabue's fresco exhibits a similar attempt at a horizon line as the one in the Anagni Cathedral (figure 80). While artists like Cimabue progressed into the Renaissance, Scandinavia remained within the Romanesque Period. By the time of Albertus's paintings, Florence and Flanders produced art of the High Renaissance style. By the turn of the 16th century, High Renaissance painting advanced the detail conventionalized by artists Albrecht Dürer and Leonardo da Vinci, and others, with more complex three-dimensional images. In the North Albrecht Dürer accomplished this in his works, such as *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, completed between 1500 and 1503 (figure 81). The oil on wood, shows figures crouching around the dead body of Christ, their expressions full of sadness at the loss, Christ's body sags with death and the faces are each individualized within a stormy landscape. Dürer achieves atmospheric perspective through the distant cityscape and the fading mountains beyond. Painted miniature figures kneel in the foreground as representations of Albrecht Glimm, his wife and children.[123] Leonardo da Vinci, in Florence, painted the *Mona Lisa* between 1503 and 1506, which demonstrated the three-dimensionality of the Renaissance with idealized forms in association with Humanism. Leonardo implemented sfumato technique to create a hazy atmosphere in the painting (figure 82).

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[123] The Lamentation adoption is a Dutch influence rather than German. See "Dürer, Albrecht: Lamentation for Christ," Biography, Web Gallery of Art, http://www.wga.hu/html_m/d/durer/1/03/2lament.html, the painting was dedicated by Albrecht Glimm for his recently deceased wife.

Dürer and da Vinci painted at the same time as Albertus's career began to end. Sweden remained planted in the Medieval Period until the Reformation.[124] Scandinavia's position geographically on the periphery of Europe and the late emergence of the region in the Medieval Period resulted in the delay of Scandinavia generating Renaissance art. The historical climate of the Early Christian Period and the Medieval Period created a complex artistic tradition, which funneled Albertus's mural paintings through numerous influences. The architectural tradition of the Romanesque and the Gothic in continental Europe produced church buildings that accommodated the influx of pilgrims and the growth of cities. The rural churches in Sweden did not produce the same grandiose scale of cathedrals in continental Europe, but did present the German stellar Gothic vaulting. Albertus's visual program incorporates compositional elements and subject matter from early Christian images and regional stylistic characteristics of religious content painted onto church interiors. The most determinate influence of Albertus's work share attributes with the medieval manuscript tradition.

[124] James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, the Graphic Art from 1350 to 1575*, (Prentice-Hall, Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1985), pp. 88-118 and 124-139 discusses the work of Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, which are artists Erik Lundberg and Henrik Cornell suggests Albertus Pictor references.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PREFIGURATION OF JONAH AND THE WHALE AS CHRIST'S CRUCIFIXION AND THE MEDITATIVE QUALITIES EXPRESSED BY THE BIBLICAL NARRATIVES

The gradual insertion of pictorial narratives into the text of the Bible, allowed for the images to act as replacements for the text,[125] the power of the Word, or Logos, continued through image representations. As the focus of Christianity, Christ's Crucifixion becomes the central image for meditation. Aristotle claims that contemplation must enact thinking, in which the object must be on the "most precious and divine."[126] Philosophical thought on the divine, like Aristotle's, returned into the dialectic of medieval society by the 11th century with Peter Abelard, if not before.[127] The rise of monasticism also created a venue for meditation; the monks working in the scriptorium were occupied by meditation through the act of writing God's words.[128] The illustrated prayer-books created by monks for monks, evolved into illustrated para-liturgical manuscripts –manuscripts not focused on following the official liturgy and placing emphasis on private devotion. During the Late Medieval tradition, the idea of meditation, or *meditatio,* elicited emotion, which would then arouse "remorse and then communion with God in prayer."[129] Meditation is often associated with devotional literature during the Medieval Period such as, Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae*

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[125] See Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, for a larger survey of manuscript decoration and illumination
[126] Byron Kaldis, "Aristotle and Kant on Contemplation, Ethics and Politics," (*ARSP: Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie/ Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy*, Vol. 85, No. 4, 1990), pp. 539-562.
[127] Toman, *Gothic Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, pp. 10. Scholasticism in connection to Peter Abelard describes scholasticism as a combination of intellectualism, rationale, and theology.
[128] Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, pp. 46. The group of men sought a place for "undisturbed prayer and meditation," away from the "temptations of the world," this began the Cistercian order.
[129] Thomas H. Bestul, "Chaucer's Parson's Tale and the Late-Medieval Tradition of Religious Meditation," (*Speculum*, Vol. 64, No. 3, July 1989), pp. 600-619.

Christi, the dating contested.[130] Meditation for the purpose of penance became more popular during the 14th and 15th centuries; in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* penance is achieved through the reflection on Christ's suffering for man, aligning man's need to redeem sins in order to gain acceptance to Heaven.[131]

The initial response to the images painted by Albertus is didactic, inviting the viewer to learn from the narratives and reflect.[132] After the preliminary knowledge is received from the images and the accompanying text, the viewer –sitting or standing still- would be able to quiet the mind and meditate on the subject depicted in the synoptic narrative. With the trend of images within private devotional books the idea of veneration through prayer based on images allowed for direct communication with God.[133] The substitution of images for text maintains the same qualities as God's Word and evokes the same quiet meditation. Albertus's incorporation of narratives and Latin labels from the manuscript tradition onto the walls and ceilings instills the same devotional reflection created by manuscripts. The Jonah and the Whale narrative painted in the Härkeberga and Täby Churches exhibits the Old Testament prefiguration of Christ's Crucifixion and allows for the reflection on Christ's death. The image of Christ's Crucifixion in Härnevi and Täby recalls the same contemplation of his death and sacrifice.

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[130] Further evidence for the date of the pseudo-Bonaventur's *Meditationes Vitae Christi* is some time during the 13th or 14th centuries. Part of the dating issue stems from the idea of the *Meditiones Vitae Christi* as attributed to Saint Bonaventure himself, more recent studies claim that it is in fact Pseudo-Bonaventure. Michelle Karnes, "Nicholas Love and Medieval Meditations on Christ," (*Speculum*, Vol. 82, No. 2, April 2007), pp. 380-408 enforces the devotional literature. Also see Sarah McNamer, "Further Evidence for the Date of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran 'Meditationes Vitae Christi,'" (*Franciscan Studies*, Vol. 50, 1990), pp. 235-261, for an additional discussion of the date of Pseudo-Bonaventura.

[131] Ibid and Sarah McNamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*," (*Speculum*, Vol. 84, No. 4, October 2009), pp. 905-955.

[132] Pia Melin, *Fåfängans Förgäglighet: Allegorin som livs- och lärospegel hos Albertus Pictor*, (Stockholmia förlag: Stockholm, Sweden, 2006), pp. 13

[133] Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, pp. 155

A visitor enters Härkeberga Church through the weapon-house on the south side of the rectangular building. The weapon-house has its own separate mural decoration on the walls and ceiling. After moving through to the main congregational space, the viewer enters a three bayed building, the ceilings covered in painted murals, while the walls' murals fade from observation (figure 83). Upon entering, the initial image the viewer notices is the synoptic narrative of Delilah cutting Sampson's hair at the top of the North wall in Bay III, but the main assembly space is located in Bay II of the nave. On the ceiling of this bay, an image of the Christ child fills the center (figure 84). The North vault at the top shows a Pelican feeding her blood to her young, below this is Jonah's synoptic narrative, and an image of a prophet at the bottom of the vault. The images are human scaled, large enough to allow for the viewer to assess the subject of the image. On the east side of the same vault, from top to bottom, displays an image of a phoenix rising from flames; the Mockery of Noah is next to Jonah's narrative, and another prophet is depicted at the bottom of the vault. The narrative of a soldier dividing Jesus's clothes is depicted at the summit of the north wall.[134] Opposite the division of Christ's clothes, the south wall presents Christ surrounded by angels and coats of arms.[135]

Täby Church, the largest out of the three case study churches, has four bays past the entrance in the weapon-house (figure 85). The images of Jonah and Christ's Crucifixion are located in Bay II of the church. On the north wall, once again, Christ's Crucifixion appears at the top of the wall; the vaulting above illustrates David slaying

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[134] Coogan, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, John 19:23. After Christ is crucified soldiers take his clothes and divide the garments amongst them.
[135] For additional layout of images and descriptions please see Christina Sandquist-Öberg, *Albertus Pictor Målare av Sin Tid II: Samtliga Bevarade Motiv och Språkband med Kommentarer och Analyser*, (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm, Sweden, 2009), pp. 166-188.

Goliath at the peak, a depiction of Moses next to Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac are placed in the middle of the vault, and two prophets painted below, at the bottom of the vault. Jonah's resurrection image resides at the top of the south vault, below is an image of Jonah's entombment and sacrifice, as well as Joseph's interment inside the well (figure 86). Again, two prophets are located at the bottom of the vault. Bay I shows the image of God as the seat for Christ, located above the altar on the east side of the vault, and an image of angels flanking Mary and Jesus. The depiction of Jesus on the Mount of Transfiguration with Moses, St. John, and Jacob is the first image a viewer notices in Bay III located on the north wall.[136]

The viewer also enters through a weapon-house at the south in Härnevi Church. The church consists of two bays, Bay I displays Christ's Crucifixion at the top of the north wall. Bay I is also the location for the altar (figure 87). Images of Moses along with Abraham sacrificing Isaac flank Christ's Crucifixion. The vault above the altar, exhibits eight prophets that form the inner circle. The second tier of images show three separate paintings of Sampson's narrative, one of Delilah cutting his hair, another depicting his defeat over the Philistines, the last image displaying him as he pries the lion's mouth open. The fourth image in the middle of vaulting on the east vault above the altar illustrates God as the seat of Jesus, lifting him up on the cross (figure 88). At the top of the south wall, Jesus's ascension to Heaven unfolds, flanked by an image of Christ raising Lazarus and Jesus's baptism.

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[136] Coogan, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Matthew 17:1–9

Jonah and the Whale as an Old Testament Prefiguration of Christ's Crucifixion

Although generally familiar, the details of the Jonah and the Whale narrative are worth introducing before turning to the imagery. From the Book of Jonah 1:12, in the New Oxford Annotated Bible, God asked the Prophet Jonah to go to the city of Nineveh, an Assyrian Empire city, a task which Jonah refused.[137] Instead of going to Nineveh, Jonah boards a ship, fleeing to Tarshish. As punishment for disobedience, God generated a tremulous storm. The Prophet Jonah then offers himself as a sacrifice to calm the dangerous seas, saying, "Pick me up and throw me into the sea then the sea will quiet down for you; for I know it is because of me that this great storm has come upon you."[138] Jonah's sacrifice results in a giant fish, or what is observed modernly as a whale, swallowing him whole. The storm then ceased and Jonah spent three days in the belly of the fish. Jonah's prayer for forgiveness resulted in his expulsion from the fish. Jonah's interment and eviction foreshadows Christ's entombment and resurrection.

The Jonah narrative is also extant in the Jewish and Islamic traditions. The story of *Jonah and the Whale* provides Christianity with an early demonstration of the consequences for defying the Lord's commands and the resulting reward for penance. In the Christian faith, Jonah emerges as a saint, prophet, and a model for the relationship between man and God. Jonah's story is a prefiguration in Christian theology that is evident in Matthew 12:32-41, stating that any words spoken against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, and also in Luke 11:29-32, referencing Jonah and the people of Nineveh

[137] The background and history surrounding the Jonah and the Whale story is explained in Coogan, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible,* Jonah 1:1-16.
[138] Ibid, Jonah 1.12.

being allowed to rise up at Judgment because they had heeded Jonah's words from God.[139]

Illustrations on the story of Jonah grew in popularity during the Medieval Period, beginning in the Early Christian Period. In reference to Jonah's story, the term "whale" is a modern label. Early artwork illustrates a sea beast to convey the severity of Jonah's disobedience to God. The direct translation in the Old Testament is "large fish," illustrated in later artwork. Early depictions of *Jonah and the Whale* appear between the 1st and 2nd century AD on the Early Christian Catacombs in Rome; this early iconography shows Jonah swallowed and released from a sea beast (figure 89). The sea beast resembles the depiction of Jonah and the Hippocamp resides in the mosaic underpainting of the Iulii tomb –an Early Christian image- from the 3rd century (figure 90). Illustration of the Hippocamp tail commonly includes three fins, which resemble a dolphin tail.

In the 3rd century, the Post-Constantine establishment of the Christian religion resulted in wealthy patrons and the reproduction of work—exhibited in the Jonah Marbles and the relief sculpture on an early Christian sarcophagus. The Jonah Marbles, originally from central Turkey, are currently located in Ohio at the Cleveland Museum (figure 91). The sarcophagus, now displayed in the Vatican, but created in Mainz, a capital of the Roman Empire, is divided into the five main incidents in the Jonah story (figure 92).[140] Both depictions shows the full body of the sea creature with the dolphin tail.

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[139] Ibid, Matthew 12:32-41 and Luke 11:29-32.

[140] The five main scenes to the story of Jonah is explained in "Jonah Sarcophagus," last updated 1/12/2007, www.livius.org.

