





## Creating Holy People and Places on the Periphery



Dissertation from the Department of Historical Studies

# Creating Holy People and Places on the Periphery

A Study of the Emergence of Cults of Native Saints in the  
Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala from the Eleventh  
to the Thirteenth Centuries

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med en svensk sammanfattning



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## Abstract

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Holy people have been venerated in various forms by all religions and ideologies throughout history. Christianity is no exception with the development of the cults of saints beginning shortly after its formation. By the time Christianity reached Scandinavia, saints' cults had been fully integrated into the Roman administrative structure. The new religion brought with it institutions, as well as religious practices.

This thesis examines the cults of native saints that arose in Scandinavia during the Christianization of the region. It compares the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, established in 1103, and the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, established in 1164. The focus on these two provinces is partly based on their, at times, unequal relationship. The study aims to explain the underlying reasons for the establishment of new cults of saints in connection with the development of an ecclesiastical organization.

The primary source material is comprised of liturgical manuscripts and fragments, iconography and *diploma*. Due to the relative lack of early medieval sources from Scandinavia, the surviving parchment fragments provide an especially valuable resource for research into Scandinavian medieval society. They can reveal the importance of the cults of saints for those who promoted them.

The first part of this study presents the native saints whose cults are believed to have been established before the year 1300 and places them in categories developed in previous research. The analysis of the geographical spread of cults of native saints in the Lund and Uppsala provinces reveals that the type of saint has no bearing on the spread of the cult.

The second part examines and compares the rise of cults of native saints and their place in the early liturgy in each bishopric in the two provinces. The study concludes that the right conditions and permanent central ecclesiastical institutions were required before new cults could be created, especially on an official level with a feast day and liturgy. Although all cults played a key role in conveying ideology and creating a permanent holy landscape on the Christian periphery, their later use in the legitimization of ecclesiastical and secular institutions differed in the two provinces.

*Keywords:* cults of saints, native saints, hagiography, liturgy, parchment fragments, conversion, Christianization, *loca sanctorum*, Middle Ages, Scandinavia, Micro-Christendom, unilocal, multilocal





## Preface and acknowledgements

*“But – why saints?”*

One of the first questions that is often asked when someone finds out you’re writing a dissertation is, “What’s your topic?” In my case, the second question is nearly always a confused, “Why saints?” Surprisingly enough, the answer has nothing to do with the fact that saints, with all their eccentricities, have always been a part of my life.

When I decided to continue my studies at the post-graduate level, I was interested in studying the Viking Age and applied to the Medieval Studies MA programme at the University of York (UK) with that in mind. But, instead of warriors and settlers, I became interested in societal change and the Christianization.

My scholarly interest in the medieval cult of saints itself was also awoken at York while studying for Catherine Cubitt. Her module focussed on Anglo-Saxon and Irish saints, which proved fascinating. And, yet, the relative dearth of information in English on Scandinavian saints – or medieval topics in general for that matter – sparked my curiosity and, after learning Swedish, I headed down the rabbit hole. That initial interest eventually led me to apply for a doctoral programme in Gothenburg, where it was rumoured that a vibrant community of medievalists had congregated. And so began my doctoral odyssey.

This journey would not have been possible without the support of colleagues, advisors, family and friends. During my time as a doctoral candidate, I have also been fortunate enough to have attended many small conferences on saints and hagiography which have helped me build my own networks and create valuable contacts. The opportunity I have had to be the chair of doctoral student unions and act as a doctoral representative in

committees on all levels at the university – from central to departmental – might have extended my time as a PhD-candidate, but it has also given me an invaluable perspective into the university as an organization in particular and academic life in general.

My advisors on this project have always been generous with their time and assistance, especially in the last few hectic months before I submitted the final manuscript. Thomas Lindkvist, Anders Fröjmark and Auður Magnusdóttir, thank you for all of your advice and patience in waiting for The Final Product. I am eternally grateful.

The amount of archival research that has gone into this dissertation would not have been possible without the assistance of a number of scholars. Those who have been particularly invaluable include Gunilla Björkvall and Jan Brunius at *Riksarkivet* in Stockholm, and Michael Gelting at *Rigsarkivet* and Erik Petersen at *Det Kongelige Bibliotek* in Copenhagen. Thank you for your patience and willingness to guide an enthusiastic new researcher.

A big thank you to all of the senior scholars and doctoral candidates at the Department of History and, subsequently, the Department of Historical Studies. My fellow “doktorander” can always be counted on for countless, unpretentious conversations about life, history and the universe, as well as support, which make coming into work something to look forward to.

When I first started at the department, Helene Castenbrandt and Anna Þorgrímsdóttir were especially welcoming and supportive for which I am infinitely grateful. I would also especially like to acknowledge my roommates through the years – Erika Harlitz Kern, Martin Dackling, Sari Nauman and Johannes Daun – who have always been a wonderful source of support and comradery, while reading texts and discussing issues big and small.

The many networks that I have made over the years have enriched my research and made it possible to explore new ideas. These scholars include all of the medievalists and hagiography researchers that I know far and wide, especially Christian Krötzel, Christian Oertel, Anna Minara Ciardi, Marika Räsänen, Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Svend Clausen, Margaret Cormack and many others. The doctoral students in the PREMODs network have also provided a forum for important discussion and support. Thank you!

For the past eight years, I have been a long-distance commuter to Gothenburg from south-western Skåne. For the past three years, this would not have been possible without the generosity of several friends and colleagues

who have let me couch-surf and provided me with temporary homes away from home. My sincerest thanks to Helene Castenbrandt and Rikard Arnell, Susanne Dodillet and Lars, Sari Nauman and Daniel Arvidsson and Martin Dackling! A big thank you also to my in-laws, Gullwi and Carl-Eric Nilsson, for helping to make a long-distance commuting parent's life possible. You've been more than generous with your time by taking care of your grandchildren when things get hectic, especially in the last few months.

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In addition to my advisors, the following people have all read and commented on the final draft: Henric Bagerius, Xanthe Boork, Shannon Lewis-Simpson, Erika Harlitz Kern, Rich Potter and Nicola Toop. Helene Castenbrandt, Anna Minara Ciardi and, especially, Erika Harlitz Kern were of infinite help in proofreading the Swedish summary. Without all of your generous assistance, this book would never have been finished, thank you! All errors or inconsistencies remain, of course, my own.

Niclas Nilsson helped draw the maps in this dissertation. Aaron Ellis kindly gave his permission to use his photograph of Lund Cathedral on the cover. Hardy Marcks von Württemberg generously agreed to allow the use of his photograph of Gamla Uppsala Church on the cover. Unless otherwise indicated, all other photographs were taken by myself.

The following foundations have generously contributed to and enabled essential archival work, invaluable conference trips and the final writing-up year: *Filosofiska fakulteternas gemensamma donationsnämnd*, *Helge Ax:son Johnsons stiftelse*, *Johan och Jakob Söderbergs stiftelse*, *Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien*, *Kungl och Hvitfeldtska Stiftelsen*, *Kungliga Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhället i Göteborg*, *Per Lindekrantz' fond*, *Letterstedtska föreningen* and *Lundgrenska stiftelserna*. Printing was made possible by a grant from *Gunvor and Josef Anérs stiftelse*.

This dissertation is dedicated partly to my grandparents, who were there for the start of my journey but are not here at the finish line, and especially Grandpa Catton. Grandpa C. – a great believer in Education – said that he would try to stay alive until I finished, but he couldn't promise anything. I'm sorry I took so long, Grandpa.

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This odyssey is now over. I'm looking forward to the next one.

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# Chapter One

## Purpose, Sources and Method

### Introduction

Here lies Martin the bishop, of holy memory, whose soul is in the hand of God; but he is fully here, present and made plain in miracles of every kind.

*[Hic conditus est sanctae memoriae Martinus episcopus  
Cuius anima in manu Dei est, sed hic totus est  
Praesens manifestus omni gratia virtutum.]*<sup>1</sup>

When the aisle between the tower and the church in Skövde was built, some asked why this space was needed. She [Elin] answered, God will give you a saint whose body and relics can be laid here in an honourable manner. She said this about herself, although she was speaking about someone else. After her violent death, her venerable body was buried in that space.

*[Ceterum, cum porticus illa, que est inter turrim et ecclesiam Sköwde, fabricaretur, quibusdam sciscitantibus ad quid intersticium illud fieret, ita respondit: Dabit vobis Deus aliquem sanctum, cuius corpus et reliquie poterunt hic decenter collocari. Quod de se tamquam de alio dixisse perpenditur, quia in eodem loco post passionem suam eius venerabile corpus situm est.]*<sup>2</sup>

The eleventh to the thirteenth centuries were a time of establishment for the medieval Church in Scandinavia. The Church sought to encompass all aspects of society and put firm roots down in the region. The formation

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<sup>1</sup> E. Le Blant, *Les inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1856), 1:240, in Brown 1982: 4.

<sup>2</sup> Second lesson from Elin of Skövde's *officium* from the edition found in: Pernler 2007: 199, 223.

of ecclesiastical administration needed support from the people living in the area. One way the acceptance of new beliefs was both gained and demonstrated was through the promotion of cults of new, local saints.

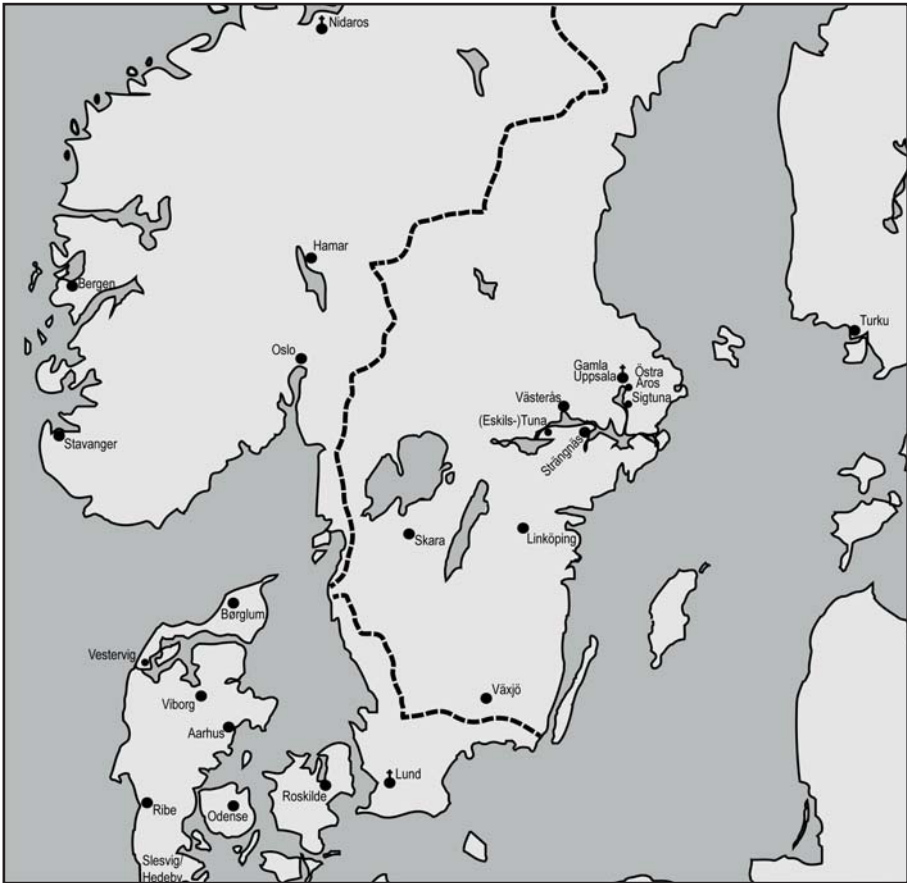
The medieval cult of saints lies at the core of the following research project. In order to achieve a better understanding of this phenomenon and its effects, a specific geographical region, Scandinavia, has been studied (fig.1). The impact of these cults of saints in the North is determined by what marks they left behind, while a complete interpretation is limited by what cultic remnants survived the Reformation and intervening centuries.

This dissertation examines aspects of the new cults of saints that developed in Scandinavia during the final stages of the Christianization of the region from the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century. It considers the connections between the establishment of new cults and the formation of an ecclesiastical organization and administration in the region as seen through the bishoprics. The study focuses on and compares the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, roughly the area of medieval Denmark, and the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, approximately the area of medieval Sweden. The comparison of these provinces has been chosen as they were closely connected, albeit unequally, on an administrative level during the medieval period via Lund's primacy.

The present study focuses on the cults of native saints since the promotion of local individuals in recently converted areas that are undergoing Christianization demonstrates an alignment with the new religion. The promotion of these cults of saints is also an attempt to use new forms of legitimizing authority that exist within the new religion's traditions and structure. The adoption and use of the imported model of local sainthood influenced the area's "cultural assimilation" into the general Christian community. It also connected the "periphery" to an older "centre", which was chronological and ideological rather than purely geographical. This integration was probably a conscious one on the part of local historiographers.<sup>3</sup> The study's chronology has been set to span the period from the conversion, through the Christianization of Scandinavian society and until a Christian society can be said to have been firmly established in the entire region in the late-thirteenth century.

