Greek gods in Northern costumes: Visual representations of Norse mythology in 19th century Scandinavia

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Northern mythology, long the province of antiquarians and scholars, was in the 19th century claimed as a regional heritage in the Scandinavian countries, and the rising tide of nationalism and an eagerness to extend education to all classes combined to make it a focus not only of literary efforts but also of pictorial representation. This was not easy, for the academies in Copenhagen and Stockholm, where artists were trained, had their own entrenched traditions deriving from the period of the Renaissance. Figure painting and sculpture were the most valued genres, and the subject matter was to be taken, in academies all over Europe, either from the Bible (or, in Catholic countries, saints’ lives) or from Classical history and mythology. In the second half of the 18th century, Winckelmann’s writings and the excavations at Pompei and Herculaneum strengthen the Greco-Roman connection and led to Neoclassicism becoming the dominant style for a few decades into the 19th century.
The lucid rationality and practicality of the Enlightenment period produced cravings for things ancient, dark and mysterious, as the success of Bishop Percy’s *Reliques* and Macpherson’s *Ossian* showed; Celtic and Nordic were seen as part of the same misty Northern world. The Dane Abildgaard and the Swiss Füssli/Fusely, friends in Rome in the 1770s, painted a number of scenes from Ossian but occasionally also from Nordic mythology. Abildgaard’s scene from Snorri’s account of the creation of the world shows a Michelangelesque giant Ýmir suckled by Auðumla, a Brahmin-type cow licking a salty rock from which the first human being, Bure, will emerge (1). With its energetic diagonals, it has a freedom and dynamism sadly lacking in a lot of the 19th century pictures we are going to see. For comparison, a Fusely painted about 15 years later, in 1790, a vigorous naked Þórr battling the Míðgarð Serpent (2). And as a contrast, a one-eyed Óðinn with sword and spear and the two rather pigeon-like ravens Hugin and Munin from an Edda ms. written by the priest Ólafur Brynjúlfsson in Iceland around 1760 (3). His very remoteness from the academies and a lack of proper training gave the amateur draughtsman the innocence to rely on his own imagination and ignore accepted canons of beauty.

Subjects from Northern mythology also began to appear in the theatre. In 1778 Johannes Ewald’s singspiel *Balders Død* was performed in Copenhagen, and this inspired the sculptor Wiedewelt to make a series of 72 sketches, among which this one of Freyja seated on a chariot drawn by cats - a subject not often attempted since cats are hard to present convincingly as draught animals (4). The he-goats pulling Þórr’s carriage, too, look rather modest in size, too, but this was probably intended to make the god’s stature the more impressive (5). He is clad in a fancy knight’s armour, and the slender hammer Mjölnir looks more like an anchor; bolts of lightning seem to issue from an insufficiently lubricated axle. In Sweden, none less than King Gustav III wrote *Frigga*, performed as a comedy in 1783 and as an opera from 1787. The Frenchman Desprez was responsible for the stage sets, and here is what Frigga’s temple in the sacred grove in Gamla Uppsala looked like (6). With the flanking lions, it seems to anticipate the Greek dream the Bavarian king Maximilian I was to build in Munich. It was hard in the 18th century to conceive of any but Greek temples; the absence of visual knowledge about Nordic places of worship made artists inevitably fall back on other traditions. This ‘Torshov’ from 1815 by the Norwegian Joh. Flintoe (7) might be called massive Early Gothic, and Egron Lundgren’s ‘Balderstemplet’ from 1839 (8) is just another medieval castle. Joh. Ludv. Lund was well advised to leave off any man-made structure in his ‘Sacrificial scene from the time of Óðinn’ in a sylvan setting (9). This is a sketch for the first of a series of four frescoes in Christiansborg, later destroyed by fire, depicting the history of religion in Denmark; the beech and tree placid lake call to mind a picture of Northern Zealand.