Moving further along the timeline, and adding examples from Christian illuminated manuscripts, another representation of *Jonah and the Whale* occurs in the 13th century. The Carrow Psalter, created in England, now resides in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland. The Psalter illustrates the story of the whale swallowing Jonah and Jonah's release from the beast, displaying just the head of the sea creature (figure 93).[141] Later Medieval representations of the whale resemble a creature from the amphibian family and move away from the early Roman style sea beast. A 14th century manuscript edition of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, exhibits a head similar to the forms of the creature found in the Carrow Psalter and Roundel, but also illustrates the body of a fish (figure 94).[142] As stressed before, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* provided inspiration for Albertus's work.

Another manuscript previously discussed, at length, as instrumental to Albertus, the *Biblia Pauperum* provides the clearest influence to Albertus's work, including the *Jonah and the Whale* image. Paired with another Old Testament prefiguration, two separate folios representing the Jonah and the Whale narrative flank the New Testament scene. The folio containing the *Jonah and the Whale* pictorial narrative where the sea beast swallows him, from Genesis 37:18-27, accompanies the Old Testament depiction of Joseph lowered into a well by his brothers who wished to sell him to the Ishmaelites.[143] Both segments of the narratives of Jonah and Joseph prefigure the entombment of Christ

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[141] "Carrow Psalter" last updated 10/3/2014, www.wdl.org also see "The Digital Walters," last updated 11/10/2014, www.thedigitalwalters.org for the entire illustrations of the Psalter.
[142] For another version of Jonah tossed to the whale once again paired with Joseph cast down the well, see Wilson and Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror*, pp. 193.
[143] Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor*, pp. 126, and Coogan, The New Oxford Annotated Bible Genesis 37.18-27, instead of killing him they decide to strip him bare and throw him down the well with now water in it.

after his crucifixion (figure 95). The folio of Jonah's resurrection from the whale matches with the Old Testament story of Samson tearing down the Gates of Gaza with his great strength. Samson prefigures Christ rising from his tomb and ripping down the gates of the sepulcher, his tomb (figure 96).[144]

John Friedman suggests the Verdun altarpiece inspired the *Biblia Pauperum* (figure 97).[145] Created by the French Goldsmith, Nicholas of Verdun in 1181, the Verdun altarpiece is beautifully ornamented with the different stories from the New and Old Testament. The Verdun altarpiece influenced the illustrations of the *Biblia Pauperum*, evident in the depiction of the sea creature's angular head and the architectural framework (figure 98). The Verdun Altarpiece provides an additional iconographic example of the Jonah narrative expressed through a different artistic medium.

Härkeberga Church

Once inside the church and looking up at the Jonah and the Whale narrative, the viewer observes the trapezoidal shape the ribbing creates around the image, decorated with a red acanthus vine on the right and a green acanthus vine on the left (figure 99). The artist has painted a line at the bottom and top of the image to separate the Jonah narrative from the images above and below. Two synoptic narratives of Jonah reside in a single frame accompanied by the Latin labelling taken from the *Biblia Pauperum*. Albertus paints a scalloped line along the bottom of the boat to indicate water with both

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[144] Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor*, pp. 128

[145] Friedman asserts that the *Biblia Pauperum* was inspired by the Verdun altarpiece in John B. Friedman, "Bald Jonah and the Exegesis of 4 Kings 2.23," (*Traditio*, Vol. 44, 1988), pp. 125-144.

sea beasts' heads protruding from the water. Stenciled rosettes fill the empty space of the sky behind the Jonah image.

The wooden boat, painted in the mid-ground, is the largest object within the frame. Within the boat, the men are disproportionately larger than the boat space. One man tugs at the sail, while another grips the mast and looks up at the sail. A third unidentified man, stands at the rear of the boat, also looking up at the sail, a pickaxe grasped in his hands and raised high. The bearded man in front of the man with pickax stands stoically with one hand gripped on Jonah, ready to cast Jonah to the sharp teethed whale below. Jonah is positioned toward the beast, fully robed with hair atop his head and a full beard. Jonah's hands press together in prayer, accepting his fate within the whale's stomach as his punishment. Depicted within the same frame, kneels the nude and hairless Jonah, exiting the sea creature's mouth. One foot disappears out of the frame next to the left ribbing. The reborn Jonah assesses the past scene before his entombment within the whale with his hands raised in prayer for the mercy of God. Scrolls with Latin transcriptions are also painted on the webbing of the vault, above the redeemed Jonah's head. The curling scroll reads, *Jonas glutitur, tamen illesus reperitur*, translated to "Jonah is swallowed, but is found unharmed." The second transcript, painted within a lined block, says *De tumulo, Christe, singnans, te de notat iste*, generally translated as "this man represents you, Christ, rising from the tomb."[146]

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[146] A much appreciated translation provided by Christina Sandquist-Öberg via Albertus Pictor Project. The Latin translation for most if not all the labels for the murals can be found in the Christina Sandquist-Öberg, *Albertus Pictor Målare av Sin Tid II: Samtliga Bevarade Motiv och Språkband med Kommentarer och Analyser*, the transcription for Jonah can be found on page 176 followed by a Swedish translation and detail on the mural.

Täby Church

In contrast, the two Jonah and the Whale episodes of sacrifice and rebirth are separated into different frames on the webbing of the vaulting. Two ribs create a triangular shape around the webbing, decorated with the delicate acanthus with rosettes painted onto the face of the ribbing. The point arch forms the bottom frame, separating two images of prophets. Located in the center of the webbing, the two narratives of Jonah's entombment and Joseph before he is cast down the well, are divided by a pattern of two lines with a repetitive motif resembling a Greek cross. The design continues bellow the image of Jonah and the Whale creating a partition from the prophet on the bottom of the vault (figure 100). The horizon line in Jonah's sacrifice depiction is more evident, the color of the water is less faded than seen in Härkeberga, more lines create texture in the water with the whale's head projecting from the surface, mouth open wide waiting to swallow Jonah (figure 101). Only the back half of the boat is visible to the viewer. Half of Jonah's body remains on the deck of the boat, while his face approaches the open mouth of the beast. A bearded man, assists Jonah toward the whale with one hand on Jonah's back. Three additional figures stand behind Jonah and the bearded man in conversation, the mast positioned behind them with the sale blowing away from the whale in the water. Above the stern, a curving text box contains the Latin transcription associated with the narrative, *Jonas glutitur, tamen illesus reperitur*, the same label exhibited in Härkeberga. Following the Latin, eight sideways painted S's decorate the

scroll to fill the empty space.[147] The stenciled rosettes provide a similar function in the sky surrounding the Latin scroll.

The apex of the vault, above the narratives, Jonah's entombment and Joseph's interment, displays the episode in the Jonah narrative of his resurrection (figure 102). The artist has painted a line separating the narratives below, placing the synoptic narrative of Jonah's release from the sea beast in a single frame. The horizon is established through the textured and colored landscape that Jonah steps onto from the whale's mouth. The entire sea beast's body is shown below the water -indicated by the scalloped lines- the creature's body golden and spotted with raised sections, the purpose uncertain. As in Härkeberga, Jonah emerges from the whale naked and hairless with hands raised in prayer. An unidentified figure points down at Jonah from the background, half of his body hidden by the landscape. Above the figure in the background the artist has painted a Latin scroll reading, *Jonas glutitur, tamen illesus reperitur*, repeating the label from the Jonah narrative below. An additional scroll transcription is located below Jonah and the whale that says, *De tumulo, Christe surgens, te notat iste*.[148] Fleur-de-lis painted stencils fill the sky space below the Latin transcription, while tendrils of the acanthus vine curl downward and stop at the scroll.

[147] A conversation with Christina Sandquist-Öberg provided and interpretation that the artist made the mistake of painting the text box too large, after the Latin was added, the realization of the extra space led the artist to fill in the emptiness with a design.
[148] Sandquist-Öberg, *Albertus Pictor Målare av Sin Tid II: Samtliga Bevarade Motiv och Språkband med Kommentarer och Analyser, pp.* 301

The Tradition of Christ's Crucifixion

Albertus Pictor establishes a visual tradition of Christ's Crucifixion -representing Christ as contemplative- a practice derived from the Volto Santo of Lucca (figure 103). The Volto Santo, rumored to have been carved by one of Christ's disciples –Nicodemus- expresses the true face of Jesus Christ.[149] A still existing version, the Batlló Crucifix, exhibits Christ on the cross looking downward with an expression of contemplation. The 12th century, wooden, polychrome painted carving, demonstrates an emotional moment upon Christ's face –accomplished by the artist. The poignant expression displays medieval art's distancing from uniform renderings by forming the individuality of Christ's figure. The pain and suffering conveyed on the Batlló Crucifix continues in manuscript painting. In the 14th century, the Book of Hours of Jeanne D' Evreux, illustrates Christ with a downcast expression, his body sagging, blood seeping from his wounds (figure 104). The French example demonstrates the dramatic event by utilizing the grisaille technique of painting in grays to resemble sculpture. The grisaille technique appears in Albertus's work of the figure's skin, apparent in the Crowning of the Virgin Mary, located in Härnevi Church (figure 105). The gray shading is used to instill the notion of sculpture upon the architecture or as another form of manuscript influence on the program.

Looking to other examples of Christ's Crucifixion painted by Albertus Pictor's workshop, a reoccurring theme appears. Christ is depicted on the cross with his head hanging forward from the pain and suffering. For example, the wall mural located in

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[149] Walter Cahn, "Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections. III. New England University Museums," (*Gesta*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1969), pp. 53-68

Ösmo Church, Christ's body is more rigidly position on the cross –a rendering seen in earlier Christian images- as his side is punctured by the spear (figure 106). The figures surrounding Christ are no longer recognizable, but Christ's face exhibits individuality and the concept of Christ's true face attributed to the Volto Santo. A closer resemblance to the depiction of Christ's Crucifixion in Täby and Härnevi is located in Almunge Church. Positioned high on the wall, Christ hangs on the cross, his body more naturalized and sagging with his weight. His head leans forward from the pain, contemplating his suffering, while to his right the chief priest and others mock him and on his left his mother, St. John and others grieve his death (figure 107).

Härnevi Church

Härnevi depicts Christ's head bowed forward, the halo behind his head, the figures below him indistinguishable, except Mary's head bent forward on the left (figure 108). Christ's body is positioned similarly to Almunge Church's depiction, his body heavy and his face downcast. The crown of thorns around his head is barely visible and his hair flows downward behind his head. A light outline remains, indicating the cloth wrapped around his waist for modesty. Two scrolls with indiscernible Latin curl below both sides of the cross and rosette stencils decorate the empty space. The quiet inward reflection Christ exhibits in the image prompts the contemplation of the viewer.

Täby Church

Painted on the wall under a pointed arch with the Eucharistic vine, Christ hangs his head with a halo behind his head (figure 109). As seen in Härnevi and Almunge, his

body sags slightly, the crown of thorns is more discernable. The plaque for the "INRI" label hangs at the top of the cross, the letter no longer recognizable. Once again, the cloth is wrapped around his waist. Surrounding the image of Christ, a crowd of figures stares up at his body. A soldier stabs at Christ's chest with a spear on the left –similar to Ösmo Church's depiction, while Mary's figure, with downcast eyes, is barely visible on the same side. On the right, more soldiers and chief priests stand mocking Christ, with a Latin transcription in a painted scroll above their heads, the Latin unreadable. The same appeal to follow his contemplation as in Härnevi presents in Täby's wall mural.

The Relationship of Meditation to the Jonah and the Whale and Christ's Crucifixion Images

Despite the wealthy or religious patronage, the viewership of Härkeberga, Täby, and Härnevi were the common medieval people and lower clergy members, evident by the location of the parish churches in the countryside. Literature, pilgrimages, relics, indulgences, and images were objects of the Christian populous' devotion.[150] The act of the pilgrimage was its own source of meditation, especially the journey to Jerusalem and walking on the same path Jesus took during his passion. The illustration of the passion through episodic narrative, common to manuscript tradition, acts as a stand in for those that cannot make the pilgrimage.[151] Albertus's murals of Christ's life would have performed the same function, creating a fabricated pilgrimage.

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[150] Vida J. Hull, "Devotional Aspects of Hans Memlinc's Paintings," (*Southeast Coll Art Conf Rev.,* East Tennessee State University, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1988), pp. 207-213, asserts that the objects that elicit devotion were also objects of superstition.

[151] Ibid, also shows memlinc's multiepisodic panels.