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Mortensen 2006a: 13-15. Cf. Geary 2006: 328-329.



**Figure 1.** *Scandinavian Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund, Nidaros (Iceland not shown) and Uppsala*

## **Background**

Although the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund was not officially formed until 1103 (with a short break in the 1130s) and the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala until 1164, it is important to investigate the emergence of saints' cults before and after these dates in order to determine their relationship to the formation of the Church as an institution in Scandinavia. The following presents a historical background to the study. Firstly, it provides a short overview of the history of the cults of saints in Western Christianity of which the cults of the new saints in Scandinavia were a part. Secondly, the process of conversion and the initial stages of the Christianization in Scandinavia are presented.

### *The rise of the cult of saints in medieval Western Europe*

Firstly, it is important to consider what the word “saint” actually means. Who were these people that enjoyed the veneration of sometimes thousands? The answer to this question can be complex and varies depending on the time period under consideration.

In general, a saint is someone who is deceased and has been recognized for a life of piety and good works. According to the early Christian theological definition, everyone who entered heaven was a saint; however, Christians later only venerated a chosen few as actual saints.<sup>4</sup> Each saint had a feast day, usually the day of death which was also considered to be the day on which a saint was born in heaven. A person became a saint when he or she was accepted by society as such and was promoted by a religious authority figure within the Christian community, such as a bishop.

Although Church officials were at first opposed to the cults of saints and veneration of earthly relics, they eventually accepted the necessity of the practice due to its importance to the general congregation and used it for their own advantage. The Edict of Milan (313) signed by the emperors Constantine and Licinius, along with other official Roman acknowledgements of Christianity, eventually led to the full acceptance of the public cult of saints and encouraged its growth. In order to dispel any doubts as to the vital importance of the cult of saints, a council of bishops met around the year 340 for a synod in the city of Gangra where they decreed excommunication for “any Christian who despised relics”.<sup>5</sup>

By the time Christianity was an accepted religion of the Roman Empire, opportunities for martyrdom were becoming a scarce commodity; therefore, two new types of saints arose, the “confessor” and “doctor”, whose deaths were not violent but whose lives were exemplary according to the tenants of the Christian faith and who preached or were educated in the faith. By the beginning of the seventh century, the burial places of the saints had become the centres of religious life for the local populaces.<sup>6</sup>

The first martyr was St Stephen (first century AD) whose *vita* can be found in the Biblical *Acts of the Apostles* (New Testament) and whose example is said

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<sup>4</sup> Head 1999b.

<sup>5</sup> Head 1999a. It has also been noted that this synod was of limited importance, except in terms of the cult of saints.

<sup>6</sup> Brown 1982: 3-4, Head 1999a, Vauchez 1997: 14-15.

to have inspired future martyrs. The earliest extant Christian hagiographical text is the *Martyrdom of St Polycarp*, also known as *The Letter of the Smyrnaeans*. Polycarp (c. 69- c. 155) was a bishop of Smyrna in Asia Minor who was martyred. His early *vita* contains a description of the preservation of his body as a relic in a shrine, as well as of the celebration of the day of his death.<sup>7</sup> Polycarp's followers were involved in building the foundations of a cult that they hoped would prove lasting. Finally, the earliest *vita* about St Martin from the fourth century was written by Sulpicius Severus became a model, together with Biblical stories, for the writing of the *vitae* of future saints, especially in Anglo-Saxon hagiography.

The act of recording an individual's martyrdom and a martyr's feast day represent the beginnings of the liturgical cult of saints which continued to flourish and develop throughout the medieval period. The production of a liturgy was an important official step in the creation and promotion of saints throughout Western Christendom.

During these developments in liturgical cults, Christendom had still not arrived in Scandinavia. Scandinavians had, however, had contact with Christian lands and people, even missionaries, from an early date, for instance, around the year 800, when the first Viking voyages took place. They had, therefore, been exposed to ideas and influences from these Christian countries even before any official conversion had taken place.

During the early medieval period in the rest of Europe, new types of saints arose that can be seen as characteristic for the period. The first of these are known as the "holy rulers". This type of saint first emerged in the sixth or seventh century, for example with the cults of Anglo-Saxon martyrs such as St Oswald, St Edwin and St Æthelthryth. By the tenth century, the hagiographic *topoi* associated with the ideal Christian ruler was complete, as seen in legends written for St Edmund in England and for St Wenceslas in Bohemia. The identifying characteristics included being a leader who ruled unwillingly, was merciful and compassionate, supported the Church that had recently established itself in the ruler's region, was often a missionary and died a martyr's death for his new faith. The cults of holy rulers surfaced first in north-west, north and east Europe, which is often referred to as the periphery of Christendom during the early Middle Ages.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Head 1999a, Noble and Head 1995: xix-xx. See also, Lightfoot 2000.

<sup>8</sup> Klaniczay 2002: 62-63, 80ff.

Within this type, two models of royal sainthood have been identified. The first model involves a king who gave up his throne as penitence or because he was afraid for his life. This king would later die as a pilgrim or a monk. The second model describes a king who died a violent death at the hands of rebellious subjects or opponents.<sup>9</sup> There are several Scandinavian saints who fit into this group of holy rulers, whose cults emerged in the period 1000-1300. These saints are Knud the Holy of Denmark, Erik the Holy of Sweden, Erik Plovpenning and Olav the Holy of Norway.

The second of the new early medieval types of saints can be classified as “monastic saints”, such as St Benedict (d. 547).<sup>10</sup> The predecessors to this type of saint were hermits from Roman and Late Antiquity. Within this group were saints who were directly associated with the official Christian Church, in particular the bishoprics. For example, St Benedict, who was himself papally canonized, wrote a Rule for his order of monks at the beginning of the sixth century.<sup>11</sup> The contents of the Rule created an idealistic image of how the perfect Christian should live and be. With the formalization of monastic life many monks were appointed bishop and a life lived in celibacy became more important for an official canonization. Moreover, these holy monks were usually charismatic and were believed to have performed miracles during their lifetimes.

From the eleventh to the sixteenth century in Western Europe, during which time Scandinavia became fully Christianized, different types of saints continued to develop and emerge.<sup>12</sup> From the beginning until the middle of this period, the first cults of Scandinavian saints surfaced.

The most important new type of saint during this period was the “reformer and ascetic saint”. During the thirteenth century, new religious orders were founded, for example the mendicant orders: Franciscans and Dominicans. Poverty was the principle form of holiness for the friars. In addition to poverty, they also strove to be pious and generous towards everyone, as St Francis had been.<sup>13</sup> Thus, living a holy, ascetic life became more important for official canonization than to have charisma or perform

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<sup>9</sup> Klaniczay 2002: 79.

<sup>10</sup> Feast days: July 11 and March 21 (Benedictine Order)

<sup>11</sup> Notes from Catherine Cubitt’s “Saints and Sanctity” seminar – no. 7, March 2, 2000. Noble and Head 1995: xxix.

<sup>12</sup> See also Vauchez 1997, Weinstein and Bell 1982.

<sup>13</sup> Klaniczay 2002: 195-196.



miracles during one's life. This latter point presents quite a change in the concept of a saint. A saint's power to perform *posthumous* miracles now became more important. Moreover, the majority of the saints who had belonged to a mendicant order were reformers.

Another type of saint that became more popular during this period had originally been common in the early days of the Church. Women once again enjoyed the privilege of canonization in greater numbers than previously, especially during the thirteenth century with the appearance of the mendicant orders. Ascetic female saints increased in numbers during this period partly on account of mendicant teachings.

Nuns and female saints engaged in rituals of self-abasement usually connected to the ascetic life, which included whipping oneself, extreme fasting, praying under extreme conditions, among other penances. The ability to withstand such abasement and display piety was key in the canonization of these holy ladies. Some examples of these saints are Mary of Oignies, Christina *Mirabilis* ("the Astonishing") of Saint-Trond, Clare of Assisi and Bona of Pisa.<sup>14</sup> The female saints in this dissertation, Elin of Skövde, Margarete of Roskilde and Magnhild of Fulltofta, although all suffered and were martyrs, differ as they were not directly connected to the ascetic or cloistered life.

Finally, patron saints also became popular during the later Middle Ages. These saints were assumed to grant special favours or protection of specific people or groups, including monasteries.

### *Cultic control*

During the early Middle Ages, the control of the cults of saints usually lay in the hands of bishops or abbots. These men controlled the naming of saints and encouraged a cult if they deemed it worthy. It was essential to convince them that a cult was necessary and that the candidate in question was worthy of being classified as a saint. However, there was no clear-cut application process involved in canonization in this period.

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<sup>14</sup> Mary of Oignies (d. 1213), June 23; Christina of Saint-Trond (d. c. 1224), July 24 – also known as Christina *Mirabilis*; Clare of Assisi (d. 1253), August 11 or 12, founder of the Poor Clares and disciple of St Francis of Assisi; Bona of Pisa (d. 1207), May 29. Klaniczay 2002: 274, Head 1999c, Head 2004: 410,414.

Several legislative documents and decrees of synods mention the cult of saints in an attempt to establish the fact that the clergy should have control of religious practices, including the veneration of saints.<sup>15</sup> These documents include Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis* (789), which also promoted the education of the clergy. Moreover, in 794, the bishops who attended the *Synodus Franconofurtensis* maintained that only saints that had been identified as such through their martyrdom or exemplary life should be venerated. Furthermore, about twenty years later, *Concilium Moguntinense* (Concilium of Mainz, 813) asserted that any new saints were to first be given approval by the prince or a synod of bishops before they were permitted to be venerated by the general populace. As might be expected these measures led to a reduction of the saints officially venerated in most areas.<sup>16</sup> Relatively few new saints came to be recognized after these legislations other than in the newly converted areas.

During the early medieval period, popes began their attempt to take over the control of the cult of saints. The first serious attempts to assert papal control of canonization began first in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although the first formal canonization, that of Ulric (Udalric) of Augsburg by Pope John XV, occurred in Rome in 993.<sup>17</sup> As the symbolic descendants of St Peter, recognized as the first head of the Roman Church, the popes had always upheld that they alone had the supreme right to decide in important ecclesiastical matters. This assertion was later extended to include the claim that they had more authority than bishops or priests in the control of the cult of saints.

The first popes involved in the canonization of Scandinavian saints were Urban II (1088-1099) and Paschal II (1099-1118). The latter canonized the Danish king, Knud the Holy, in about the year 1100.<sup>18</sup> Although early indications of Olav the Holy of Norway's cult appeared with a *translatio* by Bishop Grimkell in about 1031, there is no indication of any papal interest in this particular cult until the end of the eleventh century. The first serious steps towards papal control of the cult of saints were taken in the mid-twelfth century during the pontificate of Pope Alexander III (1159-81). He actively

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<sup>15</sup> Vauchez 1997: 19-20.

<sup>16</sup> Noble and Head 1995: xxxvii.

<sup>17</sup> Watkins OSB 2002: 574.

<sup>18</sup> Krötzel 2001: 207, Vauchez 1997: 26.

encouraged canonization cases to be sent to the papacy for examination and claimed that only the pope had the right to canonize an individual. The latter he expressed in a letter to the Swedish king in the mid-twelfth century. Using Alexander III's letter as support, Gregory IX wrote a canonical decree in 1234 that declared papal canonization as the only legitimate and legal saint-making process.<sup>19</sup>

### *Possible functions of the cult of saints until the Reformation*

From their first appearance until the Reformation, it appears that the function of the cults of saints differed slightly whilst the phenomenon developed and expanded. During the initial development period, which includes Late Antiquity, the cult of saints was one of the principal ways for the young Christian community to create a feeling of identity and "historical consciousness".<sup>20</sup>

During especially the early Middle Ages, saints could be used to strengthen and support a royal dynasty's claims to be from a noble line of rulers that were more worthy of the throne and to rule the land than their opponents. The cult of saints could also be used as a way to reward clerics for their support of the papacy or in order to create an example for a religious order. With regard to the laity, the cult of saints continued to function as a way of teaching the faithful how they were to act and made clear who they should strive to emulate. As Bagge states, with reference to saints Olav the Holy, Hallvard and Sunniva and their role in the Christianization of Norway, "The existence of local saints is likely to have been an important factor in strengthening the position of Christianity in the population."<sup>21</sup>

During the later medieval period, ascetics and reformers functioned as role-models for Christians, especially those who resided in religious houses. In addition, the papacy used its power to create saints in order to reward its supporters. These were often those who supported the papacy in its struggle against the Holy Roman Emperor. During this particular period, the cult of saints can be said to have functioned as a reward system – both for the person who was made a saint (or a religious order) because of his or her holy way of living and for those who supported the pope or Roman Church politically.