The question whether Northern mythology could provide an alternative to
Classical mythology in literature and art had been raised already by Scandinavian humanist scholars of the Renaissance but got renewed actuality towards the end of the 18th century. Herder discussed it in dialogue form in 1795 in Schiller’s journal *Die Horen*, and in 1800 the University of Copenhagen made it the subject of a competition. Oehlenschläger and Jens Möller, later Professor of Theology, were among those who took part. Oehlenschläger was in favour of Northern mythology because it was native, was not worn out by overuse and was morally superior to Greek mythology, an argument used time and again in subsequent discussions. Möller’s attitude was positive, too, but he claimed that art was more sensitive to unnatural and ugly elements than literature and had to be guided by Winckelmann’s ideal of noble simplicity and quiet grandeur. The following two decades saw a lively debate on the topic, with Torkel Baden, secretary of the Copenhagen Academy of Art, rejecting Nordic mythology as barbaric, misshapen and repulsive, and a spate of handbooks on Northern mythology appeared such as Rasmus Nyerup’s edition of the Prose Edda in 1808 and his *Wörterbuch der skandinavischen Mythologie* of 1810, or Grundtvigs *Nordens Mytologi* of 1808, while Oehlenschläger sought to familiarise the public with it by making it the subject-matter of epic poems (*Nordiske Digte*, 1807; *Nordens Guder*, 1819). And in 1819, when Thorvaldsen, already then the most celebrated Scandinavian artist of his time, came to Copenhagen on his one home visit before his triumphal return almost twenty years later, Oehlenschläger implored him at a feast given in his honour to switch his attention to Northern gods and heroes.

To no avail, in Thorvaldsen’s case. He was too experienced and practical an artist to turn to characters and stories which were, quite literally, imageless. However, the idea was there, and in the same year, 1819, the Danish Academy of Art invited Finnur Magnússon, who a few years later was to publish a four-volume work *Eddalåren og dens Oprindelse*, to provide lectures on Old Norse literature and mythology to its students. In 1821 a competition was announced in Copenhagen for drawings with subjects taken from Northern mythology. The prize was won by the sculptor Hermann Ernst Freund, and this gave him the idea for a frieze depicting all the important Nordic gods. Through the good offices of Jonas Collin, known as H. C. Andersen’s patron, he got a commission to do such a thing in Christiansborg Castle, although on a smaller scale than he had envisaged. The theme had to be confined to *Ragnarök*, or rather to the Ásir and their enemies mobilising for that fatal battle. He did not manage to finish it by the time he died, in 1840; some students and his colleague H. W. Bissen completed it. In 1884 it was destroyed when Christiansborg burned down, and all we have is this drawing made of the frieze by Henrik Olrk (10). But a few sculptures of Freund’s have survived. A fairly youthful Óðinn of modest size from 1832, with a sceptre and a head band, is now in Glyptoteket (11). In attitude and appearance, this Óðinn is unmistakably a cousin of Zeus’s. The one-eyedness is not ignored but played down - it was headache for all 19th
century artists as an ‘ugly’ element. One does not quite know whether the animals at his feet are real or ornamental, the wolves thriving on the flesh and blood of the fallen or, as part of the throne, a symbol of power. Another Freund sculpture in Glyptoteket, even smaller, is his ‘Loki’ (12). Loki was less likely to be sucked into the trap of Classical models because there is simply no Greco-Roman equivalent to that shifty intriguer and facilitator. Something rat or bat-like in his appearance is certainly striking, but I feel hesitant about the combination of heavy overclothes and wings, the overemphatic gesturing (‘Now, what nasty thing could I think up next’), the saucy colour and the lumpy effect of the whole shape. Yet it was undeniably a new and original image.