The purpose of the murals, therefore, allowed for reflection through mental travelling, both inside and outside of mass, for the attendees and those preaching. By using manuscripts as an influence, Albertus takes the idea of manuscript meditation as holding the book quietly and still, creating the objects of meditation available to all in a community setting. The communal space does not deter from the meditation as would be expected. When meditating to a manuscript, the stiff posture adds to the concentration of the words and images. Through meditation the exterior world dissolves and is replaced with the absorption of the idea of Heaven.[152] Placing the images within the church space emphasizes the idea of the church as Heaven on Earth, giving the viewer images to reflect upon and create a heavenly image within their mind. Images upon the walls and ceilings of a church would require a careful gaze from the viewer. As Benjamin C. Tilghman asserts, careful inspection would make the viewer feel as though time had slowed, generating a disorienting experience and causing the viewer to believe a "mystical transportative" experience had transpired.[153]

Ecclesiastics understood the necessity of images to motivate the mind to imagine the divine. Kessler argues that the "word and image" together allows for the connection between the act of physically seeing and mentally imagining.[154] Due to the sins of Adam

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[152] See Benjamin C. Tilghman, "Divinity in the Details: Miniaturization and Meditation in a Passion Cycle by Johannes Wierix," (*The Journal of the Walters Art Museum*, Vol. 68/69, 2010/2011), pp. 125-135 for additional information on how viewers are meant to hold different books to achieve meditation.
[153] Ibid
[154] Herbert l. Kessler, "Corporeal Texts, Spiritual Paintings, and the Mind's Eye," in Mariëlle Hageman, and Marco Mostert, ed. Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication, Papers from the Third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht, 7-9 December 2000, (Brepols Publishers n.v: Turnhout, Belgium, 2005), pp. 18. Also refer to Ed. Colum Hourihane, *Manuscripta Illuminata: Approaches to Understanding Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*. (Department of Art and Archaeology Princeton University in association with Penn State University Press: University Park, Pennsylvania, 2014), pp. 3-13 for an analysis of a Sacramentary in terms of personal devotion and the difference with public ritual.

and Eve, mankind is unable to look upon God's form; therefore, in order to visualize the divine's image the imagination requires engagement.[155] Meditation facilitates the "mind's eye" to envisage the divine because human sight cannot complete the conception.[156] Looking at medieval philosophers, the mind's eye is referred to as the "spiritual" vision.[157] As St. Augustine recognizes in his illumination doctrine, the mind is able to cognize "things," figures or objects, that are not "present but retained in memory and 'seen' as images."[158]

St. Augustine's doctrine links closely to the idea of illumination in the form of paint. Manuscript illumination incorporates the concept of God's divine form as light and ultimately the same vibrant color usage manifests onto walls and ceilings of churches, as a representation of God's light. The optical recognition of light evolves into illumination, the subject that is gazed upon expresses luminosity whether by "itself or by light received from some source."[159] St. Augustine believed that light emanates from the eye, and further from the body; this light impresses onto subjects to illuminate the object to the viewer. In terms of Albertus's murals, the concept of illumination assembles from the manuscript tradition of the brilliant paintings and the viewer's mind, which renders the object as radiant. The illumination of the image within the mind evokes the spiritual

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[155] Ibid. Kessler makes this connection with the reason behind Old Testament depictions painted separately from New Testament depictions because Christ was born both as God's son and God himself. Prophets, such as Moses, only saw metaphors for the deity, not the physical form.
[156] Ibid, 20 and 27. The mind's eye is what Kessler considers the imaginations ability to reflect on the divine.
[157] Rudolph Allers, "St. Augustine's Doctrine on Illumination," (*Franciscan Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1, Franciscan Institute Publications, March, 1952), pp. 27-46. Allers discusses the types of vision in which St. Augustine aids in responding to light. The mind is able to envision God because he is an "intelligible light and our illumination," but the light we are able to cognize within our mind.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.

reflection and meditation of the subject. In the use of the stimulating bright colors within churches of Scandinavia, with smaller access points for natural light, the colors would reflect the candlelight within the space projecting the space as brighter.[160]

The relationship between images in manuscripts and meditation reproduces onto church decoration. Devotional literature such as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, was meant to be read and preached, allowing priests to lead their congregation through the reflection, but illustration was eventually added in the 14th century creating another link with image and meditation.[161] Also, by the Late Medieval Period, the life of Christ and the narratives from the Old Testament that prefigure the New Testament, would have been deeply ingrained in the Christian community. Meditation is more evident in manuscripts of visions, such as St. Birgitta's *Revelaciones.* The visions of Birgitta correlate to the instruction outlined in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, exhibiting the existence of meditation through manuscripts. The obvious influences from the manuscript tradition, especially the *Revelaciones* of St. Birgitta, demonstrate the meditative tradition within Albertus's mural paintings.

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[160] Anna Nilsén specifically refers to Albertus with the concept of vibrant colors to brighten the space in "Medieval Country Churches in Sweden: Light and Colour," in Ernst Badstübner, Gerhard Eimer, Ernst Gierlich, and Matthias Müller, ed., *Licht und Farbe: In Der Mittelalterlichen Backsteinarchitektur des Südlichen Ostseeraums, (*Lukas Verlag: Berlin, Germany, 2005), pp. 460. Also see this reference for additional background on why churches in Sweden lacked windows and how that impacted color and light within the church.

[161] The earliest illustrated version of the Meditationes was probably created around 1350 in Pisa, Italy. Discussed in Holly Flora and Arianna Pecorini Cignoni, "Requirments of Devout Contemplation: Text and Image for the Poor Clares in Trecento Pisa," (*Gesta*. Vol. 45, No. 1, 2006), pp. 61-76. Also see Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2010), pp. 1-2 for a purpose behind devotional texts. The manuscripts were meant for readers to imagine Christ's life. McNamer asserts that the spirituality of the devotional manuscript was one of the great emotional revelations in Europe.

As stressed earlier, the medieval populous elevated The Book to a place of power. The belief of the Bible as God's Logos and therefore, God, propelled later devotional texts and illuminated manuscripts to maintain the connection with God. Images from the Bible acted as the visual Logos, holding the same power and creating a portal to the divine.

Meditation on Prefigurations

Images from the Old Testament exhibit didactic qualities because of the initial knowledge gained by associating the prefiguration to the New Testament narrative. However, following the inceptive relationship to the New Testament, the viewer is able to contemplate the story from Christ's life, inadvertently reflecting on his connection to the divine, his status as the Word made flesh, and his prophesied downfall for the sins of man. The murals painted on the interior of the churches would act as the memory device. For example, the image of the whale swallowing Jonah in Härkeberga or Täby would perform as the memory trigger for the point of Christ's entombment after his Crucifixion, further reminding the viewer of Christ's sacrifice for man's sins. Similarly, the image of Jonah's release from the sea beast's stomach recalls the narrative of Christ's resurrection after three days. Although, Latin texts –an additional didactic characteristic- accompany Albertus's synoptic narratives, a person would not need to know how to read in order to understand and follow biblical narratives. This is due to the slow evolution from just text books to the inclusion of images and progressively created for private devotion rather than strictly for monks.

Mediation on Christ's Crucifixion

Denise L. Despres states that the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* follows a Franciscan meditation format, with the design assuming a narrative requiring memory in order to reflect on the object.[162] Therefore, an image would prompt a memory for the rest of the narrative. For example, the image of *Christ's Crucifixion* in Härnevi and Täby would recall the previous section of the story, of Judas's betrayal of Jesus, the mocking of Jesus, etc. The memory device also acts for prefiguration images to connect to New Testament narratives, previously discussed. The location of *Christ's Crucifixion* at the top of the walls of Härnevi and Täby, demonstrates the importance of the image to the medieval viewer. The resultant attention to *Christ's Crucifixion* allows for the viewer reflect on the image, and associate the image to the prefiguration depictions positioned in the vaults.

In the Late Medieval Period, the crucifix image was more readily accessible. Priests were encouraged to draw the populous' attention to the crucifixion during sermons or at the administration of last rites. The *Ars Moriendi* manuscript, *The Art of Dying Well*, instructs priests to place a crucifix before the dying person in order for them to think of Jesus on the cross as a form of meditation, allowing the dying person to reflect and achieve solace before crossing over.[163] Albertus incorporates images from the *Ars Moriendi*, typically placing them in the weapon-house, or the church porch. This would have acted similar to the subject matter of tympanums, as a guide to those entering the

[162] Denis L. Despres, "Memory and Image: The Dissemination of a Franciscan Meditative Text," (*Mystics Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 3, September 1990), pp. 133-142.
[163] Sara Lipton, "'The Sweet Lean of his Head': Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages," (*Speculum*, Vol. 80, No. 4, October 2005), pp. 1172-1208.

church on how to attain salvation.[164] The additional influence from the *Ars Moriendi* manuscript provides another level of reflection the medieval populous would have encountered within the Swedish churches.

Illustrations of Christ's life are not merely for the reflection of his death and how that symbolizes mankind's redemption of sin, but also as a reminder of humanity. Humans were created in the image God; therefore, man was born divine, but God required proof of worthiness of heaven. Herbert Kessler claims that the placement of Christ's Crucifixion within the place of worship and the re-enactment of his sacrifice in the Eucharistic mass restores the idea of the eternal grandeur of Heaven.[165] Meditation developed as a means to accomplish the essential penance to achieve immortal life in Heaven.

New Testament images express the power of The Book through depictions of Christ. Christ as the Word, as God, becomes imagery of power, inherently as the gateway to the divine through Logos. Meditation on the image of Christ creates the connection to God. Christ's Crucifixion image becomes the strongest narrative in medieval Christianity to achieve reflection on the moment of Christ's death in order to gain compassion and strive for salvation.

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[164] For additional analysis on the images from the *Ars Moriendi* please see Pia Melin's dissertation *Fåfängans Förgäglighet: Allegorin som livs- och lärospegel hos Albertus Pictor*. Melin goes in depth on how the images would have affected the viewer, and how the images themselves were a mirror for the population at that time.

[165] Kessler, "Corporeal Texts, Spiritual Paintings, and the Mind's Eye." in Mariëlle Hageman, ed. *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication: Papers from the Third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht, 7-9 December 2000*, pp. 13

CONCLUSION

The manuscript tradition demonstrates the most substantial evidence of Albertus's outside references. Section I elucidates the expansive, iconographic history of the manuscript tradition. Albertus's flattened compositions, angular figures, and vine interlace, emphasizes the inspiration from manuscript decoration. While the regional style also presents the effect of the manuscript tradition in the compositions, through two-dimensional figures and angular designs, Albertus breaks away from convention. Through the shading of the faces and sonorous acanthus/lily hybrid vine motif decorating the webbing and ribbing, he places the biblical figures on the ceilings in the Heavenly Garden. His works further express his reliance on manuscripts in the content of the murals. Previous scholarship establishes that the *Biblia Pauperum*, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, *Ars Moriendi*, and Brigitta's *Revelaciones*, provided Albertus the material to construct his program throughout the 36 churches around Lake Mälaren. Albertus's work is inherently didactic due to his dependence of manuscripts as a source of inspiration. This is also evident in the Latin text that accompanies the episodic narratives.

I have established Albertus's murals within the architectural and art historical tradition of the Medieval Period, outlining the progression of art and architecture, from the Romanesque to the Gothic, and finally to the Renaissance, through iconographical analysis. The investigation discussed in Section I indicates the long history of the Christian visual language, the complexity of Christian visual program, and the influences Albertus absorbs into his religious compositions. The impact of continental Europe on the Scandinavian regional style is evident through the earlier mural paintings examined in

Section II. However, Albertus's work is comprised not only of the motifs typically found in the regional style, but also motifs adopted from other areas of Europe.

One other aspect of the manuscript tradition that transfers onto the murals is the meditative quality of the images and what they stimulate in the viewer's mind. In Section III, I cover the iconography of the *Jonah and the Whale* narrative as a prefiguration of *Christ's Crucifixion*. The depictions of Jonah and the Whale I focus on in Härkeberga and Täby, as a synoptic narrative, recall the entire story of Jonah in the viewer's memory. The memory triggers the connection to the Passion of Christ for the reflection on Christ's sacrifice for man. The reflection acts as a form of penance to gain redemption for sins committed. Albertus closely ties the concept of religious meditation with the introduction of Scholasticism. Scholasticism sparked new religious thought, applying reason and logic to Christianity. Logic prompted the meditation as the solution to conceptualizing and visualizing the divine, while images and text provided activation of the imagination. The concept of God's Logos within the book placed power on the text and the image, enticing the meditant to connect to the divine.

As a practice to reflect on Christ's sacrifice, meditation was firmly planted in medievalism by the time of Albertus's work. The didacticism and religious meditation exist harmoniously within the murals. To consider Albertus's murals as purely didactic discounts the belief system of the time and the power the images held to those experiencing the painting. This thesis acts as a foundation for future scholarship, exploring more archives and expanding the area of study. Despite the enigma of Albertus as an individual, the existing murals still supply ample subject matter to investigate,

leaving exhaustive avenues of analysis. Rich with symbolism and vibrant in color, Albertus's paintings still captivate and engage an audience.