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<sup>19</sup> Vauchez 1997: 25-26, 30-31, Fröjmark 1992: 13-14, Krötzel 2001: 207.

<sup>20</sup> Noble and Head 1995: xxi.

<sup>21</sup> See Bagge and Nordeide 2007: 138.

The cult of saints was an important and central part of medieval life and belief. Despite the fact that the function of these cults can be said to have differed from the late antique identity creation, to the early medieval endorsement of a royal dynasty or the papacy, to the later medieval reward system, saints always served a didactic purpose – acting as role models for Christians – and were a way of making the Church more appealing to the average believer, in part through the idea of multiple holy, or godly, people present on Earth. It is clear that cults of saints had a legitimization function for new and old institutions in addition to their role in religious devotion.

### **The conversion and early Christianization in Scandinavia**

It was with the conversion and Christianization that the right conditions were created for enabling cults of new saints in Scandinavia, despite the fact that the peoples of the north had contact with the Christianized people to the south long before there is any conclusive evidence that the area was subject to a serious mission.<sup>22</sup> It is important to first note that the term “conversion” used in this dissertation indicates the initial introduction and adaptation to Christian beliefs, while “Christianization” refers to the ongoing influence of Christianity on the institutions and mindset of converts, as well as the creation of administrative institutions.<sup>23</sup>

Using Adam of Bremen’s *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* (GH) and archaeological finds as evidence, researchers have concluded that a Christian community was active at Birka in north-east Sweden in the ninth century.<sup>24</sup> Other archaeological finds point to early Christians living in Västergötland and on Gotland. The early Christian cemeteries from the ninth century and the stone church from the early-eleventh century near Varnhem, and the eleventh-century cemetery in Fröjel on Gotland provide evidence for Christians living in various locations not found in the literary sources.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> See, among others, Berend 2007: 11, Sawyer 1987: 68, Abrams 1996, Abrams 1998, Antonsson 2010.

<sup>23</sup> “Level 3” in Berend’s study. Gräslund 1996: 37-38, Birkeli 1973: 14. In addition, Peter Foote indicated, regarding Scandinavian and in specific Icelandic studies, that there is a need for historians to explore what he calls “the conversion period” and to stop focusing on the “conversion moment”. Foote 1993: 137-139. See also Berend 2007: 11, 19ff., Sawyer 1987: 68, Abrams 1996, Abrams 1998, Antonsson 2010.

<sup>24</sup> Ellis 2000: 8-10, 12-13, 16.

<sup>25</sup>. [http://www.vastarvet.se/kulturvast\\_templates/Kultur\\_ArticlePage.aspx?id=6012](http://www.vastarvet.se/kulturvast_templates/Kultur_ArticlePage.aspx?id=6012) Vretemark 2009, Carlsson 1999.

Official missions from England and the continent in the ninth century have also been identified as the start of the conversion period in Svealand. As reported in the *GH* and Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii (VA)*, Ansgar supposedly undertook two missions to the town of Birka in about 830 and 852 AD.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, from the inscriptions on rune-stones, it can be seen that Christianity was becoming widespread, at least in Uppland, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with references to baptism, God's Mother (Mary) and pilgrimages.<sup>27</sup>

Other scholars focus on the conversions of rulers which have been recorded in literary sources, such as the baptism of the Danish kings Harald Klak in 852 or Harald Bluetooth in about 958. The conversions of Denmark and Norway are usually discussed in relation to the official conversion of various rulers and their relationship with other Christian rulers. For instance, Olav Tryggvason has also been credited with contributing to the conversion of Norway, although his name-sake, Olav (the Holy) Haraldsson seemed to have had more success. The conversion of Norway was reportedly violent, unlike the Danish one. The Danish connections to England, including the empire of Knud the Great in the early-eleventh century, and the proximity to the continent influenced their adoption of the new religion.<sup>28</sup>

Current research indicates that the various missions sent to Scandinavia originated in Germany and England. Missionaries were sent from these areas in order to convert the Danes and Swedes. Usually their work depended upon the support of a king or local chieftain. The main source of evidence for the missionaries from Germany is found in Rimbert's *VA* and

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<sup>26</sup> See, among others, Sawyer and Sawyer 1993, Sawyer 1987, Wood 1987, Holmqvist 1975, Fletcher 1997, Brown 1997, Abrams 1994, Abrams 1995, Abrams 1996, Abrams 1998, Foote and Wilson 1980, Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 148, Blomkvist et al. 2007: 173, 176-179, 182-183. The first missions to Sweden also have connections to Carolingian trade advances, which later failed, while the later missions from Hamburg-Bremen sent by Adalbert were late and not successful.

<sup>27</sup> Many of the rune stones seem to mention death-bed conversions, indicating influence by a family member, perhaps a wife or mother, who was already Christian. This type of conversion could simply be a method of ensuring a good afterlife. Ellis 2000, Gräslund 1991, Gräslund 1994, Gräslund 1992.

<sup>28</sup> Gelting 2007: 80. A number of hypothetical missionary saints' cults are possible, for instance Harald Bluetooth by whose grave miracles apparently took place (according to Adam's *GH*), but no other sources support a cult for Harald similar to that which Olav the Holy Haraldsson enjoyed. Cf. Antonsson 2010: 30f.

Adam of Bremen's *GH*, both composed in the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen. This archbishopric was the starting point for many missions to the Scandinavian lands.<sup>29</sup> Evidence of these missionaries can be seen in which saints are found in church Calendars from the end of the medieval period.

Indications of English missions are not as easy to find in the extant written sources. Although references to English missionaries exist in the liturgy of saints, no definitive descriptive work, comparable to the *VA* or *GH*, has survived if it indeed ever was written. Besides the liturgical tradition, influence from England is evident in crosses inscribed on rune stones, architecture and Christian terminology. In addition, several Swedish saints were ascribed an English background as missionary bishops from England. They include Sigfrid of Våxjö, Eskil of Södermanland, Henry of Turku and David of Munktorp. These saints' claim to an English connection cannot, however, be interpreted as fact since the events described in their legends cannot be corroborated in any other source, while complete versions only exist in late medieval manuscripts. Therefore, it is not possible to say with certainty the extent of the missions from England and whether or not they were officially sanctioned. Nevertheless, it is apparent that there was some sort of missionary effort on the part of the Anglo-Saxon Church as political contacts between Norway, Denmark and England were close, especially during the reign of Knud the Great and the Danelaw, and these kingdoms would have provided a point of entry to Sweden.<sup>30</sup>

The dates of the conversion period in Scandinavia vary slightly from kingdom to kingdom. In Denmark's case, the conversion period can be seen to have begun in the eighth century with St Willibrord's mission to the Danes. In the ninth century, missions to convert the Danes were sent by Louis the Pious (Charlemagne's son), which resulted in the aforementioned Danish king, Harald Klak, being baptized. According to Adam of Bremen's *GH* and Rimbert's *VA*, the missions to Denmark abated

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<sup>29</sup> Rimbert 1961, Rimbert 1921, Adam of Bremen 1959, Adam of Bremen 1961. For the ninth-century missions from Germany see, among others, Wood 1987. For evidence of missions from England see, among others, Sanmark 2004: 75ff., Gräslund 1996: 41, Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 148-150. For a critical view of the reliability of these sources and an alternative interpretation for the "Temple" in Uppsala, see Janson 2000, Janson 2009.

<sup>30</sup> Sanmark 2004: 75. For English and French influence in churches and the liturgy in Denmark, see Gelting 2007: 108-109. For a discussion of the possibility of a counteraction to a strongly felt German influence through the promotion of an Anglo-Irish missionary ideal, see Fröjmark 1996a: 392-394, 397-400.

following Ansgar's death in the mid-ninth century, yet some reports claim that Hamburg-Bremen created the first Danish bishoprics in about 948. This structural organization, albeit superficial, was imposed on the region before the conversion in about 963 of Harald Bluetooth, who claimed to have made all of the Danes Christian. The bishops assigned to these dioceses probably never actually resided in Denmark, however. Their presence in Denmark suggests that the German missions might have been part of the tense political situation between the Danish kingdom and the German Empire which often involved hostilities. Thus, the Danish kings accepted missionaries in order to improve relations with or because they were forced to by the German emperor.<sup>31</sup>

The actual establishment of physical sees seems to have begun in the early eleventh century during the reign of King Knud the Great; therefore, the period of conversion was well over and the Christianization of the upper levels of Danish society was underway. By this date, the Danish king endeavoured to demonstrate piety and act as a continental ruler by building cathedrals and giving gifts to various churches.<sup>32</sup>

One such attempt took place at the beginning of the eleventh century, during the reign of Knud the Great and was part of an attempt to create an independent ecclesiastical province, the bishoprics in Scandinavian felt the need to distance themselves from German (Hamburg-Bremen) influence. Four bishoprics were established in Denmark on Jylland, Fyn, Sjælland and in Skåne, whose bishops were consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>33</sup>

With regard to Norway, Olav Tryggvason was supposedly responsible for the conversion to Christianity of the Norwegian kingdom in the 990s. However, some sources indicate that an earlier Norwegian king, Harald Finehair or Fairhair, endorsed Christianity by sending his son to be fostered at the court of the English king Athelstan. This tenth century event, although

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<sup>31</sup> Gelting 2007: 80-87.

<sup>32</sup> Fletcher 1997: 403-406, 408, Gelting 2004b: 169-170, Gelting 2007: 77, 79, 83-84, Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 147, 151. This negative view on the part of Hamburg-Bremen of Christianity in Scandinavia has also been identified as a construction in order to promote Hamburg-Bremen's primacy in the region. Forged letters and Rimbert's *VIA* mirror Adam's view in the *GH* of the absence of Christians and a Christian community in the north. Janson concludes that this situation was not, in fact, true. See, Janson 2009: 67ff.

<sup>33</sup> Gelting 2007: 83.



perhaps political or diplomatic in purpose, had later repercussions when Håkan succeeded his father as he encouraged Christianity in Norway, even inviting English missionaries to preach. The succeeding kings were also Christian, and there is mention in an eleventh-century text from Glastonbury of a bishop of Norway from the tenth century, possibly “*Sigefridus Norwegensis episcopus*” who was also mentioned in the 960s. In any case, Olav Tryggvason’s tenth century conversion efforts are well-known and indicate a definite solidification of any Christianization movements in the area.<sup>34</sup>

After Olav Tryggvason’s successes, another Olav, Olav the Holy Haraldsson, became well-known for his energetic struggles to promote Christianity. Olav the Holy apparently also sent for bishops and priests from England to help Christianize the area. Olav’s death upon attempting to reclaim his throne in the battle of Stikklestad earned him the epitaph martyr and led to an immensely popular cultic following throughout Scandinavia. This combination of politics and religion helped reinforce Christianity’s foothold in Norway.<sup>35</sup>

Connections to England and the continent were also evident at the beginning of the twelfth century. Erik Ejegod, the king of Denmark and brother to Knud the Holy, invited monks from Evesham (England) to take care of his brother’s shrine. In addition, he travelled to Rome to petition for the canonization of his brother and support the making of Lund into an archbishopric.<sup>36</sup> These actions demonstrate a support for the Roman Church and an important step in the consolidation of Denmark and Scandinavia in a Christian European network.

According to Adam’s *GH*, the first king from Svealand to have been converted was Erik the Victorious. If this tenth-century conversion is true, it could be due to the fact that Erik was married to a member of the Polish nobility who had converted to Christianity by this point.<sup>37</sup>

Elsewhere, it is mentioned that missionaries were responsible for the baptism of a Swedish king, Olof “Skötkonung”, at the beginning of the eleventh

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<sup>34</sup> Bagge and Nordeide 2007: 135-138, Fletcher 1997: 410-411. The Sawyers also note that the discovery of a churchyard on Veøy (Romsdal, Vestlandet) that can be dated to around 950. They argue that earlier conversion efforts, such as that of English monks in the mid-tenth century, have been overshadowed by reports regarding the immense success enjoyed by Olav Haraldsson, later regarded as a saint. Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 152-153.

<sup>35</sup> For an overview of the conversion in Norway, see Bagge and Nordeide 2007: 129-141, Fletcher 1997: 410-412.

<sup>36</sup> Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 159, Gelting 2007: 95.