In Sweden, the discussion about the use of Northern mythology in art mostly took place among a group of young litterati known as Götska förbundet. Geijer, later a professor of history, urged caution in an article published in 1818, while P.H. Ling, who had given lectures on the topic in Sällskapet för konststudium in 1814-17, was its advocate. One of his students was Bengt Erland Fogelberg, and when Götska förbundet announced a competition for subjects from Northern mythology in 1817, he participated with plaster sketches of Óðinn, Þórr and Freyr. Óðinn was shown sitting on a simple throne, his uplifted right hand resting on the spear Gungnir. But King Carl XIV Johan, who commissioned Fogelberg to execute the gods in marble, thought a sitting Óðinn not warlike enough; he wanted him standing, holding a shield in his left hand. Fogelberg obliged, but it took some time before he felt ready to do more-than-lifesize statues in marble. He had settled in Rome in 1821 and spent practically all his remaining years in Italy. The full-size version of Óðinn (13) was completed in 1830 and owes a considerable debt to statues of Mars, the Roman god of war, especially the one in the Museo Capitolino. Óðinn is shown as an older man than Mars, but posture, attributes and even parts of the attire are identical, while the face resembles a bust of Aesculapius in the Museo Nazionale. Þórr, also a royal commission, was completed fourteen years later, in 1844 (14). Here, the iconological ancestry leads to Hercules; the muscular, half-naked body, the challenging pose, the hammer Mjölnir corresponding to Hercules’ lion-skin. Despite these attributes, the overall impression is still that of a classical middle-aged athlete. In the same year, Fogelberg completed his third Northern god, the gentle Baldr, who appealed more to 19th century sensibility than Freyr, the fertility god, whose well-known phallic statuette is one of the few genuine pieces of Northern imagery that have survived from pre-Christian times (15). Baldr is the peaceful, the good, the innocent god, and in Fogelberg’s statue (16) he looks like a cross between the Emperor Augustus in the Vatican Museum and Thorvaldsen’s Christ in Vor Frue Kirke in Copenhagen (17). For many decades, these three figures were located in the entrance hall of Statens historiska museum in Stockholm. In 1988, they were moved to the new sculpture museum in the orangerie of Ulriksdal.
Neoclassicism aimed at symmetry, harmony, and what Winckelmann had called ‘noble simplicity’; hence pictures from this period tend to look static and arranged. This became obvious when Christoffer Eckersberg, maybe the most influential teacher at the Copenhagen Academy of Arts in the first half of the 19th century, took up Nordic subjects. He had studied in Paris with David and later became best known for his marines. Here is a picture from 1810, Sigyn capturing the poison that drips on her husband Loki who, Prometheus-like, is fettered to a rock (18). The diagonal of her body and the horizontal of Loki’s body cross in the centre of the picture, which is stressed additionally by the framing rocks and the light falling on it; despite the dramatic situation, there is no real tension, it is a tableau. There is a little more drama in a sketch of the same subject from 1833 by the Swede Carl Wahlbom, maybe because he catches the scene at a moment where Sigyn is emptying her cup and Loki therefore writhing under the dripping poison (19). But it is still a very consciously symmetrical arrangement, with the tree and the dangling snake providing the central vertical and the rocks the base of the triangle. Sigyn and Loki constitute parallel diagonals while the lower part of Loki’s left leg completes the triangle. The Neoclassicist aesthetics also shows in Sigyn’s ‘Greek’ profile and her being naked, too, for only the naked human form was thought to be beautiful. For comparison, Mårten Eskil Winge’s picture, 30 years later (20). Unfortunately, I do not have a slide of the original, only of the a trifle lifeless engraving appearing in a lavishly illustrated Swedish Edda translation of 1893. Here, the structural element is a succession of concentric flat curves centered on the lower right-hand corner, like layers weighing down on the Michelangelesque hapless Loki.

Back to Eckersberg in the heyday of Neoclassicism! Before an artist became a member of the Copenhagen Academy, he had to produce a so-called medlemsstykke on a given topic. The one Eckersberg got in 1817 was another dramatic event from Norse mythology, ‘Baldr’s death’ (21). Eckersberg had heard Finnur Magnússon’s lectures on the Elder Edda, so he had the requisite background. Baldr has just fallen to the ground, struck in the heart by Hœðr’s mistletoe arrow; as the protagonist of the scene, he holds the foreground and provides the base horizontal, parallelled by the horizontal of the horizon in the upper third of the picture. The central vertical divide is provided by the ash Yggdrasill, the three norns and the sitting Óðinn, filling the centre as the presiding god. The helmeted figure to the right of him is the warriorlike Pórr; Hœðr, on the left, marks his blindness by gropingly stretching out his arms. The Jewish-looking Loki, at the left margin, tries to hide a triumphant smile, while the rest of the party is caught in attitudes of consternation, indignation or sorrow. Despite all these telling gestures and expressions, the whole has a static, frozen quality.