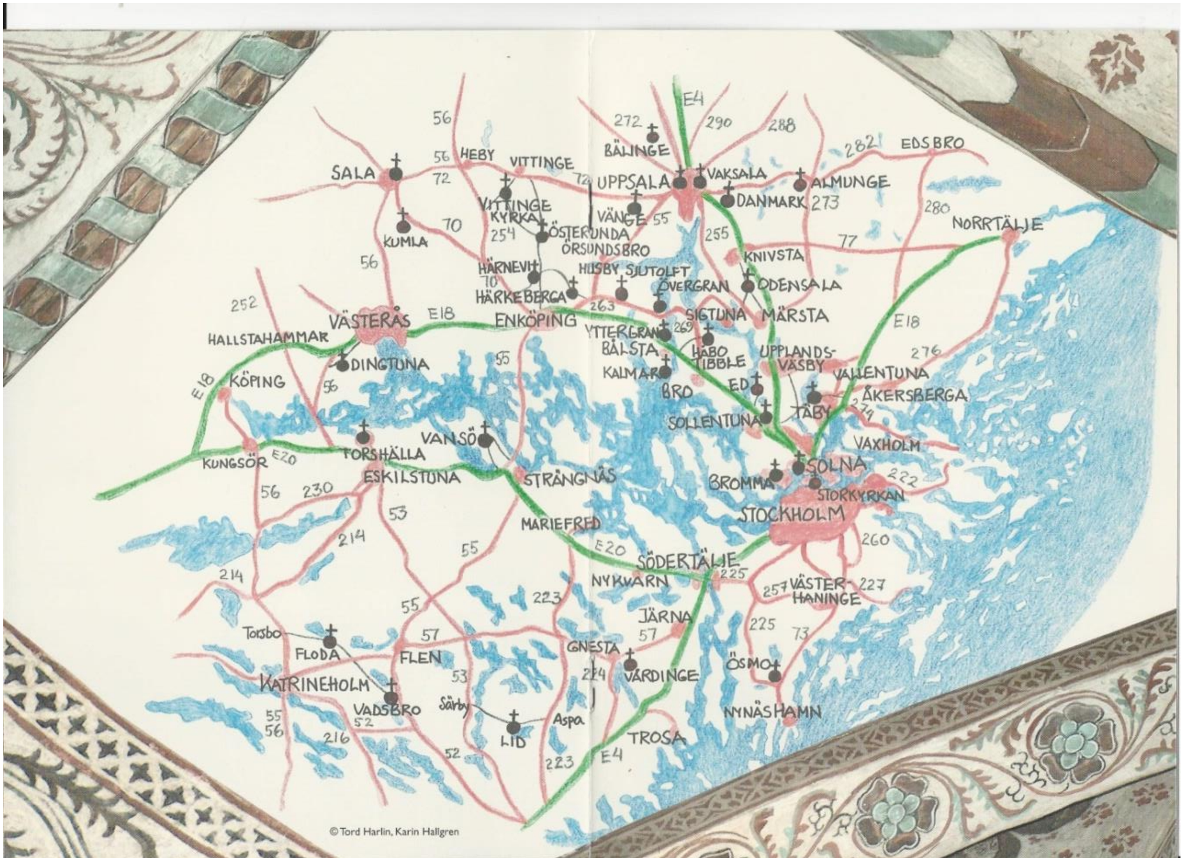


Figure 1

Lake Mälaren and surrounding churches

Courtesy of Tord Harlin and Karen Haligren
Albertus Pictor Project

Figure 2

Urban Larsson, *Vädersolstavlan*, 1630s copy,

Courtesy of author

Figure 3

Master of the Passion of Christ, *Christ's Resurrection*, Öja Church

Courtesy of public database

Figure 4

Albertus Pictor, *Christ on the Shroud*, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 5

Unknown Artist, Christ on the Cross with St. Bridget, woodcut

Courtesy of public database

Figure 6

Albertus Pictor, Nativity, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 7

Unknown Artist, St. Birgitta, woodcut

Courtesy of public database

Figure 8

Gunther Zainer, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*

Courtesy of Sir George Grey Special Collections,
Auckland City Libraries

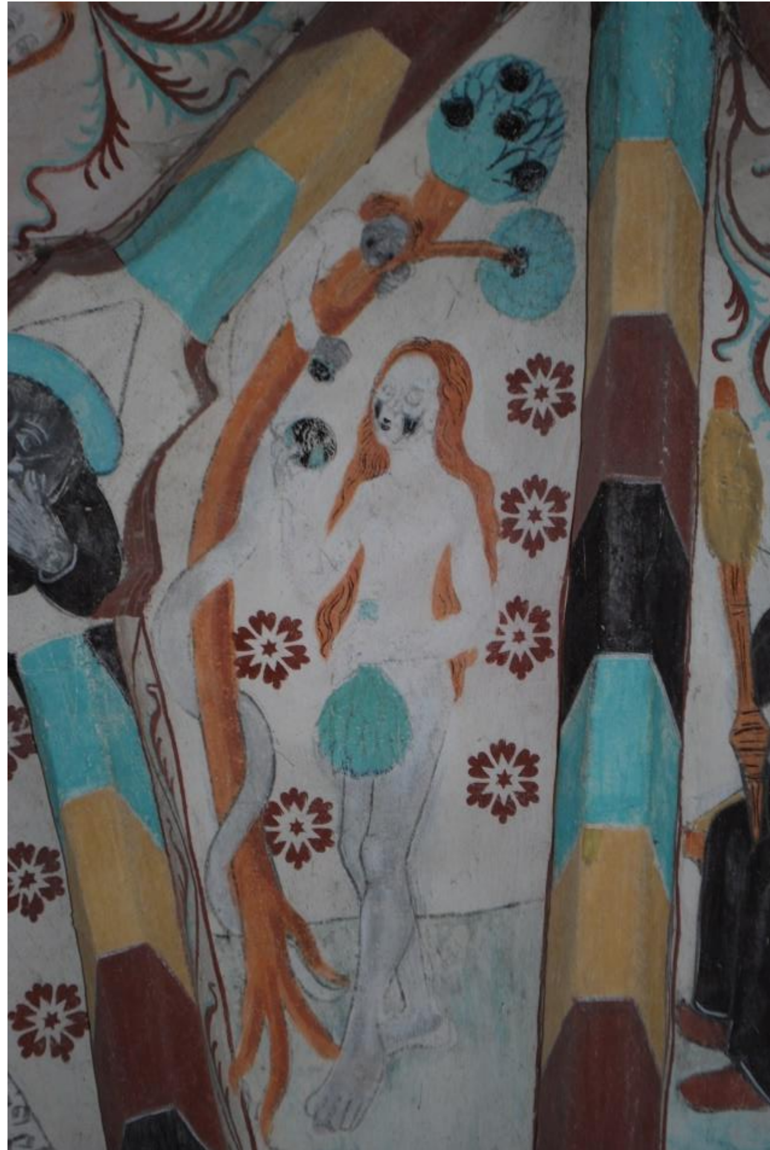


Figure 9

Albertus Pictor*, Eve picking the fruit*, Härkeberga Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 10

Albertus Pictor, *Eve picking the fruit*, Härkeberga Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 11

Christ is Mocked and Crowned with Thorns,

Biblia Pauperum, folio 23r, woodcut

Courtesy of The Bodleian Library,
University of Oxford

Figure 12

Albertus Pictor, *Mockery of Noah*, Härkeberga Church

Courtesy of author

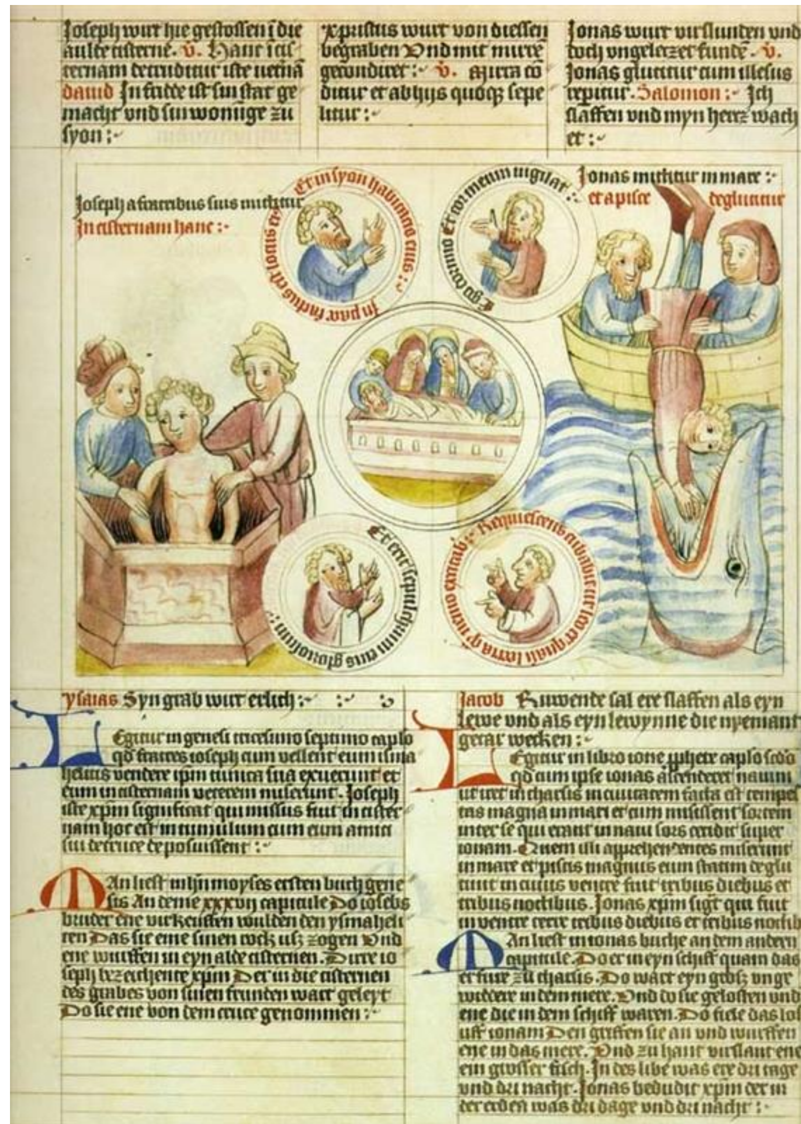


Figure 13

Entombment of Christ, *Biblia Pauperum*, folio 15r

Courtesy of http://www.talivirtualmidrash.org.il/ArtEng.aspx?art=287

Figure 14

Ara Pacis Augustae, Acanthus detail

Courtesy of Artstor

Figure 15

Albertus Pictor, Acanthus detail, Täby Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 16

Albertus Pictor, Acanthus detail, Täby Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 17

Tierp School, Acanthus detail, Gamla Uppsala Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 18

Dionysus, Greek kylix

Courtesy of Staatliche Antikensammlungen Museum in Munich

Figure 19

Grape harvest detail, Santa Costanza mausoleum

Courtesy of Artstor

Figure 20

Albertus Pictor, Grape vine detail, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 21

Commentary on Daniel, incipit page, Ottonian

Courtesy of Artstor

Figure 22

Gospel of Otto III, initial page, Ottonian

Courtesy of Artstor

Figure 23

Albertus Pictor, Acanthus/lily detail, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 24

Rune Stone, Lily Stone, Västergötland, Sweden

Courtesy of public database

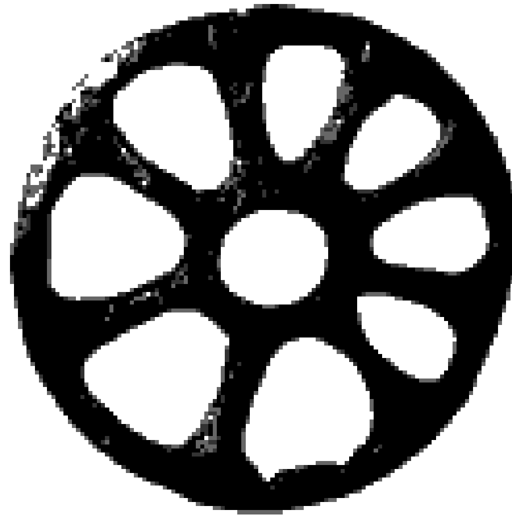


Figure 25

Burial, Rosette stone carving, Sugir, Russia

Courtesy of public database

Figure 26

Necklace pendants, gold, Mesopotamia

Courtesy of Artstor

Figure 27

Roman, Architectural fragment, France

Courtesy of Artstor

Figure 28

Albertus Pictor, Rosette detail, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 29

Albertus Pictor, Fleur-de-lis detail, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 30