<sup>37</sup> Fletcher 1997: 412-413, Blomkvist et al. 2007: 181.



century.<sup>38</sup> According to legend, Olof was baptized by an English missionary bishop named Sigfrid, believed by some to have been the same person as the saint.<sup>39</sup> Olof is thought to have founded a bishopric at Skara, with its first bishop, Thorgaut, having been sent from Hamburg-Bremen. These missions brought two different “flavours” of Christianity to Sweden: German (Hamburg-Bremen) and English.<sup>40</sup> However, Olof also had clear and strong connections to the Slavic countries which can be seen as a reaction against the Danish interest in controlling the mission to the north-east. It has been suggested that this is why the first bishopric in his realm was established in Skara and not at one of his seats of power in Sigtuna. On the other hand, Olof’s son, Anund Jakob, seems to have encouraged connections to Hamburg-Bremen and supported the bishopric at Skara, while his half-brother Edmund cultivated his Slavic contracts as well as choosing an English bishop. The influence of different Christian traditions is also evident in ecclesiastical art and the references to English missionaries in the liturgy of the new ecclesiastical province.<sup>41</sup>

It appears that Christianity and the original pagan religion co-existed for many centuries. At the end of the eleventh century, this tolerance was finally abandoned – at least in Svealand – with the victory of King Inge over

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<sup>38</sup> Despite this claim, Olof was Erik’s son and would possibly have grown up with the religion. Likewise, Olof’s son, Anund Jakob, was considered a good Christian by the Hamburg-Bremen chronicler. His other son, Edmund, was not described as favourably having preferred an English bishop to a German one. See also Fletcher 1997: 413f., Blomkvist et al. 2007: 181-183.

<sup>39</sup> Whether or not this actually took place is a contested issue. Cf. the overview in Fletcher 1997: 412-415, Blomkvist et al. 2007: 179ff.

<sup>40</sup> Ellis 2000: 8. In addition, there was probably influence from Poland, Russia and Byzantine. Fletcher 1997: 413-415.

<sup>41</sup> Hallencreutz 1996b: 247-249. The English missions could have been undertaken in connection with the clergy that came to Denmark as part of the Danish empire in the early eleventh century. In addition, the popularity of English missionaries could be due to the fact that they did not represent any external group wanting power over Uppsala, such as Lund or Hamburg-Bremen. This fact would also have been true in later centuries, where the reference to English missionaries would be seen as a neutral or positive fact, as opposed to discussions of missions from the other two bishoprics which might lead to conflicting claims of authority. In addition to these influences, it has been suggested that some of the first missions arrived from Lotharingia and Cologne. See Blomkvist et al. 2007: 183-184, 189.

his more tolerant brother-in-law, Sven.<sup>42</sup> A congratulatory letter from Pope Gregory VII even exists in which he praises Inge's action. The papal wish was for a more universal ecclesiastical order with the pope at the centre and the end of Hamburg-Bremen's primacy in the north, as well as placing the power of kings under the authority of the church.<sup>43</sup>

In the early-twelfth century, the papacy seemed to have preferred Sverker to Erik Jedvardsson (later "the Holy") as a ruler in Sweden.<sup>44</sup> It was not until a member of the Sverker-dynasty was in place as ruler that Uppsala was made into an archbishopric and the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala was created. The Church's preference for the Sverker-dynasty can be questioned, however, as Uppsala was to be the main cult site of Erik the Holy Jedvardsson, a member of the Erik-dynasty.

By the early-eleventh century, Christian practices had definitely been established in the Finnish area of the future Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, a region with strong ties to eastern Sweden. On the other hand, the districts near Turku and Tavastia had also signs of pagan rituals until the end of the twelfth century. Other areas of eastern Finland and Karelia were persistently pagan even after this date. The bishopric of Turku was established by 1220, which is before any signs of Orthodox influence reached Karelia.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the area under the jurisdiction of the Turku Bishopric was in a process of Christianization until the thirteenth century.

Although it can be claimed that the establishment of monasteries was not instrumental in the actual conversion moment in Scandinavia, it was an important step in the continued Christianization of the landscape and institutions. The earliest religious community in Sweden was a nunnery founded in Vreta in the twelfth century.<sup>46</sup> The next were Cistercian

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<sup>42</sup> Fletcher 1997: 415, Hallencreutz 1996b: 252-253. Bishop Eskil was killed by sympathizers of Sven and later made into a saint; his cult was especially important in the new Strängnäs diocese. Eskilstuna was home to an abbey of the Order of St John no later than 1185; see Blomkvist et al. 2007: 183.

<sup>43</sup> Hallencreutz 1996b: 250, 253, Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 154-155. For a discussion of the connection-myth with Rome see Blomkvist et al. 2007: 174, 185.

<sup>44</sup> See, among others, Hallencreutz 1996b: 255-256.

<sup>45</sup> The Kalanti-Laitila area in the northern part of Finland. Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 158. See also Blomkvist et al. 2007: 201.

<sup>46</sup> The idea that Vreta was a nunnery in 1100 has been questioned. A suggestion has been put forth that the Cisterciens in Alvastra were the first religious community in Sweden, while the community at Vreta was either a Benedictine monastery or an early cathedral chapter for Linköping. See, Nilsson 2010.

monasteries, founded at Alvastra and Varnhem also in the twelfth century. In addition, Viby was founded in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>47</sup> All of these foundations were established by women and shows the development of an established Church – supporting and upholding beliefs that were taking root in society.

Similarly, there is no indication that any monastic houses were founded in the time immediately following Harald Bluetooth's conversion. The Benedictines were the first to establish houses in Denmark in the eleventh century. A cathedral chapter was founded at Roskilde cathedral in the early 1070s, while Lund's chapter was established in about 1085. In about 1070, a house of Augustinian canons was instituted in Dalby at the site of the former bishopric, which had been moved to Lund and was later elevated to an archbishopric. Despite these initial establishments, the majority of monastic foundations occurred in the twelfth century. All together, the first monastic houses were founded earlier in Denmark than in Sweden, although the Cistercians came to Denmark slightly later in the twelfth century, with the first abbey founded at Herrisvad (Skåne) in 1144. Many of the Cistercian houses were re-foundations, changing the rule at an existing Benedictine house to the Cistercian one.<sup>48</sup> Monastic houses were involved in the institutionalization of Christianity.

It is also important to briefly note the possible existence of influences from the Eastern Church on the conversion. The fact that Scandinavians had also had contact with the Byzantine Empire has been proven through art historical and archaeological finds and texts on rune stones, especially in the Mälars Valley, Sigtuna and Gotland. Another example was the fact that Swedes were members of the Byzantine emperor's Varangian guard and it was possible that Danes also served in the guard. Excavations in Sigtuna have, among other things, unearthed coins and a crucifix of Byzantine origin. On Gotland, where the majority of the churches contain colourful paintings dated to the entire medieval period, there is a clear sign of Byzantine influence in the art of the early medieval period. Unfortunately,

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<sup>47</sup> For Uppland in particular, see Ellis 2000: 24f. See also Sawyer and Sawyer 1993: 203, Sawyer 1990: 279-280. For reference to Sverker and the first Cistercian monasteries and a discussion of the introduction of monasticism as part of the institutionalization of Christianity, see Blomkvist et al. 2007: 187, 196-199.

<sup>48</sup> Gelting 2007: 95, 97-98. Most cathedral chapters were established in the twelfth century. Gelting 2007: 98.

written evidence of an official mission from the Eastern Byzantine Church to anywhere in Scandinavia is not extant.<sup>49</sup> It is presumably safe to say that religious practices and art could have been influenced by contacts, trade or otherwise, with the Byzantine Empire, but that an active mission similar to that sent by the followers of the Roman Church did not occur.

Peter Brown calls the era in which Scandinavia was converted “the end of an ancient world”.<sup>50</sup> This description is an apt one, as it saw the western Christian church come into its own as a uniting force and provided a larger network than that found in the Roman Empire. With its conversion, Scandinavia found itself included in an extensive network with access to different forms of learning, inclusion in religious-political movements (such as the crusades), exposure to diverse forms of art and contact with a new political system – the central monarchy.

### **Previous research on the cults of native saints in Denmark and Sweden**

Hagiographical or historiographical sources mentioning saints have not always enjoyed scholarly acceptance. They have been accused of being inaccurate and misleading, unfit for the study of history. Despite this scepticism, some scholars throughout the centuries have tried to glean information about society, religion, historical events and the saints themselves from these sources. In the following, a short overview will be given on the historiography and current state of research on the cult of saints of relevance to this study.

Previous research on the cults of saints in Scandinavia has usually had a national or Scandinavian focus and concentrated on the saints themselves. This research has not been limited to native saints, although much of the focus has been on these unique cults. An interest has also been taken in identifying cults mentioned in later sources, such as from the seventeenth century, but which claim to have had their beginnings earlier in the medieval period. For example, some research claims that the new cults of saints in Sweden received a positive response early on, with local cults of

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<sup>49</sup> Reference to Sigtuna and Gotland and Orthodox influence in Hårdelin 2005: 18, fn.27. For aspects of the Orthodox influence on Gotland, see also Blomkvist et al. 2007: 184, Gelting 2007: 79, Gräslund 1996: 41-42.

<sup>50</sup> Brown 1997: vi, 233-320.

native saints emerging from the struggles between the followers of pagan and Christian practices; however, evidence for these cults is found in much later sources.<sup>51</sup>

For example, in Denmark, initial work on the cult of saints centred on identifying local saints and their cults through manuscript studies.<sup>52</sup> Ellen Jørgensen presented studies on source materials that describe veneration of saints in the later Middle Ages. Her sources included folksongs, ballads and theological and devotional literature.<sup>53</sup> In addition, Jørgensen produced an in-depth study of a hand-written, early sixteenth-century Breviary from Lund's Archbishopric. She also suggested that the liturgical books printed in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries were based on older books, an important observation for the identification of early liturgy throughout Scandinavia. Jørgensen's research was not limited to Danish concerns and extended to manuscripts relevant to research on Swedish saints in Sweden.<sup>54</sup> Following in Jørgensen's foot-steps, Merete Andersen's work has included analyses of the Calendars in psalm books, using the feast days of saints to understand the medieval year.<sup>55</sup> Jørgensen's foundational research is still valid and useful for continued research into medieval liturgy, including this dissertation.

Editions and translations of the *vitae* of Danish saints, for example those by M. Cl. Gertz and Tue Gad, provide a useful basis for understanding the corpus of saints.<sup>56</sup> However, more modern, critical editions are needed except in the following case. The recent edition of the liturgy of Knud Lavard includes a thorough analysis of the earliest manuscript copies of his *officium*. Michael Chesnutt's conclusion that the scribe was a native speaker of Danish supports the idea of early domestic manuscript production.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> See Blomkvist et al. 2007: 188. Here the list of early, native saints includes Nicholas of Edsleskog, Torgils of Kumla, Sven of Arboga, Ragnhild of Tälje and Elin of Skövde, as well as Erik the Holy (although he is also referred to as being more prominent than a local saint). For a perspective on the Christianization, see Janson 2000.

<sup>52</sup> See also, Gertz 1907, Gertz 1908-1912, Andersen 1996.

<sup>53</sup> Jørgensen 1909b, Jørgensen 1916, Jørgensen 1923-26, Jørgensen 1927.

<sup>54</sup> Jørgensen 1933b. See her "messages" after a trip to the British Museum: Jørgensen 1933a: 190ff.

<sup>55</sup> Andersen 1976. See also Andersen's discussion on the "Dalby Book": Andersen 1996.

<sup>56</sup> Gertz 1908-1912, Gad 1971.

<sup>57</sup> Chesnutt 2003: 19.

In general, scholarship related to the cult of saints is interdisciplinary. In addition to manuscript studies, research into the cults of saints in Denmark can also be found in the disciplines of art history and archaeology.<sup>58</sup> Niels-Knud Liebgott's edition, which comprises all of the Christian saints venerated in medieval Denmark, includes a discussion of art and symbolism associated with these saints.<sup>59</sup>

Previous research focussing on the cults of saints which focuses on the role of the cults of saints in state formation is most prevalent. The rise of the cults of new saints are believed to have coincided with the formation of a formal monarchy and the trend towards a centralized rule. The political usage of cults of saints in the kingdom of Denmark is explored in the work of Nanna Damsholt, one of the foremost researchers on the cult of Wilhelm of Æbelholt. Other work on the use of saints as holy ancestors, with short reference to Scandinavia, includes studies by Gábor Klaniczay and André Vauchez.<sup>60</sup> The connection of the cults of native saints with politics and state formation is also evident in research on the kingdom of Sweden. These Swedish studies are, for the most part, directly related to the Christianization of the region, as it was seen to have had a direct influence on the emergence of monarchical rule.

Another theme that can be identified in current research is an attempt to define the purpose of the cults of saints. These studies are often descriptive and include a discussion of which saints were popular and where.<sup>61</sup> They focus on one saint in particular, such as Wilhelm of Æbelholt, Sigfrid of Vaxjö or Elin of Skövde. The purpose of native saints is suggested to be devotional, identity-creating and political. Firstly, Wilhelm of Æbelholt in particular has been the subject of research into his life, miracles and interactions with the continent. In addition, Wilhelm's involvement in the cult of Margarete of Roskilde, another local Danish saint, has been explored.<sup>62</sup> Secondly, Sigfrid is the object of Toni Schmid's 1931 dissertation, in which she discusses the development of his cult and the various legends about him.<sup>63</sup> Schmid mentions Sigfrid in relation to other

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<sup>58</sup> For example, on coins and other Christian images: Bendixen 1985.