The same could be said of the pictures of one of his students who carried the Neoclassicist tradition well into the second half of the century, Constantin
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Hansen (22). This pleasant *Empire* hall is the place where the sea giant Ågir entertained the Åsir and Loki created a scandal by bringing all their disreputable actions into the open, as told in *Lokasenna*. The painting was produced at the request of a friend, the National Liberal politician Orla Lehmann, who developed a plan for four connected pictures from Nordic mythology, of which only Aegir’s Feast was executed. Þórr (who has some resemblance with Thorvaldsen’s Jason (23), although he is rather middle-aged and wearing clothes) has just returned from a journey and threatens the malicious Loki, who may have been inspired by Thorvaldsen’s Achilles. The sitting elderly man on the extreme right is Óðinn, the standing man with the drinking horn on the extreme left is Ågir, the host. The composition and the individual attributes had been discussed at length between Hansen and Lehmann, but the total impression is tame, a theatrical arrangement in the manner of the Nazarenes. Hansen had learned Old Norse and read the Eddas and the sagas, but in one of his more insightful moments he said that however hard he tried, his gods always ended up looking like good-natured middle-class people (‘skikkelige borgerfolk’). Four years later, Hansen painted Heimdallr, the watchman and warner of the gods with his horn Gjallarhorn (24). It was said that Heimdallr could hear the grass and the wool on sheep grow; Hansen, striving to make his function clear, pictured him as a man listening so hard that he seems to have to strain his ears. European art since the High Middle Ages had been *mimetic*; in the course of the 19th century, it became more and more *literal*. Freely invented scenes were not so much a product of fantasy as an assemblage of verifiable details, human or animal figures or objects copied from models and rendered with an ambition to be historically accurate. The same was true of theatrical productions, and it is no wonder that so many 19th century historical pictures look as if they were copied from stage sets or costume parties. We can be sure that Hansen not only used a male model raising his left arm to his ear but that every detail of costume and equipment was painstakingly copied. - For a last taste of mythological Hansen, Íðunn with the apples of youth (25) painted two years later on the ceiling of the Great Hall in the new house of the Student Association in Copenhagen - levitated in mid-air, it would seem, rather than flying, and properly dressed and shoed, to mark her as a chaste Germanic, rather than a frivolous Greek, goddess.

Some of the worthies present at the inauguration of that building must have been student activists in the 1840s when Scandinavianism, the belief - despite centuries of warfare between the realms of Sweden and Denmark - in a brotherhood of Nordic nations and a desire to bring about a political union, reached its peak, fired by frequent visits between students from Copenhagen, Christiania, Uppsala and Lund made possible by steamship travel. In January 1842, students in Norway had celebrated their Nordic heritage with a feast called ‘Fädrenes Minde’, and they suggested that a similar ‘nordisk høitid’ should be held in other universities. In Copenhagen, Skandinavisk Selskab,
founded in 1843 after a Scandinavian student meeting in Uppsala, was the forum for political and cultural Scandinavianism, and three young artists were commissioned to produce, in a hurry, cartons of Nordic gods for such a celebration on 13 January 1845. Lundbye, Frølich and Skovgaard did ten individual gods plus a carton depicting three legendary heroes, Oðrvar-Oddr, Starkaðr and Holger Danske. The original are lost but we know what they looked like thanks to a memorial folder of lithographs. Most of the figures were Frølich’s while the frames were done by Lundbye. It is probably the frames with their genuine Viking-art elements - snakes and parts of gripping beasts in an ornamental arrangement - that give the pictures a measure of credibility as depictions of Old Norse mythology. One remnant of Viking-age art that was known at the time was the carvings on the early stave churches like the ones at Ærnes in Norway (26). That all the gods in this series are sitting figures goes well with the phlegmatic (‘magelig’) Danish temperament - Oehlenschläger’s ancient champions, too, in the national anthem ‘Der er et yndigt land’, mostly sit and rest. I will show four of these gods. First, Ægir who, with this industrial helmet in Frølich’s rendering, rather looks like a sturdy miner taking a rest (27). Freyr has the appearance of a tired young warrior, but a sheaf of corn is inserted to indicate his connection with fertility and harvests (28). Skovgaard’s Loki is a pensive man in fancy Renaissance gear (29). The animal that looks like the otter he kills in Reginsmál is in fact they young Fenrisúlfr. Heimdallr (30) is pictured well dressed like a night-watchman for the chilly temperatures to be expected in the sky, with a rooster as the embodiment of watchfulness on his helmet.