Elmelunde Master, Interior, Keldby Church, Denmark

Courtesy of public database

Figure 31

Master of Isabel Stuart, *Carmelite Missal of Nantes*, folio 15v, France

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 32

Master of Isabel Stuart, Carmelite Missal of Nantes, folio 15v, detail, France

Courtesy of ArtStor

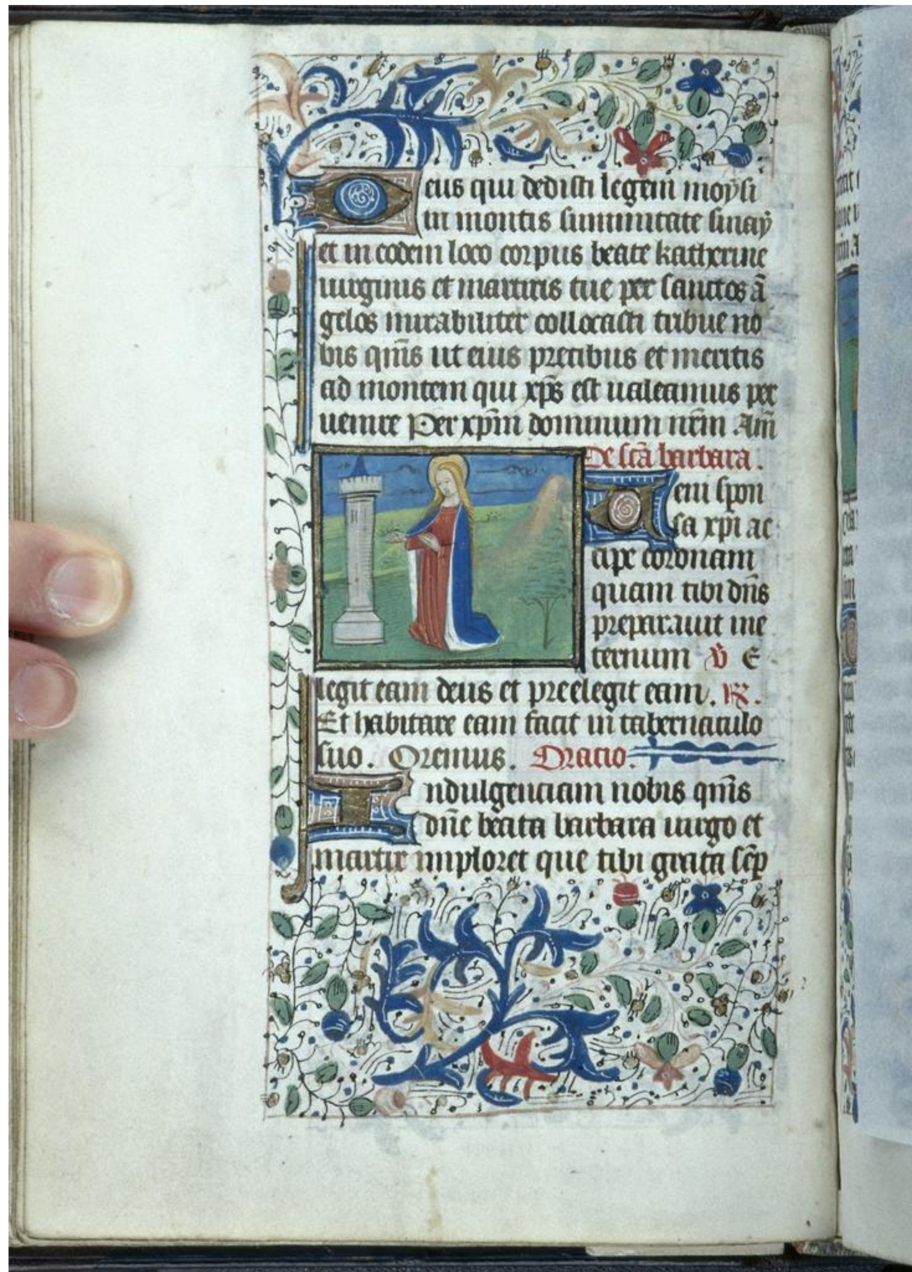


Figure 33

Harley Master, *Book of Hours*, France

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 34

Holtålen Church, Trøndelag, Norway

Courtesy of public database

Figure 35

Urnes Church, Urnes, Norway

Courtesy of public database

Figure 36

Kalmar Church, Uppland, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 37

Botkyrka, Södermanland, Sweden

Courtesy of public database

Figure 38

Bromma Church, Stockholm, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 39

Lund Cathedral, Lund, Sweden

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 40

St. Mary’s Church, Bergen, Norway

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 41

Corvey Abbey Church, North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany

Courtesy of ArtStor

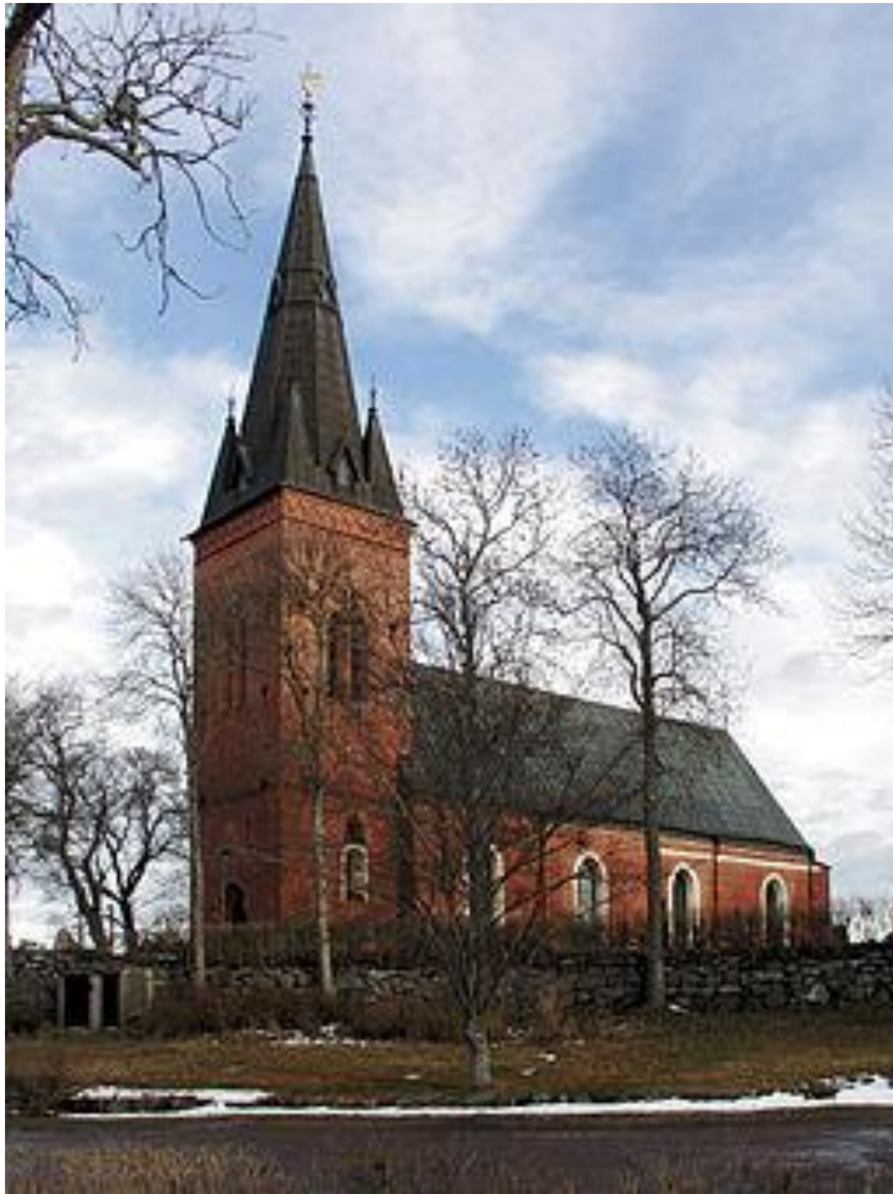


Figure 42

Danmark Church, Uppsala, Sweden

Courtesy of public database

Figure 43

Uppsala Cathedral, Uppsala, Sweden

Courtesy of author

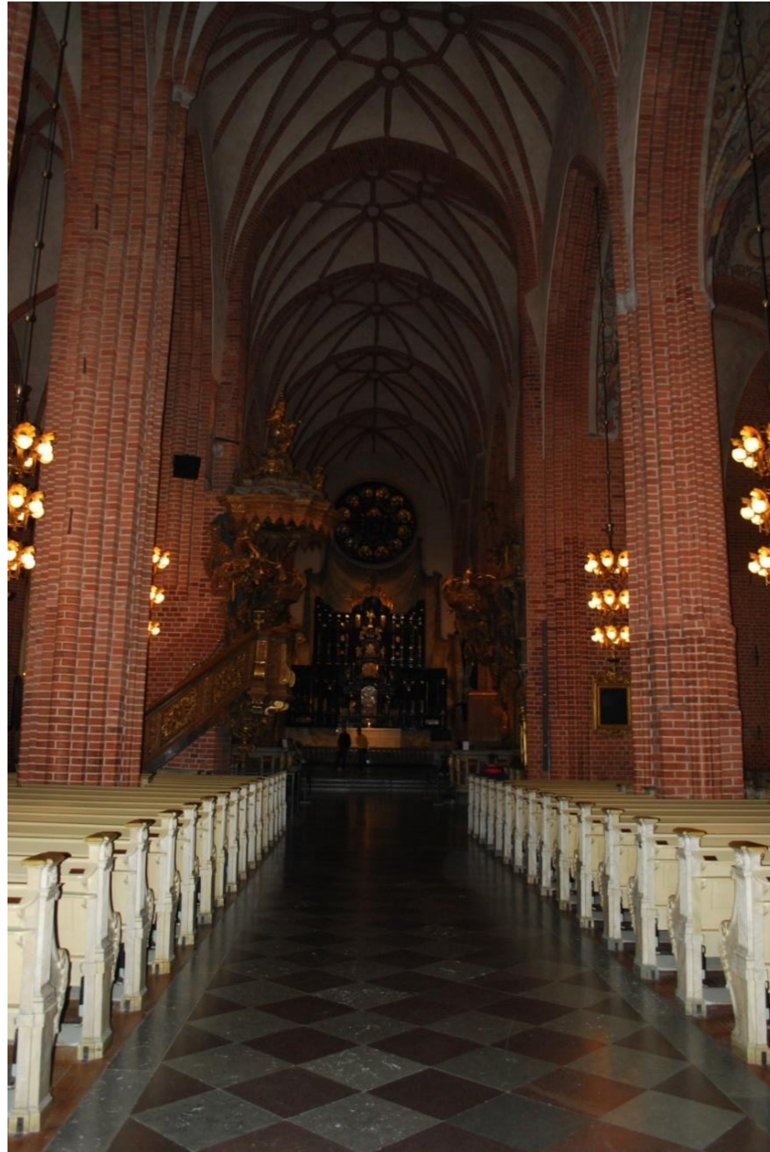


Figure 44

Stockholm Storkyrkan, Stockholm, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 45

Vaksala Church, vaulting, Uppsala, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 46

Härkeberga Church, Uppland, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 47

Härnevi Church, Uppland, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 48

Täby Church, Uppland, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 49

Engaged pilasters, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 50

Engaged columns, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 51

Corner buttresses, Härkeberga Church, Uppland, Sweden

Courtesy of public data base

Figure 52

St. Benedict's Church, Paddlesworth, Kent, England

Courtesy of public database

Figure 53

Härnevi Church, interior, Uppland, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 54

Härkeberga Church, interior, Uppland, Sweden

Courtesy of author

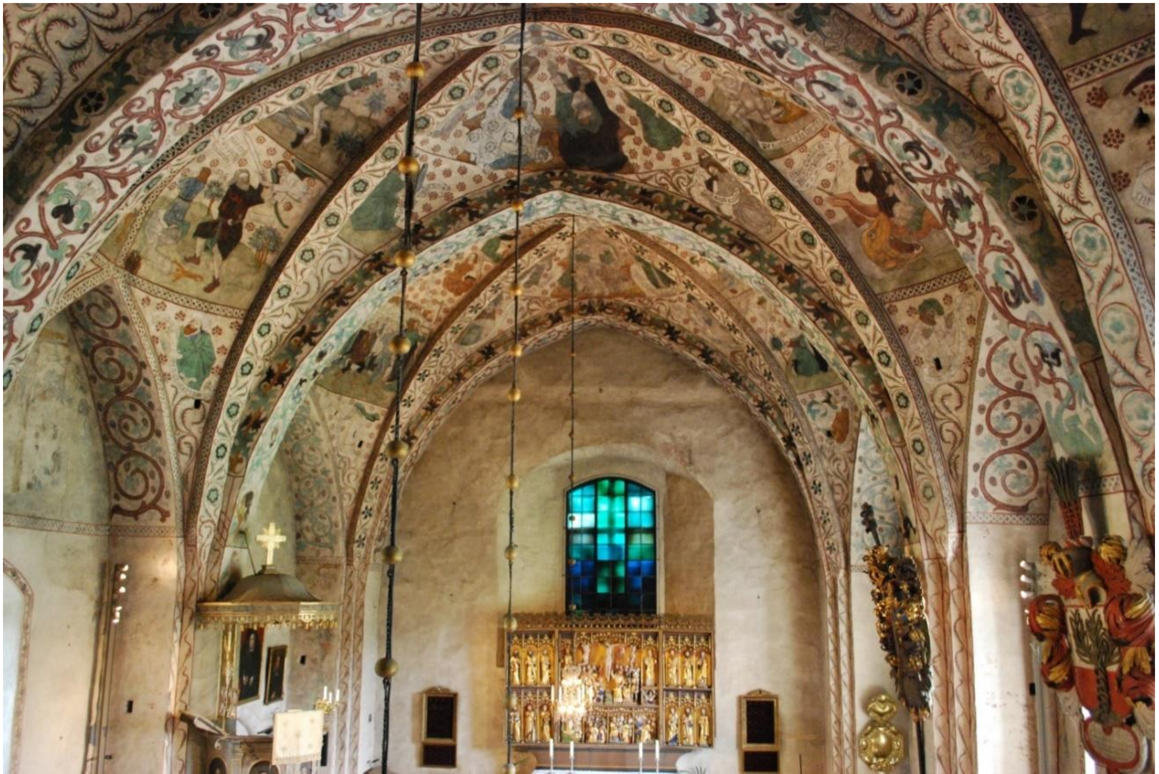


Figure 55

Täby Church, interior, Uppland, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 56