<sup>59</sup> Liebgott 1982.

<sup>60</sup> Klaniczay 2002, Vauchez 1997.

<sup>61</sup> For instance, Gertz 1907, Jexlev 1988.

<sup>62</sup> See Damsholt 2001.

<sup>63</sup> Schmid 1931a.

local Swedish saints to try to place him in a wider context. Finally, a recent work on Elin of Skövde focuses on her cult, in particular her legend and liturgy.<sup>64</sup> These seminal works provided a basis for critical inquiry into the medieval cults of saints.

Other studies discuss the cults of a number of saints and include universal saints, such as John the Baptist, together with local saints. It has also been argued that foreign influence in Denmark can be seen by means of identifying newly popular cults of saints. Their popularity can be determined by identifying church or monastery dedications, although this is unfortunately difficult for the early period. Reasons for the external impact on Danish society could have been brought about by new trading connections, the coming of the mendicants to Denmark or even the Kalmar Union.<sup>65</sup> Finally, the purpose of the cults of local saints have also been analyzed in terms of their relationship to acts related to saint-making, such as translation and elevation, and how this is connected to church building and the expansion of the church in Denmark.<sup>66</sup>

It is also possible to analyze medieval society through the sources produced for the cults of saints. Although research using these methods is far from exhausted, several scholars have taken this approach. For instance, Damsholt has analyzed the extant writings of Wilhelm of Æbelholt in order to illuminate attitudes towards masculinity in twelfth-century Denmark and a similar method to investigate attitudes towards women in medieval Denmark.<sup>67</sup> These methods have been useful in considering the emergence of cults of new female saints in the region and provide a glimpse into gender hierarchies.

In terms of hagiographical material produced for the cults of saints, one of the most important, at least in terms of proving a person's saintliness, was a list of miracles. A saint's miracle stories, *miracula*, can be analyzed in order to illuminate aspects of medieval pilgrimage and society in Scandinavia. In these cases the actual saint and cult are of lesser importance than how the stories connected to a saint reflect contemporary society. The earliest miracle collections from the Lund and Uppsala provinces are from the

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<sup>64</sup> Pernler 2007.

<sup>65</sup> See Jørgensen 1909b.

<sup>66</sup> Nielsen 1985.

<sup>67</sup> Damsholt 1985, Damsholt 2004. See also Damsholt 2012.



thirteenth century, while the majority were produced in the fourteenth century. A study by Janken Myrdal and Göran Bäärnhelm analyzes the late-thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century miracles attributed to Erik the Holy, Brynolf of Skara, Birgitta, Katarina and Nicolaus of Linköping to provide an insight into medieval festivities and the lives of women and children, subjects not commonly discussed directly in medieval writings.<sup>68</sup> Other studies have also utilized the miracle stories for the elucidation of social history. Firstly, the study by Anders Fröjmark on miracles and the cult of saints in the Linköping Bishopric reveals the needs medieval people had for healing and protection, while Christian Krötzl's studies have illuminated aspects of pilgrimage in Scandinavia, including the changes in the use of pilgrimage before or after a miracle took place.<sup>69</sup>

Some studies of the saints in Denmark link the cults to the Christianization of the area. Most of the research in this area is antiquated, while some new comparative studies on the subject are in progress.<sup>70</sup> One of the earliest studies claims that various influences on the early Danish church included English, French and German. The impact of these traditions can be determined by means of identifying which saints were venerated in the province and where they were from.<sup>71</sup>

According to initial research, church dedications in the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund seem to be the same in the early and late Middle Ages, for instance St Michael, St Hans, St Botulf and Olav the Holy. Connections to foreign churches can be shown by which saints' names have been preserved in Martyrologies and Calendars. Most of these were used in cathedrals and monasteries in medieval Denmark. In general, the saints in these sources are English or German in origin, with Knud the Holy and Olav the Holy as the most usual exceptions. One Calendar provides evidence of a connection to Lothringen and France.<sup>72</sup> As an additional example, the use of saint names as personal names is seen to be a sign of the Christianization of a region; however, it does not appear that this practice was wide-spread until about 1300 in both Denmark and Sweden.

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<sup>68</sup> Myrdal and Bäärnhelm 1994. See also, Myrdal and Bäärnhelm 2000, Bäärnhelm and Myrdal 2004.

<sup>69</sup> Fröjmark 1992, Krötzl 1994, Krötzl 1997.

<sup>70</sup> A number of these studies are presented in Antonsson and Garipzanov 2010.

<sup>71</sup> Jørgensen 1909a: 194-197.

<sup>72</sup> Jørgensen 1909a: 197-203.



The Christianization of Sweden in relation to the cults of saints has also been addressed in several studies. For instance, Schmid describes the mission to Birka and in Sweden, citing the importance of the Cistercians and several saints to the Christianization. These saints include Elin of Skövde and Ansgar. In addition, two of the contributions to the project, *Kristnandet i Sverige (The Christianization in Sweden)*, discuss how the examination of hagiography and the liturgy can contribute to knowledge about the Christianization.<sup>73</sup> The results of this project laid the foundation for further analysis in this field, including this dissertation.

More recent studies on the cult of saints and the Christianization include a number of articles that offer a comparative perspective between Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, specifically the Rus. These studies show the cults of saints were part of “active cultural and political interactions” in these two areas up until the twelfth century.<sup>74</sup> They have shown that a comparative perspective is an important tool in the analysis of social change.

The involvement of ecclesiastical institutions in the cults of saints has been the focus of other studies. For instance, Danish research on the process of cultic development has highlighted the role of bishoprics as opposed to monasteries in promoting the cult of saints. Although general in nature, these studies create a useful framework for this dissertation. One conclusion in particular highlights the apparent need for papal approval in order to venerate saints in Denmark, at least according to several researchers, including Michael Gelting.<sup>75</sup> These ideas have not, however, been previously systematically applied to the Swedish material.

The idea that the establishment of bishoprics could be tied to the cults of some local saints has been mentioned in recent articles by, among others, Haki Antonsson.<sup>76</sup> These particular studies attempt to identify influences on the different versions of liturgy for the saints and in which bishoprics these liturgies were used. From these preliminary conclusions, it appears that the liturgy was bishopric-specific, at least in the case of the cults of saints. The

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<sup>73</sup> Fröjmark 1996a, Helander 1996.

<sup>74</sup> Quote in: Antonsson and Garipzanov 2010: 5. Ciardi 2010, Antonsson 2010, Conti 2010, Ommundsen 2010. For another perspective, see also, Janson 2009.

<sup>75</sup> Antonsson 2005, Antonsson 2010, Gelting 2004b, Gelting 2007.

<sup>76</sup> See Blomkvist et al. 2007: 199-200. For a comparative perspective with the rest of Scandinavia, see Antonsson 2010: esp.32ff.

influence that religious orders had over the liturgy of certain dioceses, for instance, the Cistercians in Uppsala, can also be seen by examining the cults of saints. In addition, Lars-Olof Larsson has made a preliminary study into the use of Sigfrid's cult in the legitimization of a bishopric, Växjö, and its history.<sup>77</sup> The present dissertation aims to build on this previous research and present a more thorough study.

Studies on the liturgical cults of saints are of direct relevance to this dissertation. A general survey of the liturgy of native Swedish saints, in particular the Offices, can be found in articles by Tryggve Lundén. His interest in the cults of native saints led to a publication which presents the liturgy of most of these saints.<sup>78</sup> However, it is not a critical edition and the method in which Lundén reconstructed these liturgies is sometimes uncertain. Other works, such as that by Alf Önnersfors on Botvid's *officium*, provide a more comprehensive idea of the state of an early liturgy.<sup>79</sup> Similar studies focus primarily on the later medieval printed material.

Research which is centred on manuscripts and manuscript identification includes that by Sven Helander on the Linköping church and the medieval liturgy of the Archdiocese of Uppsala. Helander's research on Linköping and Uppsala are examples of the in-depth study of particular medieval liturgies, their development and the saints that they contained. A recent, similar study on the development of the legend of Henrik of Turku has been undertaken by Tuomas Heikkilä. In addition, Jan Brunius has investigated mentions of native saints in Missal fragments in his work, *Atque Olavi*.<sup>80</sup> The latter work demonstrates the amount of liturgical material available, at least in terms of Missals, which was composed prior to the later medieval printed editions. Both of these works rely on new methods and acknowledge the importance of the liturgical fragments in the study of early Scandinavian liturgy, as well as support the need for further investigation into the cults of native saints using similar methods.

Earlier studies on the liturgy for the cults of native saints include Schmid's original edition and the newer, critical edition of the late-twelfth century Vallentuna Calendar. The Calendar, which includes a number of

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<sup>77</sup> Blomkvist et al. 2007: 199–200, Larsson 1975.

<sup>78</sup> Lundén 1983.

<sup>79</sup> Önnersfors 1969.

<sup>80</sup> Helander 1957, Helander 2001, Heikkilä 2009, Brunius 2008.

saints indigenous to Sweden, is the oldest liturgical book from Sweden preserved almost in its entirety.<sup>81</sup> Schmid's interest in Calendars also led to her analyses of the medieval Calendars of Strängnäs and Skara.<sup>82</sup> Her work provides an important foundation for continued research into medieval Calendars.

Many of Sweden's oldest liturgical books have been preserved as manuscript fragments, with work being done on the collection at SRA and initially pioneered by Schmid. Several studies have been published on the musicology, provenance, ownership and paleography of the manuscripts, such as those by Ann-Marie Nilsson, Anna Wolodarski and Jan Brunius.<sup>83</sup> Their findings have laid the foundation for further study, such as that found in this dissertation. The importance of liturgical books has not gone unnoticed recently, as general history articles include the mention of liturgical books in the early descriptions of missionary activity in Sweden.<sup>84</sup>

Finally, the role of the cults of local saints in connecting peripheral areas to a Christian centre has been presented from various angles in a volume edited by Lars Boje Mortensen. The volume's contributors emphasize the importance and necessity of promoting new local cults of saints, both native and imported in medieval Scandinavia. In other words, the importation of the usual "universal" cults was not sufficient in order to fully integrate newly converted areas into the rest of Christendom.<sup>85</sup>

### **The purpose and method of the study, its geography and chronology**

The purpose of this research project has been to examine the new cults of native saints that arose in Scandinavia during the long-term Christianization of the region. It aims to illustrate and explain the connections between the establishment of new cults and the formation of an ecclesiastical organization and administration by means of an empirical analysis of the material that delves deeper than the current general studies on the topic. This study focuses on and compares the regions which became the Ecclesiastical Province of

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<sup>81</sup> Schmid 1945. Helmfrid 1998.

<sup>82</sup> Schmid 1932, Schmid 1928.

<sup>83</sup> Brunius 1993a, Brunius 1994, Brunius 2002, Wolodarski 2004, Nilsson 2005.

<sup>84</sup> See Blomkvist et al. 2007: 199-200.

<sup>85</sup> See, for example, Geary 2006, Mortensen 2006a, Mortensen 2006b: 247-249.

Lund and the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala.<sup>86</sup> These two provinces had a complex and unequal relationship. Firstly, even after its establishment as a province, Uppsala was subject to the primacy of Lund. Secondly, the two ecclesiastical provinces were situated in separate kingdoms, oftentimes in conflict. Furthermore, conflict could arise among dioceses, between the secular and ecclesiastical spheres, as well as between the monarchy and papacy. These relationships affected the promotion of the cults of saints.

The eleventh to the thirteenth centuries – the study’s chronological framework – were a time of establishment for the medieval Church in Scandinavia. The formation of ecclesiastical institutions required support from the local inhabitants. As with the concept of *loca sanctorum* and need for native cults expressed in research by Catherine Cubitt and Alan Thacker, the creation and promotion of new cults of saints mirrors a process of acceptance of the new beliefs in an area.

This study addresses the functions of the cults of new, native saints in the legitimization of authority and the formation of permanent ecclesiastical institutions, including the establishment of bishoprics. The emergence of cults of new saints in these areas before and after the establishment of the ecclesiastical provinces is important to examine in order to determine their relationship to the formation of the Church as an institution in Scandinavia. The acceptance of new saints in an area reflects a further step in the Christianization process. With cults of native saints, local pilgrimage sites were created, indicating that the church as an institution was securely anchored in the area. The acceptance of the veneration of universal saints does not usually demonstrate the same investment on the part of a local institution.

The promotion of local individuals as saints in an area that has been relatively recently Christianized demonstrates an affinity with the new religion and an attempt to use new modes of legitimizing authority that exist within the new religion’s traditions and structure. The ties that can be seen between the cults of saints and the formation of church administration, including the establishment of bishoprics, and the relations between ecclesiastical and secular authority have also been analyzed.