The Swede Nils Blommér, who was to die in Rome in his thirties, was a contemporary of the three Danes, but the Nordic gods he depicted belong to a different tradition, that of the Nazarenes. In 1846, the Swedish academy of art for the first time set a Nordic mythology topic for its annual competition, namely Heimdallr returning Brísingamen, which had been stolen by Loki, to its owner, Freyia (31). Heimdallr is shown here as a youthful warrior with naked trunk and a Greek helmet while Freyia is dressed like a Renaissance lady, attended by similarly civilised and domesticated servants. Wallander, another competitor, chose an outdoor setting, a rocky beach, where Heimdallr stands like a Byronesque theatre hero, holding up the necklace while the defeated Loki is seen lying on the ground (32). Freyja, descending on a cloud, has a long ancestry of Christian saints and angels behind her. - Blommér returned to Freyja six years later when he painted her looking for her husband, riding on the clouds in her cat-drawn carriage (33). The cats have been given a fancy harness, but what is most striking is the crowd of Raphaellesque putti, with which Blommér had fallen in love in the Villa Farnesina. On the staff she is holding there is an inscription in runes saying ‘Blommér målade detta i Rom’.

Once the 19th century had abandoned belief in a timeless Classical art, it acquired the more recent past in chronological succession. Neogothicism gave
way to Neorenaissance, and that to Neobaroque before we arrive at the eclecticism of the last couple of decades. Winge spent almost four years in Rome in the early 1860s and responded to the dramatic qualities of the Baroque art he saw around him. His ‘Þórr battling the giants’ from 1872 (34) is the most dramatic representation of that subject I know, with the aggressive he-goat and the raised hands of a defeated giant in the foreground having the effect of propelling the action on to the onlooker (34). Þórr’s body language was inspired by Michelangelo’s Christ in the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel but is sufficiently transformed to look plausible in this context.

Lithographs and illustrated books were probably the most influential media for spreading images of the Nordic past, which increasingly came to be seen as part of national history. Hugo Hamilton, a nobleman and public servant and friend of King Oscar I, published ‘Drawings from Early Scandinavian history’ in 1830-31, and some were re-used in a series ‘Drawings from Swedish history’, which started appearing in 1839. Here two samples, ‘Óðinn introducing the runes’ (35), where a rune stone serves as a blackboard for a class of eager mature-age students, and a fornaldar saga subject, ‘Ragnarr Loðbrók in the snake pit’ (36), a Laokoon fallen backwards. For a contrast, the same scene as treated by Louis Moe at the end of the century in a Danish translation of Saxo (37); here, the prototype is not Laocoon but the dead Christ in Depositions from the cross. In Denmark, Adam Fabricius’s Illustreret Danmarkshistorie for Folket started appearing in 1854 and remained popular well into the 20th century; among the illustrators were both Frolich and Hansen, whose Óðinn I show you (38), here less stiffly neoclassical, clad in something resembling Byzantine dress, with his spear Gungnir and flanked by the two wolves in different attitudes and with Hugin and Munin, one perched, one flying. As the god is shown in profile, the embarrassing missing eye does not surface.

Nordiska museet in Stockholm was opened in 1873, though its present monumental building was not completed until 1907. Djurgårdsbron, the bridge leading to the site, came to be decorated with four Nordic gods, done by Rolf Adlersparre in the 1880s. His Þórr (39) is a scantily clad athlete (in boots, though) with a hammer for identification. His Freyja (40) is an elegant society lady in evening dress; I am not sure where in mythology the bird on her hand belongs. His Heimdallr (41) is recognisable by his horn; he is a tough weather-beaten soldier type with a helmet reminiscent of Hermes’ winged cap. The nobleman Adlersparre later gave up art and made a career in business.