Lund Cathedral, Interior, Lund, Sweden

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 57

St. Foy at Conques, Interior, Conques, France

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 58

St. Foy at Conques, Judgement Tympanum, Conques, France

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 59

St. Foy at Conques, Condemnation of St. Foy, Capital, Conques, France

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 60

Abbey Fontenay, Interior, Fontenay, France

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 61

Durham Cathedral, Interior, Durham, England

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 62

Durham Cathedral, Groin vault, England

Courtesy of ArtStor

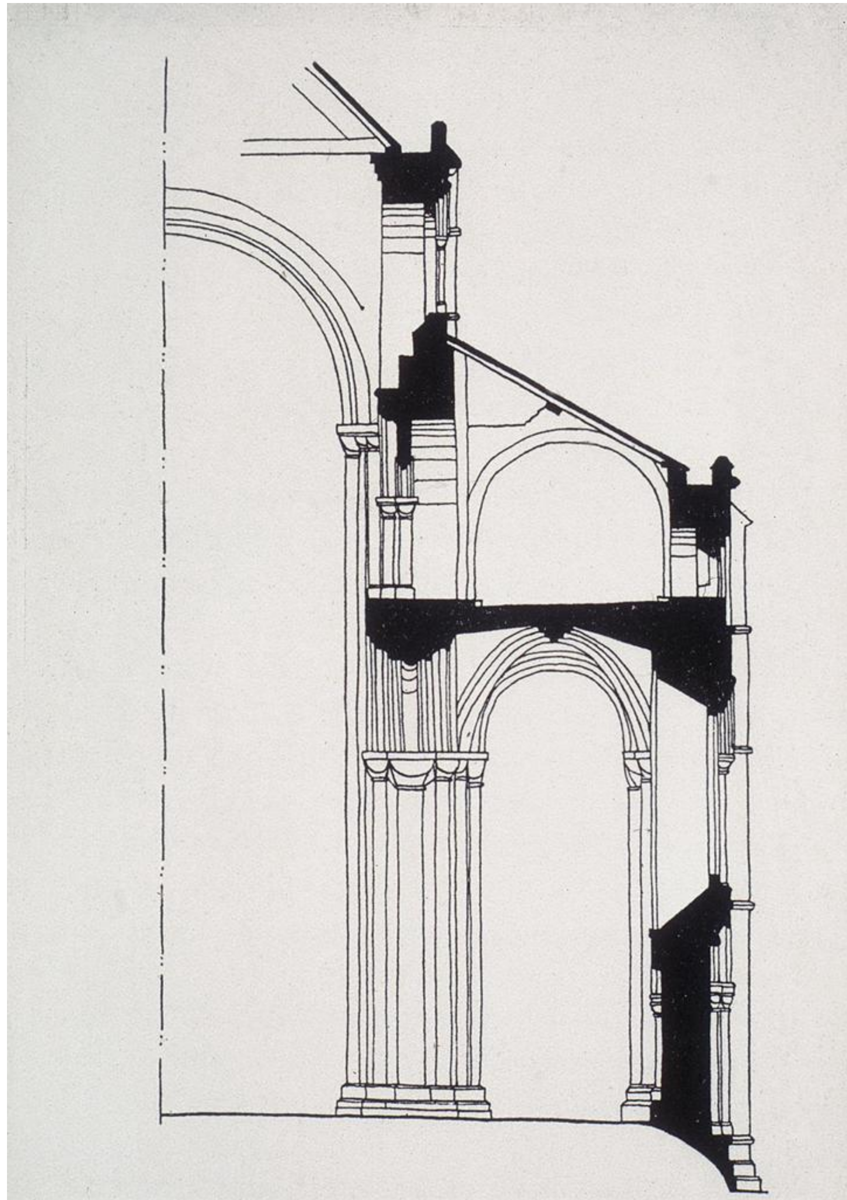


Figure 63

Durham Cathedral, Cross-cut plan, England

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 64

Albertus Pictor, vine motif mural, Västerås Cathedral, Västerås, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 65

Albertus Pictor, polychrome painting, Härkeberga Church, Uppland, Sweden

Courtesy of author

Figure 66

Aachen Chapel, Interior, Aachen, Germany

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 67

Annunciation to the Shepards, Basilica of San Isidoro of León, Pantheon of the Kings, Spain