An important aspect of this dissertation is its comparative nature. It seeks to illuminate some of the similarities and differences in the cults of

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<sup>86</sup> These ecclesiastical provinces were not officially created until 1103 and 1164, respectively. In addition, Lund was temporarily dissolved in the 1130s. See Gelting 2007: 95.

saints that developed in these two regions. By comparing cults of native saints, the reasons for how, where and why the cults of early medieval Scandinavian saints were formed and/or promoted will be analyzed. What was the relationship between the saints and the ecclesiastical organization in which their cults were rooted?

### *Geography and chronology*

The study's chronology has been set to span the period from the conversion, through the Christianization of Scandinavian society and until a Christian society can be said to have been firmly established in the area, the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Due to the fact that the majority of the study's primary sources were produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the results focus mainly on these two centuries.

The geographical area encompasses the medieval kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden. Political control over these geographical areas varied in the studied time period and the boundaries followed are those of the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala that were formed in the early and mid-twelfth century. As has been mentioned, the underlying interest is in the Christianization of "Scandinavia"; however, the situation in Norway (Ecclesiastical Province of Nidaros) has not been analyzed. This omission is due in part to the closer relationship between the provinces of Lund and Uppsala.<sup>87</sup>

For the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, the geographical area in question encompassed present-day Denmark, the Slesvig-Holstein region (medieval Slesvig) and Southern Sweden (Skåne, Blekinge and Halland).<sup>88</sup> The Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala encompassed present-day Sweden, with the exception of Bohuslän but including Jämtland, and parts of modern-day Western Finland, represented by the medieval Turku Bishopric.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> The situation in Norway, with its popular, nearly universal saint, Olav the Holy, and differing missionary tradition, is such that, realistically, a separate study is required that can then be compared to the present study. For an overview, see Bagge and Nordeide 2007: 129, 135-141, 149-162, Ommundsen 2010, Antonsson 2010.

<sup>88</sup> Skåne is also known as Scania. This study will not be taking the outer-lying dioceses of the Lund province, including Reval (present-day Tallinn) in Estonia, which were incorporated into the ecclesiastical province in the early-thirteenth century into consideration except in passing.

<sup>89</sup> In this dissertation, the Finnish name is used as it is also recognizable in English. The Swedish name of the town, Åbo, is based on the Latin form, *Aboa*.

As with any research in the medieval period, the present study has its limitations. These include a lack of primary source material, which creates difficulties in adequately analyzing the promotion of the cults of saints before the twelfth century. In addition, the nature of the sources forces a top-down approach.

### *Theories and method*

At the core of the study is an analysis of a variety of extant sources that pertain to the cult of saints, including the liturgy, *diploma* and seals, iconography and ecclesiastical art. The liturgical fragments which refer to local saints from the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund or Uppsala were identified by a search of the relevant database or register at the Danish National Archives (*Rigsarkivet*, DRA), the Danish Royal Library (*Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, DKB), the British Library (BL), the Lund University Library (LUB) and the Swedish National Archives (*Riksarkivet*, SRA)<sup>90</sup> A uniquely composed *officium* for a saint or inclusion in or an addition to a Calendar or insertion into other liturgical sources, such as Breviaries indicate the existence of an important cult.<sup>91</sup>

The liturgy provides a source for learning more about the Christianization of Scandinavia. According to Helander, liturgical books can be used to shed light on the conversion period in two ways: firstly, by investigating the origin of the sources and their use and, secondly, by looking at how the conversion is presented in the liturgy itself.<sup>92</sup> He puts forward five important, potential contributions of liturgical studies to research into Sweden's Christianization, as well as the later medieval period: 1) mission and foreign influence, 2) the cross-over from imported to domestic liturgical production, 3) the secondary provenance of the books, 4) the development of diocesan traditions, and 5)

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<sup>90</sup> See the source discussion below. For the Lund province, the fragment and extant medieval manuscript material was identified in the relevant registers. For the Uppsala province, the *Medeltida PergamentOmslag* Database ('Medieval Parchment Covers', MPO-database) material from the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries was searched in order to find references to all Scandinavian and some English saints, as well as Toivo Haapanen's early-twentieth century catalogue and Ilkka Taitto's *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscript Fragments in the Helsinki University Library* for mention of Nordic saints between the eleventh and early fourteenth centuries. Haapanen 1922, 1925, 1932.

<sup>91</sup> These liturgical books are presented below.

<sup>92</sup> Helander 1996: 159.

influences on liturgy/cult within the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala.<sup>93</sup> The present study takes into account the final three themes as related to the development of the cults of native saints, both unilocal and multilocal.

A search of other, non-liturgical sources, such as *diploma*, has also been undertaken to identify possible starting points for cults or areas in which they were promoted, in order to see where the cult spread. This information has then been applied to research on the formation of bishoprics in the two provinces and used in determining the relationship of cults to secular authority.

One of the ways in which to determine the importance of a new cult is by analyzing whether its saint was used in creating *loca sanctorum*. With the cults of saints, Scandinavia entered into the expanding network of *loca sanctorum*, which made the landscape or “topography” sacred in a Christian sense. The optimal holy place would contain a tomb, shrine or altar. By the eighth century, cults of saints were increasingly tied to place.<sup>94</sup> This focus on the location of a holy individual’s place of power was especially true in the cases of local saints. A local patron along with his/her primary site of veneration had an appeal throughout Western Christendom, meeting the need for a local, holy figure anchoring the religion to a particular geographical location. Mission saints with a manipulating nature were a common *topos* and involved a holy figure negotiating with a hostile, pagan landscape.<sup>95</sup> The question remains whether or not *loca sanctorum* were prevalent throughout Scandinavia as well.

It is important to provide a geographical perspective when discussing cults. In this study, landscape refers to the geographical area associated with a saint’s cult as well as its ideological implications on the perception of spiritual geography.<sup>96</sup> Cult places created an ordered, spiritual landscape to which Christians could relate. In the case of *loca sanctorum*, the landscape was made officially holy in part by clerics creating shrines. Other holy places designated by the laity, such as holy wells, also existed. In general, the landscape both influenced and was influenced by the formation of society, in this case the new Christian society brought about by the conversion.

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<sup>93</sup> Helander 1996: 163-166. For a discussion on provenance, see the section on sources below. See, also, Brunius 2002: 390.

<sup>94</sup> For a discussion of the development of holy places from their inception until the eighth century, especially the role of martyrs and Rome, see Thacker 2002a: esp. 2-4, 40-43.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Arnold 2012: 179.

<sup>96</sup> For a discussion of spirituality, nature and the landscape, see Arnold 2012.



Promoting a saint on an official level could take several forms. A definite indicator of a saint's importance to a diocese was in the diocesan composition of a unique *officium*, a clear sign that the bishop supported the cult. One measure of a cult's acceptance, at least on an official ecclesiastical level, was the spread of a saint's liturgy across diocesan boundaries. Another gauge of a cult's popularity involved the distribution of ecclesiastical art-work representing the saint, as well as in the use of the saint's name or feast day in dating – in itself a sign that a saint had been included in a liturgical Calendar. Indications that a saint was important to the laity, as well as the Church, could include donations in a saint's name or the use of a saint as a patron both on the ecclesiastical and secular level.

In general, cults of saints provided social groups with cohesion and dynamism and are important in the study of societies which practice a common religion.<sup>97</sup> The promotion of saints and the use of their cults in systems where behaviour was to be controlled is an important factor.<sup>98</sup> The cults of saints are by nature a communal phenomenon and are to some extent constructed by societies that have need of them. Saints are never created in a vacuum, but are created by and for other people, sometimes not even contemporaries of the saint in question. Delooz makes a distinction between “learned religion” and “popular devotion”, in his explanation of why the veneration of some saints spread while others did not.<sup>99</sup> This dissertation focuses mainly on “learned religion” due to the fact that the extant sources for the early medieval period were produced by the Church.

Geographically, Scandinavia was on the periphery and was a relative late-comer to Western Christianity. The Christianization in the region fits in with Peter Brown's concept of “Micro-Christendoms” which refers to the ways in which newly converted areas interpreted the new religion

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<sup>97</sup> For a review and criticism of Delooz's method, and discussion of the merits of Goodich's approach, see Fröjmark 1987: 586-587.

<sup>98</sup> Delooz presents numerous starting points for various sociological studies of the cults of canonized saints throughout the history of the Roman church. In his view, a pontifical canonization is of greater sociological significance than a local one, which does not apply to the Middle Ages. Despite this fact, some of his ideas are applicable to the study at hand. For instance, social relations and systems of behaviour are vital aspects in the cults of regional saints. See Delooz 1983: 192, 194-201. For a different view of the papal motives for canonization (religious and political), see Goodich 1983. For a review and criticism of Delooz's method and generalization of the formation of the cult of saints before and after 1634, and discussion of the merits of Goodich's approach, see Fröjmark 1987: 586-587.

<sup>99</sup> Delooz 1983: 194-201. See also Harrison 2004.



and the subsequent differences in the Christianization of their societies. In some ways, this interpretation differed greatly from the “Roman” view of a Christian society.<sup>100</sup> The understanding and acceptance of the new faith, the modification of local customs to new Christian rituals – such as the baptism of children – and the adaptation of the ruling elite to the Christian idea of administration and documentation were all ways in which the acceptance of Christianity could differ. The local interpretation of all facets of the new religion brought by the missionaries created regional differences. Although the term was first coined to refer to the British Isles, it is also applicable to Scandinavia.

The cult of saints was an important part of the new religion and was also subject to regional variations. The cults were not static and the importance of specific *loca sanctorum* not consistent throughout the history of Christianity. Initially, sanctity was embodied in a person, as Brown discusses in his study on the function of the holy man. Eventually, this evolved to sanctity being located in a specific place, such as a basilica, which contained the relics of the martyrs.<sup>101</sup> The pilgrimage shrines also fit into this development.

Using Brown’s study as his starting point, Albrecht Diem discusses how the transfer of charisma found in holy individuals can be integral to the “rise of an institution”.<sup>102</sup> This observation is related to the phenomenon of *loca sanctorum* and, as will be seen, is relevant to the study of the cults of saints in Scandinavia. The holiness or grace that a saint brought to a specific location legitimized a particular institution’s own holiness. In Diem’s study of the *Vita Columbani*, the importance of the creation of a text in the institutionalization process is also emphasized. Even in the seventh century, the idea of a holy man’s teaching and his holy community were more important than relics; however, in support of Brown’s argument, eventually martyrs helped bind sanctity to a place.<sup>103</sup> It is also important to note that the importance of the physical remains of a saint was debated throughout the medieval period.

These studies by Brown and Diem reinforce the importance of local saints to the sanctity of space, whether by means of their relics or support

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<sup>100</sup> Brown 1997: 216-232.

<sup>101</sup> Brown 1971: 100.

<sup>102</sup> Diem 2007: 526.

<sup>103</sup> Diem 2007: 527, 558-559.

for a holy community. Whether a particular saint was a real person or a construction, this embodiment of the power of God lent all saints special intercessory powers. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the churches – due to their function as houses of the relics of saints – were seen as the supernatural foci of holy power.

Closely related to work on *loca sanctorum* is the method of saintly categorization. In order to facilitate comparison, the cults of saints examined in this dissertation are categorized according to previous research. Vauchez, Cubitt, Thacker, Krötzel and Fröjmark have all contributed to categorization work in this area – the latter two in Scandinavia in particular.

Firstly, in his extensive work, Vauchez offers a typology of medieval sainthood based on what he calls the different “levels of sanctity”: “local” or “popular sainthood” and “official sainthood”.<sup>104</sup> The saints of interest to the present study are those that most closely correspond with Vauchez’s definitions of “local”. “Local saint” is used to describe a saint who was unknown outside of the religious house in which they had resided and who we only know about through hagiographical texts. Secondly, a “local” saint can be described as “popular” when his or her cult developed “at the lowest levels of society”; however, this type of cult could later be promoted by the clergy and knowledge of it spread to other lay groups. Neither the “local” nor the “popular” group includes the possibility of official canonization for its saints. Thus, evidence for popular cults is sparse, fragmentary and usually found indirectly, as references in chronicles or *exempla* collections.<sup>105</sup>

Vauchez’ “official” sainthood refers to that which was given papal approval in the Middle Ages.<sup>106</sup> This category of saints is easier to analyze than those above as they gave rise to numerous papal bulls and processes of canonization which have been preserved for study. A disadvantage in using this definition in studying cults for the entire period is that papal canonization was a later phenomenon, with the development of canonization processes starting in the thirteenth century. Thus, Vauchez’s system of official versus popular sainthood is lacking when analyzing the emergence of an ecclesiastical organization in Scandinavia where both official and un-official saints were important.