The 1890s saw a number of illustrated editions of translations, with Sander’s Edda, to which prominent artists were commissioned to contribute, as the most ambitious; I will show a few more examples from it. Georg von Rosen, one of the leading realist painters of his day, tried to invest Óðinn with the demonic, enigmatic quality of a god who loves disguises and assumed personalities (42). He shows him en face but gets around the one-eye quandary by pulling the hood so far down over his face that only one eye is clearly
visible. *Harbarðsljóð* was illustrated with a print made from Winge’s painting of Þórr and his companions on the way to Útgarða-Loki (43). Old Norse sources are not explicit about the technology of Ásgardr, and Winge, in his desire to make Þórr’s chariot look archaic, has given it a billy-cart appearance; but it is possible that the etching does not do justice to the original, the location of which is unknown. Anders Zorn, today still the most popular Swedish artist of that generation apart from Carl Larsson, did a ‘Brynhildr and Guðrún’ to illustrate *Grípisspa* (44). He was famous for his pictures of sturdy young Dalecarlia women enjoying the water and the sun; and this mythological scene is simply another arrangement of bathing nudes. To document the female gaze, Jenny Nyström, now mostly remembered for her cute Christmas scenes and illustrations for children’s books, did the three valkyries or swan maidens from *Völundarkviða* (45). The arrangement owes something to the classical Three Graces, the landscape is Romantic. These are indeed very human young women, with no trace of the supernatural except for the shed swan skins in a corner of the picture. The same is true of her illustration of *Helreið Brynhildar* (46): a strangely bourgeois funeral procession, despite the fantasy archaism of the carriage wheels, while the fur-clad giant woman emerging from the cave looks like a somewhat distracted young urban lady fresh from an aerobics class. Her ‘Óðinn and Saga’, happily drinking from golden cups as described in *Grímnismál*, are fully clad (47). Spear, ravens and wolf serve as identification tags; Óðinn here sports the cowhorn helmet which has become the hallmark of Vikings in comics and has his breeches tied to his calves - definitely, we are now a long way from Classical models. The profile view again takes care of the lost second eye.

Goethe once said that the most remarkable thing about Northern mythology was its humorous quality. One of the few Scandinavian artists who had an eye for the humorous potential of these tales was Lorenz Frolich, who during most of the century proved not only the most prolific, but also the most original illustrator of Norse mythology. Examples can be found in Karl Gjellerup’s Danish translation of the *Edda* published in 1895. Here are Loki and Þórr dressed up as a bride on the way to the giant Þrymr in order to recover the hammer Mjölnir (48). Frolich enters well into the spirit of this farcical fancy-dress deception. The frame, as in the Nordisk Højtid cartons, serves to remove the figures from present-day reality; Frolich, however, makes here no conscious attempt to give it an ‘Old Norse’ character. In the somewhat burlesque *Hárbarðsljóð*, Óðinn, taking the shape of an old ferryman, refuses to ferry Þórr across the water and instead teases and insults him in every possible way (49). Frolich catches well the helplessness of the muscleman in the background and the obscene arrogance of Óðinn in a playful mood, and here he attempted to give the frame a more genuinely Old Norse character.

In his 1988 Tegnér lecture Bo Grandien, Professor of Fine Art at the University of Stockholm, said that, generally speaking, the attempts to bring to
life the remote Northern past in fine art were one long story of failure or, as he put it more expressively, ‘en enda lång lidandets historia’. The reason may well be what the great Danish Latinist Johan Nicolai Madvig mentioned in 1844 when the art politician Niels Laurits Høyen postulated a national art based on the study of Danish folklore and Old Norse mythology and literature. Greek art, he said in effect, was what it was because Greek mythology and religion were a living reality when and where Greek art was created, and it had remained at least a visible reality ever since, being adapted for different needs and ends. Northern mythology was imageless, and it could only take the shape individuals could give it with the power of their imagination. In the 1890s, when a succession of secessions had broken down the stranglehold of the academies and the literalness they taught, individual artists dared to use their fantasy creatively, as documented by my last few slides, the illustrations for a Norwegian Heimskringla translation by Egedius (50), Werenskjold (51) and Munthe (52), or those by Albert Edelfelt for Runeberg’s Norse epic Kung Fjalar (53), or drawings such as ‘Óðinn’s arrival in Sweden’ by Ernst Josephson (54), then locked away in a mental institution but later hailed as a pioneer of modern art.

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Christoffer Eckersberg (DK, 1783-1853): Loke og Sigyn, 1810; Balders Død, 1817.


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