Courtesy of ArtStor

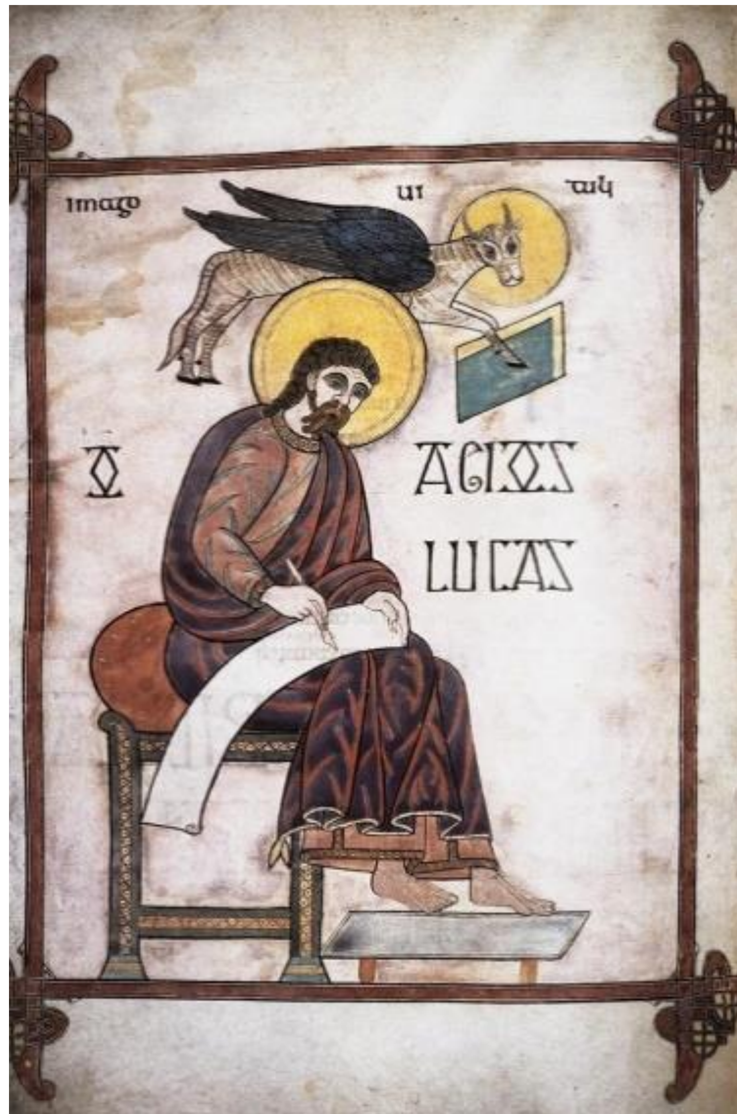


Figure 68

Evangelist Luke, *Lindisfarne Gospels*

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 69

Christ's Benediction, Vä Church, wall mural, Scania, Sweden

Courtesy of public database

Figure 70

School of Monte Cassino, *Christ Enthroned*, Sant'Angelo in Formis, Capua, Italy

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 71

St. Denis, Interior, France

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 72

Lady Chapel, Interior, Wells Cathedral

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 73

Nave of Bath Abbey, Bath, England

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 74

Pelplin Church, Interior, Pelplin, Poland

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 75

Fröjel Church, Interior, vine motifs, Gotland, Sweden

Courtesy of public database

Figure 76

Christ as Judge, Södra Råda Church, Västra Götaland, Sweden

Courtesy of ArtStor

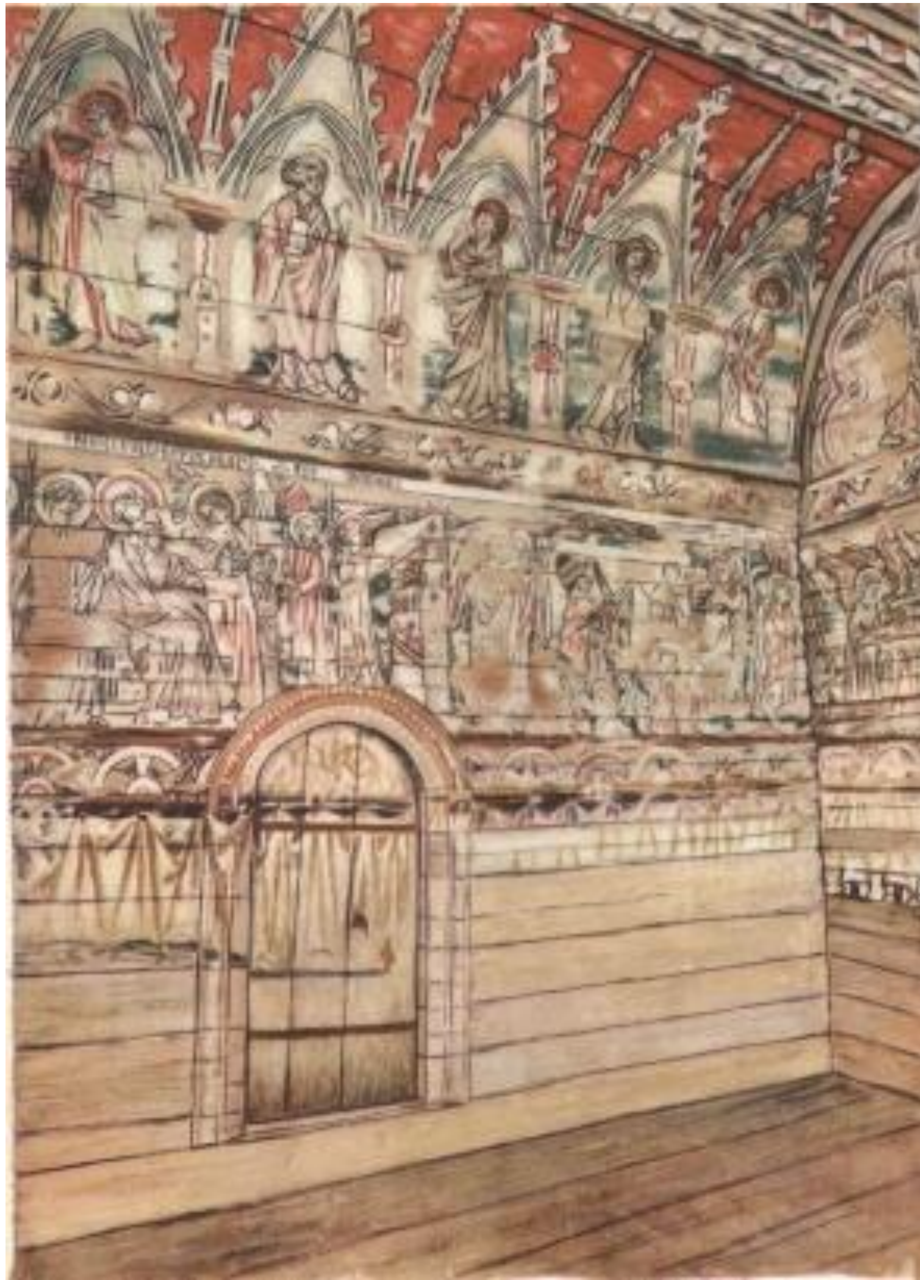


Figure 77

Wall paintings, Södra Råda Church, Västra Götaland, Sweden

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 78

Elmelunde Master, ceiling murals, Elmelunde Church, Stege, Denmark

Courtesy of public database

Figure 79

Two Great Physicians of Antiquity: Galen and Hippocrates, Anagni Cathedral

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 80

Cimabue, Evangelist Luke, upper church, San Francesco Assisi, Italy

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 81

Albrecht Dürer, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*

Courtesy of ArtStor

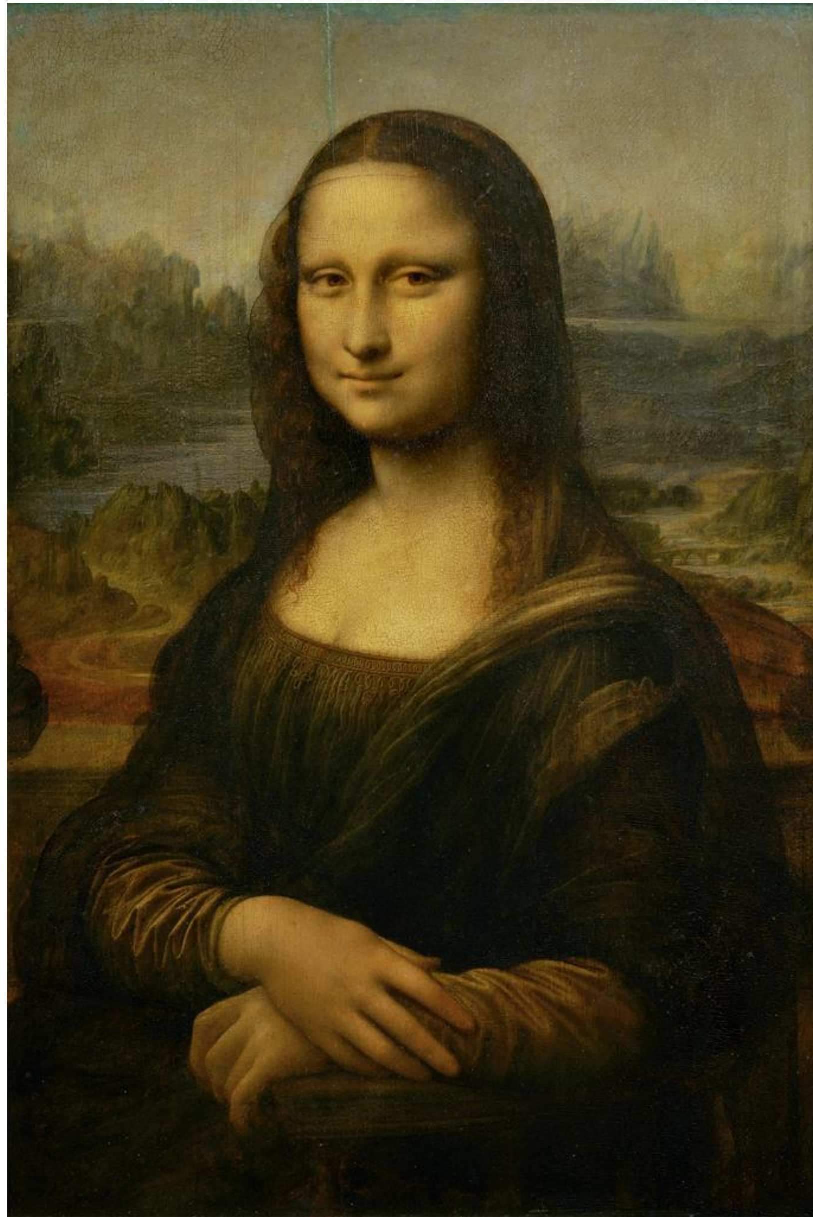
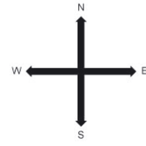


Figure 82

Leonardo da Vinci, *Mona Lisa*

Courtesy of ArtStor



Bay II

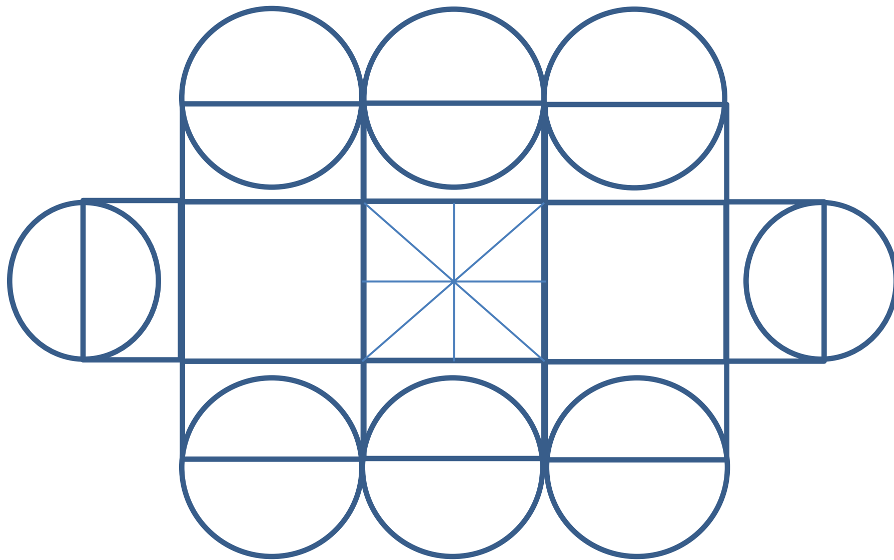


Figure 83

Church plan, Härkeberga Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 84

Bay II vaulting, Härkeberga Church

Courtesy of author

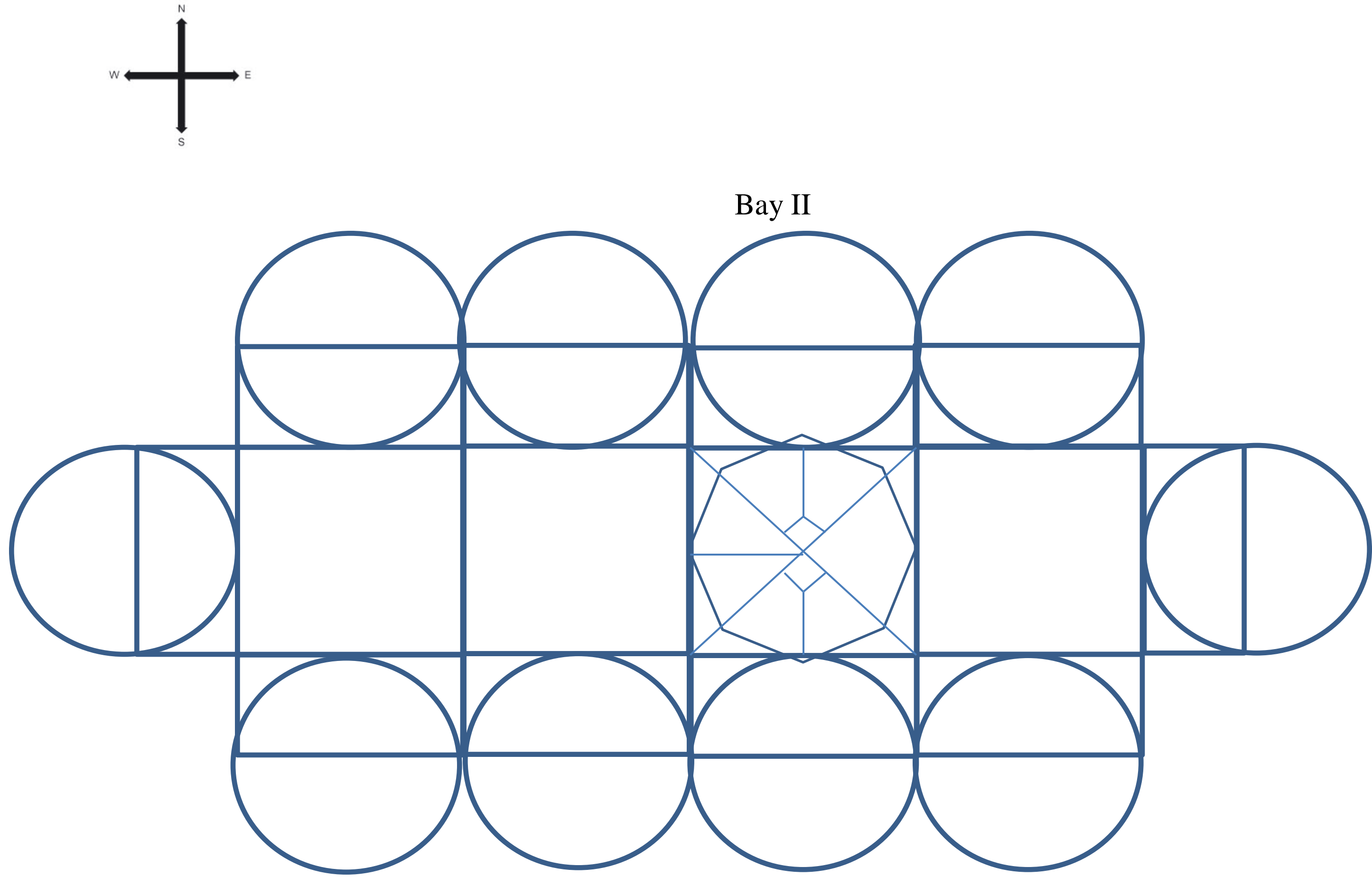


Figure 85

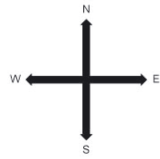
Church plan, Täby Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 86

Bay II vaulting, Täby Church

Courtesy of author



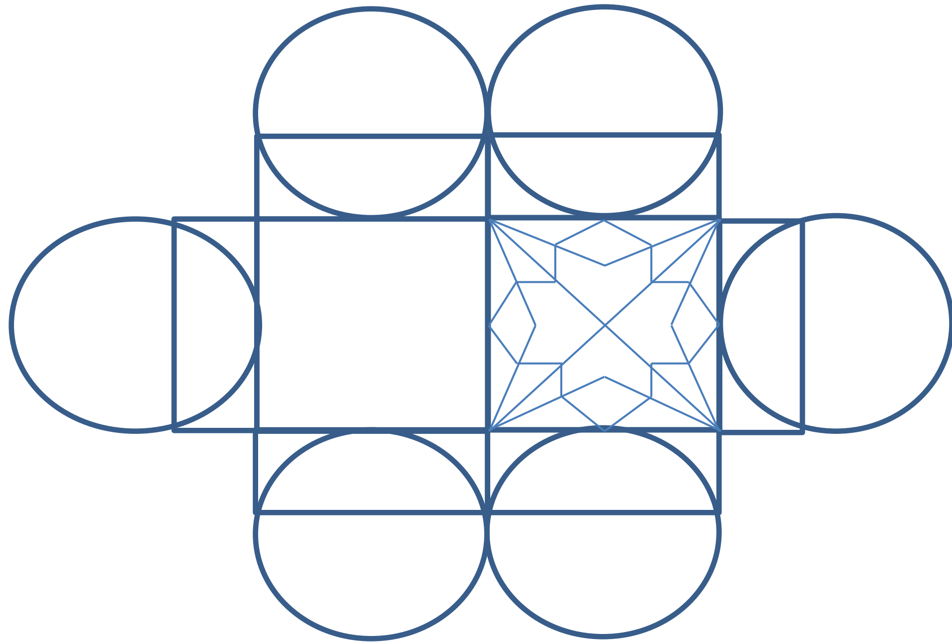


Figure 87

Church plan, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 88

Bay I vaulting, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 89

Jonah and the Whale lunette, Early Christian Catacombs, Rome, Italy

Courtesy of ArtStor

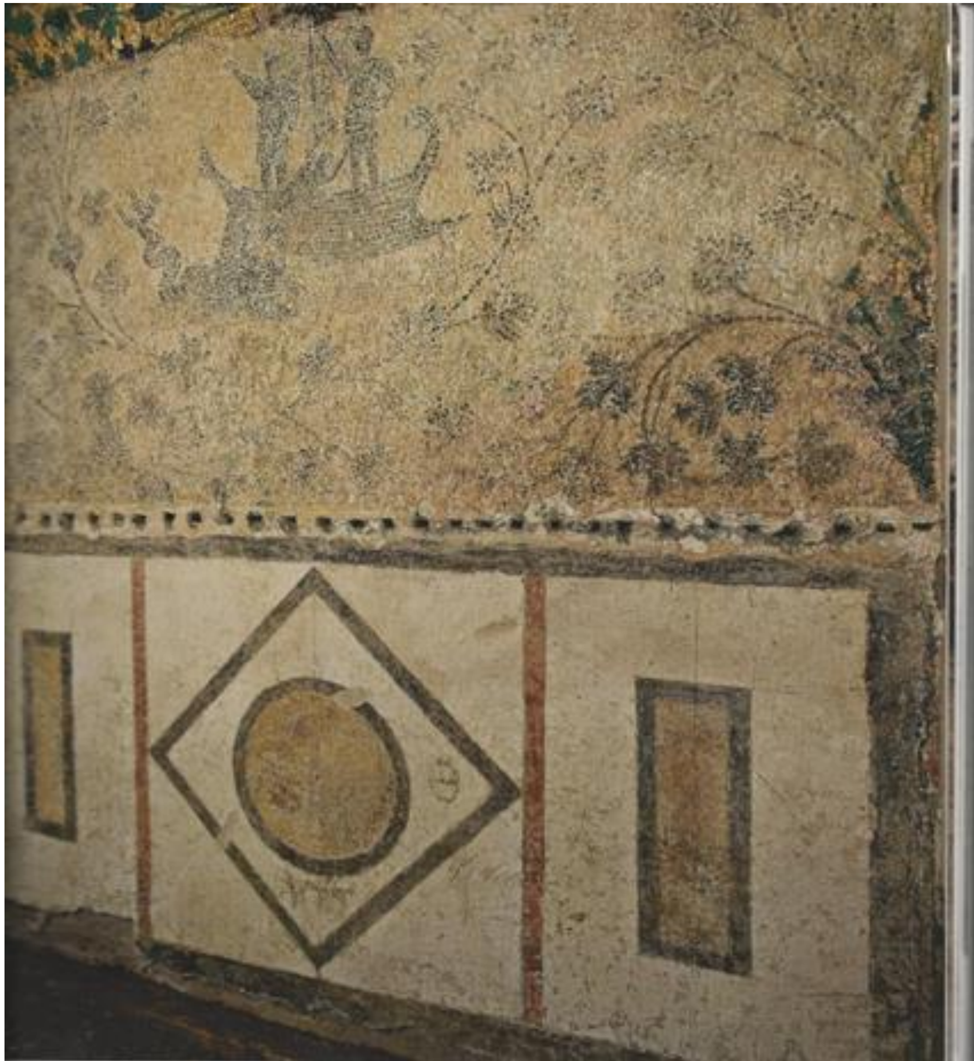


Figure 90

Jonah and the Whale, mosaic underpainting, Tomb Iulii, Rome, Italy

Courtesy of Paolo Liverani, Giandomenico Spinola, and Pietro Zander. *The Vatican Necropoles*. Brepols Publishers. Vatican. 2010. Pg., 116.