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<sup>104</sup> Vauchez 1997: 141-144 .

<sup>105</sup> Vauchez 1997: 142-143, 147ff.

<sup>106</sup> Vauchez 1997: 143.

Building on Vauchez' "local saint" category, more useful terminology is used by Thacker in his study of the developing importance of place in the cults of saints until the eighth century. The terms "unilocal" and "multilocal" describe the cults of Scandinavian saints better than the dichotomic "local" and "universal" categories.<sup>107</sup>

Prior to 1300, many of the cults of new saints that arose in the newly formed Scandinavian ecclesiastical provinces had been transmitted to several dioceses, becoming "multilocal". Others were "unilocal" in that each cult was centred in one location and did not spread. Both unilocal and multilocal cults helped validate the Christian faith for new converts and led to the creation of new Christian centres, *loca sanctorum*. The cults of saints provided a process of assimilation and transition from one religion to another.<sup>108</sup> Concepts which are applied to the material analyzed for this dissertation.

Whether or not the cult is unilocal or multilocal, a saint can also be described as "native". This term, "native saint" or "native cult", has been used by, among others, Thacker and Cubitt in the discussion of saint-making in Gaul and Anglo-Saxon England (until the ninth century). "Native saints" were attached to a specific geographical area. In these cases, the cults are primarily local or regional rather than universal.<sup>109</sup> The term has a near equivalent in Scandinavian research.

In Scandinavia, "native saint" can be used as a translation for "*inhemskt helgon*", a term coined in more recent research on the cults of saints in Sweden by, among others, Fröjmark and Krötzl.<sup>110</sup> In order to be classified as *inhemskt*, a saint had to be an individual who lived and worked (but was not necessarily born) in the same ecclesiastical province in which the cult had been almost exclusively initiated and promoted. Papal canonization does not prevent inclusion in this category as opposed to the local or popular groups.<sup>111</sup> The saints included in this dissertation have been restricted to the "native" category due to the fact that the interest in promoting new cults

<sup>107</sup> Thacker 2002a. For a discussion of the definition of universal versus local saints, see Cubitt 2002: 423-424.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Geary 2006.

<sup>109</sup> Cubitt 2002: 423-424, Thacker 2002b.

<sup>110</sup> See, among others, Fröjmark and Krötzl 1997: 125. The French term for this category of saints is "autochtone".

<sup>111</sup> Others also use different categories of cults when applied to Scandinavia, such as "universal" (venerated throughout the church), "foreign" (not from Scandinavia but not universally venerated) and "local" (role in identity formation). See Ciardi 2010.

of local people in an area which relatively recently accepted Christianity reflects the internalization of the new religion. The promotion of cults of native saints demonstrates the use of new modes of legitimization and the understanding of the new religion's traditions and legitimizing structures.

In Chapter Two, the cults of native saints for each ecclesiastical province are presented according to the unilocal or multilocal categories. The bishoprics of the two ecclesiastical provinces are then compared to see whether the promotion and spread of cults and the establishment of episcopal institutions and administrations are related to each other. In Chapter Three, the bishoprics of the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund are presented first, followed by the bishoprics of the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala. The final chapter compares the two provinces and presents an analysis of the connections between ecclesiastical and secular political power and the promotion of saints' cults.

In summary, this dissertation examines the new cults of saints promoted on an official level in the Lund and Uppsala provinces before 1300. The study focuses on a top-down legitimization of cults due to the extant sources which centre on the activities of the elite; however, it is important to keep in mind that there would also have been different levels of promotion in these new cults. This study identifies the actors, whether ecclesiastical or secular, behind the promotions and the reasons for favouring certain saints. Part of the analysis involves determining the passive or active promotion of new *loca sanctorum*. Political and devotional motivation for the new cults is also analyzed in relation to the establishment of bishoprics and the new ecclesiastical provinces. Finally, a gender-perspective is considered in relation to the above categories.

### **Terms and concepts important to the study of hagiography**

There are numerous terms and concepts related to the study of the cult of saints. Firstly, the term "hagiography" refers to all literature that deals with the saints and also to the study of these hagiographic writings.<sup>112</sup> It is important to note that hagiography is not considered to be factual literature

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<sup>112</sup> For a more in-depth presentation see, Head 1999b. and, for a discussion of hagiography as source material, see Goodich 1982: 1-20. For mention of liturgy and Scandinavian saints, see, among others., Berend 2007: 28-29. For a discussion of the writing of hagiography as a method of shifting the periphery to a Christian centre, see Geary 2006: 328-329.

but rather a non-fictional literary genre.<sup>113</sup> It is up to the historian to glean important historical information from the varying corpus of literature which includes lives of the saints (*vitae*), miracle story collections, records of relic discovery or movement, canonization bulls, inquests for canonization candidates, liturgical books, sermons dealing with saints and records of visions.<sup>114</sup> In this dissertation, liturgical books and fragments are the chief focus of the hagiographical study, although dedication and donation *diploma* are also used.

It is important to note that hagiographic texts were understood by and written for the laity in the areas where a Romance vernacular language was spoken in the early days of the church through to the early Middle Ages. Latin did not become a language of division between the laity and the clergy or educated nobility until Christianity reached the areas which spoke a Germanic vernacular.<sup>115</sup> The latter case is true of the present dissertation's area of study, Scandinavia. In any case, by about the year 1000, the number of laypeople who could understand at least some form of Latin had declined dramatically. The texts used in this dissertation, therefore, were directed at the clergy who would then use the contents in the edification of the laity and themselves.

### *Canonization*

The concept of "canonization" is often considered to be one of the most important elements in the cult of saints as it signals the existence of an official decree permitting the veneration of a human being by the Roman

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<sup>113</sup> It is important to recognize the development of the understanding of the term "hagiography". For example, Felice Lifshitz argues that, prior to the twelfth century, "hagiography" had no function as a tool to understanding historiographical writing. In fact, the concept of a genre of "hagiography" is a later construction, primarily found in nineteenth-century historiography, although a separation of "historiography" from "hagiography" is possible to identify from the twelfth century. His argument regarding the literary production of Carolingian and early Capetian Francia is convincing. To contemporaries, what we now regard as separate genres of "historiography" or "hagiography" were indistinguishable. Both were considered forms of "histories" prior to the twelfth-century shift into a nationally focused historical profession, with works about saints mainly concentrating on *exempla*. However, Lifshitz' claims that in order to be venerated as a saint one needed a liturgical cult are misleading and his argument that biographies are not further categorized according to profession confusing. Lifshitz 1994: 97-98, 104-107, 113.

<sup>114</sup> See, also, Head 1999b.

<sup>115</sup> Noble and Head 1995: xxxviii-xxxix.

Church. Canonization itself is the result of a formal process in which a person is officially recognized as a saint. It is, in fact, a decree permitting the public veneration of a person in an ecclesiastical sense.

At first, based on traditions from Roman North Africa, bishops were in charge of canonization and determining which saints were to be venerated and celebrated liturgically in their dioceses.<sup>116</sup> This practice was continued in all areas of Western Christianity throughout the medieval period. The majority of saints were supported first by the laity or monastic orders before they were allowed to be officially venerated by a bishop or, in some very local cults, a priest. Thus, control of official canonization was in the hands of Church leaders in Western Christian society.

In Western Europe the bishops exercised more influence over their jurisdictions than the papacy. Even before Gregory VII's reforms in the eleventh century, the papacy took measures to increase its authority, such as the granting of a *pallium* to archbishops.<sup>117</sup> The canonization of saints, however, was still a prerogative of individual bishops. It was not until Alexander III that the papacy began to claim a vested interest in the sole right to canonization. Finally, in 1234 with Gregory IX's Decretals, the papacy included the papal canonization process in canon law.

The canonical decree of 1234 from the Fourth Lateran Council stated that only the pope had the right to decide whether or not a person would be celebrated as a saint in the liturgy. However, the traditional power bishops and priests had enjoyed in naming saints did not disappear immediately. In other words, it was not expressly forbidden to include new saints in the Calendars of churches in a local area and promote their sanctity. In fact, a papal letter from the mid-twelfth century, although expressing papal interest in controlling the cults of saints, does not revoke the right of bishops to perform episcopal translations which officially sanctioning a saint's cult on a diocesan level.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Head 1999a, Vauchez 1997: 13-14. Vauchez has written one of the foremost studies on the processes of canonization.

<sup>117</sup> See Noble 2008: 256, 271-272.

<sup>118</sup> Letter from Pope Alexander III to King K. of Sweden in 1171 or 1172 beginning with *Audivimus* indicates that the papacy was already interested in controlling the cult of saints at this early date. Vauchez 1997: 25-26, 30-32, Krötzel 2001: 207, Fröjmark 1992: 13-14.

Evidence of saints venerated on a local level, without papal canonization, exists after 1234, even in Scandinavia. The papacy's attempts to control the largely popular religious practices associated with the cults of saints led eventually to its centralization in the Western Christian church. Papal canonization was a long and formalized process. In order to submit an application, a considerable amount of resources were required, but the desired outcome of a successful canonization was not necessarily predetermined.

### *Saints' vitae*

Another source of information about a saint and their cult is found in a saint's legend or *vita* which tells the tale of a saint's life: a holy biography. It usually includes a description of the saint's childhood and upbringing, although it is often formalized and based on earlier models of how a saint's childhood should have been. For example, someone in a *vita* usually had a premonition when the child-saint was born that he or she would be special and holy. Certain elements in a saint's life were considered to be predetermined. When a surviving *vita* was written a short time after the saint's death, most of the information regarding the saint's adult life can be trusted, with the possible exception of some miracles. A *vita* often contains the miracles that a saint was said to have caused during his or her lifetime, the good deeds for which the saint was responsible and the saint's divine attributes, such as the possession of the gift of prophecy. In addition, this account of a saint's life included miracles that took place after the saint's death in order to strengthen the saint's holy image. Writing a *vita* was a form of sanctity propaganda in the promotion of a saint.

A typical saint's *vita* is that written by Sulpicius Severus, entitled *Vita Martini* (*The Life of St Martin*). This *vita* deals with St Martin of Tours and was written at the end of the fourth century. The text was among the first that helped establish what eventually came to be known as hagiography.<sup>119</sup> Sulpicius' writing influenced and became the model for how later *vitae* would be written. In addition, it helped popularize the monastic life.<sup>120</sup> Literary features which were later imitated from *Vita Martini* include Martin's childhood, upbringing and the types of miracles he performed during his lifetime.

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<sup>119</sup> Cf. Lifshitz 1994: 97-98, 104-107, 113.

<sup>120</sup> Noble and Head 1995: 2-3.



This text was not the only influence on later saint's lives. Biblical stories affected the type of miracles a saint was believed to have been responsible for during his or her lifetime and how a saint was supposed to behave. The *topoi* found in saints' *vitae* were important elements in proving that a person was a saint. In effect, a saint was made through the creation of a *vita*.

### *Miracles*

A fundamental concept of sanctity was the association with miracles. A miracle could be anything from the fact that one had found something one thought was lost forever, to witnessing someone resurrected from the dead. Although many miracles were credited to a saint during his or her lifetime, many also took place after a saint's death (i.e. *posthumous* miracles). In the early Middle Ages, it was common to travel to a particular saint's place of cult in order to pray for a miracle from him or her; however, during the later medieval period, it became more common that prayers for a miracle took place at a distance from the shrine, for example the site of an accident. In addition, people began to draw lots to decide which saint was best to pray to in which situation.<sup>121</sup> The majority of miracle stories can be found in saints' *vitae* or in collections of miracles (*miracula*) that were compiled in connection with a canonization attempt.

### *Pilgrimage, shrines and relics*

Connected to the petitioning of miracles from a particular saint, pilgrims would travel to a saint's grave or shrine to thank him or her for a miracle or pray for a miracle. As a display of piety or as penance for sins, one could go on a pilgrimage. For example, during much of the medieval period, pilgrimages to the Holy Land were undertaken as penance for extremely serious sins, such as murder.

The final destinations of pilgrims were usually to the shrines or graves of the saints: the *loca sanctorum*. These sites contained a reliquary and the relics of a particular saint. Relics usually refer to the bones, clothes or personal property of a saint, while a reliquary is the often ornate vessel in which they are preserved. These items were seen to have supernatural powers since they were the remains of a saint who had reached heaven. Relics were often sealed

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<sup>121</sup> Fröjmark 1993: 68.



in or under the altar in churches, a custom which began during the fourth century with the moving of the martyr's relics from the catacombs to the new basilicas.<sup>122</sup> It should be added that people did not believe that the relics themselves had the power to perform miracles, but rather God or the saint in question performed the miracle through the relic.