Figure 91

Jonah Marbles, central Turkey

Courtesy of http://www.clevelandart.org/search?search=jonah+marbles

Figure 92

Christian sarcophagus, Mainz

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 93

Carrow Psalter, England

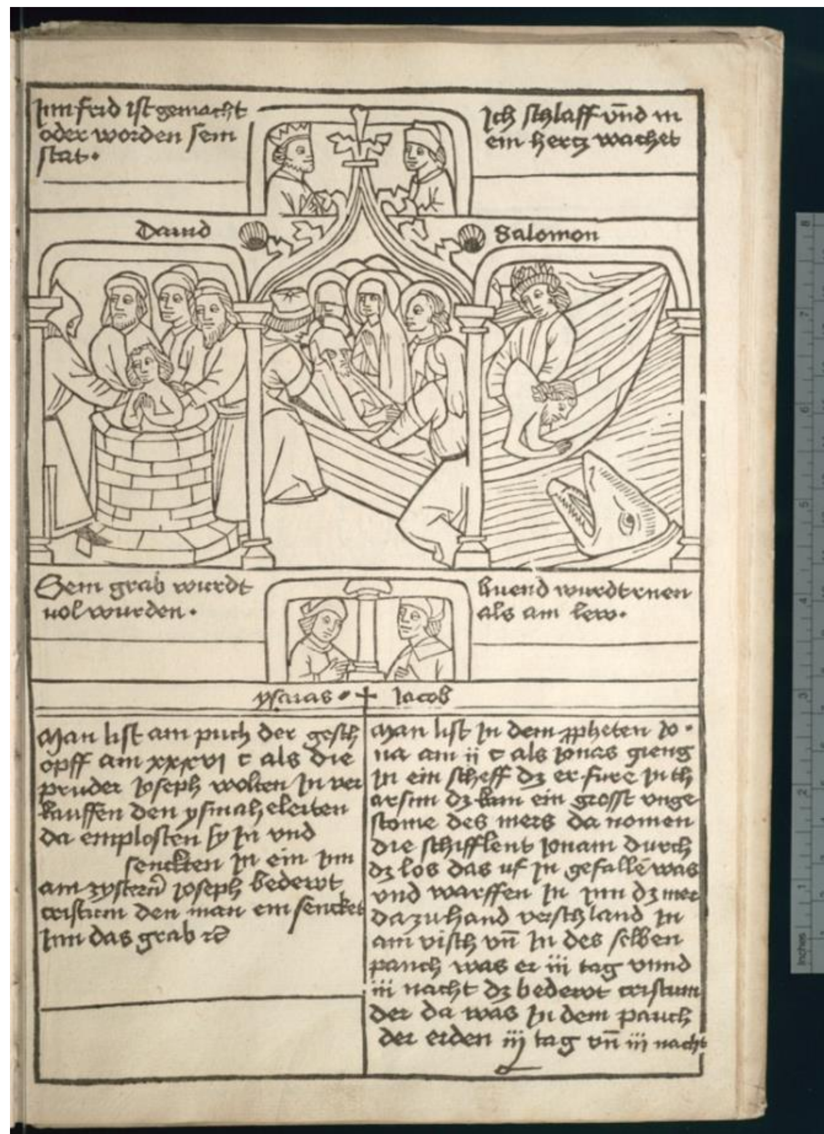
Courtesy of ArtStor

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 94

Speculum Humanae, Salvationis, France or Germany

Courtesy of public database



Im frid ist gemacht oder worden sein stat.

Ich schlaff vnd mein hertz wachet

Dauid

Salomon

Sein grab wurdt wol wurden.

Ruend wurdt ruen als ain lew.

ysaias

Jacob

Man list am puch der gesch/
opff am xxxvij c als die
pruder Joseph wolten in ver
kauffen den ysmahelyten
da emplosten sy in vnd
senckten in ein brun
am zysternn Joseph bedewt
cristum den man ein senckt
in das grab etc

Man list in dem propheten Jo·
na am ij c als Jonas gieng
in ein scheff dz er fure in th
arsim dz kam ein grosst unge
stome des mers da nomen
die schifflent Jonam durch
dz los das uf in gefalle was
vnd warffen in in dz mer
dazuhand verschland in
am visch vn in des selben
pauch was er iij tag vnnd
iij nacht dz bedewt cristum
der da was in dem pauch
der erden iij tag vn iij nacht

Figure 95

Biblia Pauperum, Germany

Courtesy of http://pudl.princeton.edu/viewer.php?obj=ht24wj49c#page/60/mode/2up

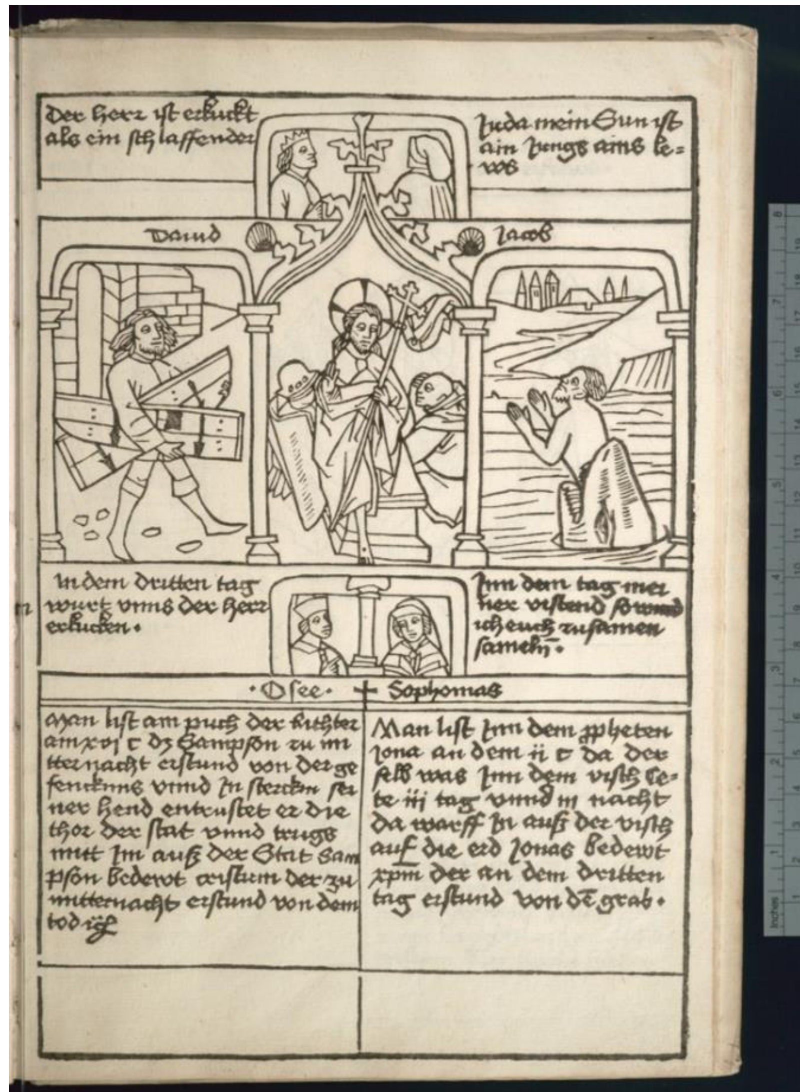


Figure 96

Biblia Pauperum, Germany

Courtesy of http://pudl.princeton.edu/viewer.php?obj=ht24wj49c#page/60/mode/2up

Figure 97

Nicholas of Verdun, *Verdun Altarpiece*, Klosterneuburg Monastery, Austria

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 98

Nicholas of Verdun, *Jonah and the Whale*, *Verdun Altarpiece*, Klosterneuburg Monastery, Austria

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 99

Albertus Pictor, *Jonah and the Whale*, Härkeberga Church,

Courtesy of author

Figure 100

Albertus Pictor, Jonah vault, Täby Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 101

Albertus Pictor, Jonah’s sacrifice, Täby Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 102

Albertus Pictor, Jonah’s resurrection, Täby Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 103

Batlló Crucifix, Lucca, Spain

Courtesy of ArtStor

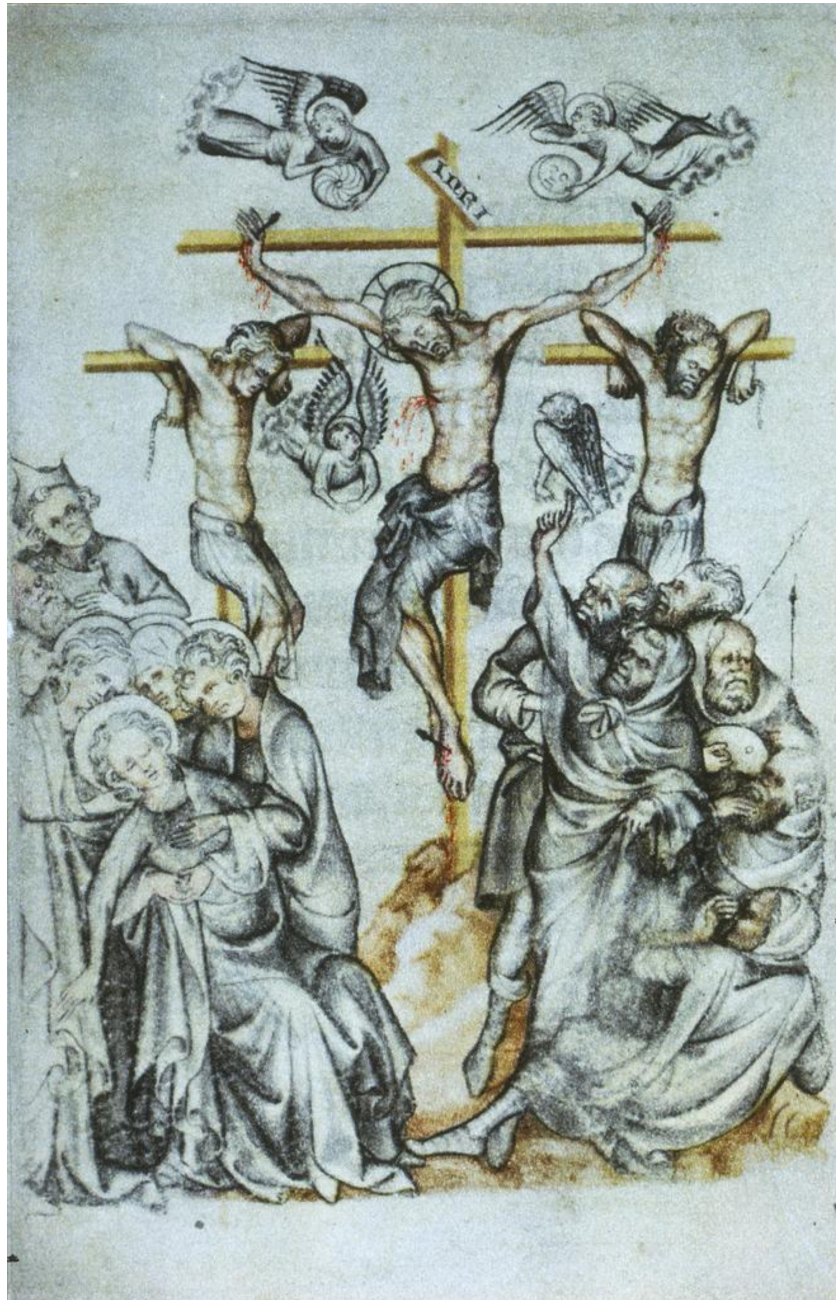


Figure 104

Crucifixion page, *Book of Hours of Jeanne D'Evreux*, France

Courtesy of ArtStor

Figure 105

Albertus Pictor, *Crowning of Mary*, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 106

Albertus Pictor, *Christ’s Crucifixion*, Ösmo Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 107

Albertus Pictor, *Christ's Crucifixion*, Almunge Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 108

Albertus Pictor, *Christ’s Crucifixion*, Härnevi Church

Courtesy of author

Figure 109

Albertus Pictor, *Christ's Crucifixion*, Täby Church

Courtesy of author

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