Other objects associated with the cults of saints were statues or pictures depicting specific saints. In order to differentiate among the saints, especially in church art, they were assigned specific symbols. These objects were considered to be the most important recognizable characteristics of a saint; they were taken from a saint's legend and miracle stories. Certain saints carried books; others held staves or palm branches; many martyrs were depicted with the object that was instrumental in their death, while holy kings carried some sort of symbol of power. An example of a saintly king from Scandinavia is Erik the Holy, who is always portrayed with a crown on his head and a spear in his hand.

### *Feast day and translation (translatio)*

In many cases, pilgrimages to shrines were undertaken to coincide with the special day in the Calendar that a particular saint had been assigned. On this feast day, a saint was shown special veneration. Usually the feast was assigned to a saint's day of death, also called the heavenly birthday, but a saint's *translatio*, the day on which a saint was moved from his/her original grave to a shrine, could also be designated a feast.<sup>123</sup> Several saints, including Eskil in the diocese of Strängnäs, were assigned numerous feast days. In addition, many saints whose feast days were of high status were considered more important in a particular area were also assigned an octave. This form of celebration included prayers for the saint on their feast day and every day for eight days, with a special service on the eighth day.

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<sup>122</sup> In 385, Bishop Ambrose of Milan moved the bodies of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius to a new cathedral and thereby was one of the first to move saints from the outskirts into the cities themselves. Noble and Head 1995: xxii. For a discussion of the cult of relics and the clergy's desire to control it see also, Head 1999a, Vauchez 1997: 16-17.

<sup>123</sup> For a short discussion of *elevatio* and *translatio* in relation to feast days, see Vauchez 1997: 19. For a more in-depth discussion of the emergence of these rituals, especially in Anglo-Saxon England, see Thacker 2002b. Other signs of sanctity include a pleasant odor, often recorded as a reason for the subsequent *translatio*. For an engaging discussion of smells and sanctity, see Roch 2010.

### *Officium*

A liturgy was especially important for the celebration of feast days. As the cult of saints developed, liturgical services, sometimes in combination with the more important mass, were developed to control the devotion to saints and their relics. If a saint were of particular importance for a certain diocese or parish, an *officium* would be written for the feast day. The *officium* contains a collection of readings about a saint's life, psalms and prayers to be read at certain times during the day. These *officia* were found in the Books of Hours, Breviaries or *breviarii*, which usually included a Calendar listing all the days of the year as well as which saints were celebrated on which days. Other liturgical books of interest to the cult of saints include Psalters (*psalteria*), Missals (*Missalia*) and manuals (*manuales*).<sup>124</sup> These liturgical books will be discussed in more detail in connection with the presentation of the primary sources for this dissertation.

### *Patron saints and indulgences*

Many saints enjoyed the honour of being named “patron saints”. These saints were assumed to give protection to a person, a specific group or place. During the development of the cult of saints, the faithful often prayed to a particular saint who was important to them and believed that specific saint took care of them. Any saint could become a patron saint; however, one in particular was usually chosen because of certain special qualities or the fact that a part of a saint's life corresponded well with the characteristics of a certain group. For example, a saint who had had his/her eyes poked out as part of his/her martyrdom would be a likely candidate for patron saint of blindness or of blind people – in this case, Lucy of Syracuse.<sup>125</sup>

Originally, the phenomenon of patron saints was limited to church dedications and connected to the distribution of relics – both in private and ecclesiastical collections. Later, the use of patron saints was also extended to guilds, such as the medieval guilds dedicated to Knud the Holy or Knud Lavard, found throughout and outside of the Danish kingdom, and the guilds dedicated to Olav the Holy. At a later stage, the Church began to appoint saints as official patrons for specific things, such as regions, ethnic groups and diseases. One of these was St Aldegundis, a visionary nun who

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<sup>124</sup> See, Harper 1991.

<sup>125</sup> St Lucia (c.283-c.304), December 13.

lived in Belgium in the seventh century, who was subsequently made patron saint against sudden death, cancer, wounds and childhood diseases.<sup>126</sup>

Finally, the growth in popularity of saints as patrons is said to have led to the use of saintly intercession in granting indulgences.<sup>127</sup> An indulgence was the reduction of temporal punishment in purgatory for sins which was usually granted by the pope or a bishop. In the case of saintly intercession, one would pray to a saint to request an indulgence directly or make a donation to an ecclesiastical institution in a saint's name for the same reason.

In the research for this dissertation, the importance of a saint's cult as reflected in church dedications was considered. However, the lack of sources for early dedications prevented any conclusions. The early evidence of patron saints from the Lund and Uppsala provinces is limited to the guilds. The importance of the use of certain native saints as patrons of guilds is considered further below.

### **The primary sources – a discussion**

Current understanding of the early cults of saints is, of course, dependent on the extant source material. The actual contents of the hagiographical sources vary from the implausible to the conceivable and the original purpose for their composition may differ markedly. The following provides a brief introduction to the primary sources utilized in this dissertation.

Analysis of the liturgical sources reveals which cults of saints were accepted for inclusion on an official level. Unfortunately, in some cases, an early liturgy is not extant. Some cults were popular, not liturgical in nature; therefore, it is necessary to use other sources, such as ecclesiastical art or *diploma*, to provide evidence of a cult in a certain area. If a cult did not produce a liturgy, it can be assumed that the cult was not important to the official Church. The liturgy provides information about a particular cult at the diocesan or sometimes monastic level and reveals ecclesiastical interests, including the importance of a saint's veneration on an official level. The decision to invest in a certain cult and develop it by writing new prayers was an important step towards greater liturgical importance.

Inclusion in an official provincial liturgy indicates the potential for a more wide-spread knowledge of a saint. On the other hand, the veneration

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<sup>126</sup> Aldegundis (c.633-684), January 30. Watkins OSB 2002: 19.

<sup>127</sup> Head 1999a.

of a saint at this official level does not indicate how well-received the cult was with the general populace. A wall-painting does not preclude official promotion of the cult; however, it does indicate that more people were aware of the saint and these cults would have enjoyed a measure of popular piety. Letters of donation can also reveal a different cultic following. Furthermore, although the evidence from seals and *diploma* might be scarce, it can give a broader indication of the popularity of a saint's cult, especially with the laity.

This dissertation's main primary source is the liturgy of the saints, in particular the liturgical books and fragments found in the archives in Denmark and Sweden. All of the extant fragments have been preserved by chance. This random selection of source material can influence the results; however, the fragments still provide a valuable source for of the emergence and distribution of cults of native saints.

### *Liturgical books and book fragments*

The various books required for liturgical services were directly connected to the cult of saints. The liturgy could be used as a tool to link local saints to the history of ecclesiastical provinces by means of the legends (contained within the *lectiones*); it was especially important in relation to the Christianization of the regions encompassed by the two ecclesiastical provinces.<sup>128</sup> The liturgical books, *Breviarii*, *Psalteria*, *Missalia* and *Manuals*, are all of interest to this study.

Liturgical material was endorsed by the clergy, who controlled the composition and copying of the books used in the liturgy and the form that it took. Although the medieval liturgy was in essence mostly stable throughout the period, the actual details evolved over time and varied from bishopric to bishopric. This was due to the fact that each area had its own liturgical needs to meet. Usually, the cathedral created a particular liturgy for the diocese, which in turn was distributed as the standard to be used in the diocese's parishes.<sup>129</sup> Cathedrals were not the only institutions within

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<sup>128</sup> In this study the word "liturgy" is used to refer to the official services, rites, prayers and ceremonies of the Church, specifically the Liturgy of a particular ecclesiastical province or the Roman Liturgy, contained in official liturgical books. The services contained in liturgical books are of especial interest. The Catholic Encyclopedia (Volume IX) 1908 (2003). Harper 1991: 11-15, Helander 1996: 171-174.

<sup>129</sup> Helander 2001: 17ff. Helander 1957.

the Church that created liturgical works; individual religious orders also produced their own versions. The liturgical sources, therefore, provide us with information about the Church's activities in the Middle Ages and are especially important to research on the pre-1300 period in Scandinavia, due to the paucity of other sources. Furthermore, liturgical sources can give us an idea of which aspects of the Christian belief system were more important than others, when comparing the differences in liturgy among the dioceses and religious orders. Finally, studying the liturgical material gives an indication of which cults of saints the Church wanted to control or promote.

The liturgical books reflect the different parts of the medieval Latin liturgy and were written to create a standard and regulate the conducting of official services, rites, prayers and ceremonies that were performed daily in a church. The most important of these books were those for the divine service, or mass. These included the "Missal" (*Missale*, mass book) which contained texts and music for the mass, the "Gradual" (*Graduale*) with music for the mass, and the "Lectionary" (*Lectionarium*) with readings for the mass as well as the Divine Office.

The main book of the Divine Office was the "Breviary" (*Breviarium*) with services for the canonical hours; music for these services was contained in an "Antiphony" (*Antifonarium*). Usually included in a Missal, Breviary or a Psalter, a "Calendar" (*Calendarium*) listed feast days, including those of saints.

Other books included the "Psalter" (*Psalterium*) with psalms and hymns. Finally, a priest's handbook for church ceremonies and celebrations, including forms to be observed when administering the sacraments, was called a "Manual" (*Manuale*) or "Rituale" (*Rituale*).<sup>130</sup> Other books associated with the liturgy included hagiographic literature containing lives of the saints and their legends, such as *vitae sanctorum* and *legendaria*. In the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, surviving provincial laws indicate that churches were required to possess a certain number of liturgical books. For instance "Smålandslagen" (The Law of Småland, c. 1300) states that a parish church had to have a Missal, Breviary, Psalter and Gradual.<sup>131</sup> These books were clearly important to a properly functioning church.

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<sup>130</sup> Brunius 2004: 155, Brunius 1991: 457, Abukhanfusa 2004a: back cover.

<sup>131</sup> Brunius 1991: 457.

Information can be gleaned from liturgical books which relates to saints' feast days, prayers, masses, fasts and possibly donations made in a saint's name. The presence of a local saint in the liturgy in Sweden would most likely indicate the veneration of that particular saint in the diocese or parish where the book was in use. Likewise, a saint with a feast with a wide observance would suggest that the cult of that particular saint was important to, at least, the clergy who celebrated the liturgy and perhaps also to the parishioners, who would have had a day free from labour. In many cases, saints' names were added to a Calendar after it had been in use for several years. The inclusion of a new saint can be seen as a definite indication of the presence or start of a cult where the book was already in use.

The liturgical rank and observance of a saint's feast in a Calendar indicated how well-established the cult was in a certain area, by a certain time. By itself, inclusion in a Calendar did not indicate active veneration; however, it demonstrated a probable celebration of the feast by, at least, the clergy. A definite indicator of veneration is the addition of a saint by a different hand and at a later date than the composition of the Calendar. Studying the inclusion of saints in a Calendar is especially useful when the rest of the Breviary or Missal is missing and evidence of a unique *officium* is absent. In fact the Calendar has been compared to a "medicinal advisor" or "reference book for favourable and unfavourable days".<sup>132</sup> These included references to which liturgical texts were to be used on which days – directly connected to the cults of saints

The commemoration of a cult as a *festum fori*, *festum chori* or *festum terrae* indicated how the feast was to be celebrated, whether only by the clergy or by all in a diocese or province.<sup>133</sup> The colour used to write a saint's name in a Calendar gave a similar indication. A saint's name in red, often with a cross, or the inclusion of *festum terrae* or *fori* by a saint's name specified that the clergy and laity throughout the diocese or province were obligated to honour a particular saint's day – spiritually uniting everyone throughout the region on that day.<sup>134</sup> A saint's name in black in a Calendar usually indicated a *festum chori*, which is a feast to be celebrated by the clergy; however, it did not preclude the laity celebrating the feast.

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<sup>132</sup> "...en medicinsk rådgivare och en uppslagsbok för gynnsamma och ogynnsamma dagar." Schmid 1932: 80.

<sup>133</sup> The following discussion is based on the debate surrounding these terms, in: Helander 1959a, Helander 1959b, Helander 1959c, Kroon 1947, Lindhagen 1922.

<sup>134</sup> In one case, the Sunesen Psalter (BL Egerton 2652), the names of important feasts were written in gold.

In order to further differentiate the liturgical importance of feasts, the number of lessons written beside a saint, or gleaned from a Breviary fragment, specified a cult's liturgical significance. The major (or double) feasts had nine readings (often also called *festum duplex* or *totum duplex*) and two Vespers, while lesser feasts with three lessons were often described using the term *simplex*.<sup>135</sup> Finally, the commemoration of minor saints was termed *memoria*.<sup>136</sup>

In this dissertation, the rank of a saint's feast is important for several reasons. Firstly, it shows how liturgically developed a cult was by a certain time in the individual bishoprics. Secondly, it shows the importance of the cult in the area in which the liturgical text was used and the saint was venerated. The actual text of the liturgy itself can give clues as to the importance of the saint in the creation of *loca sanctorum*. Although as only fragments remain from the earliest period, it is possible in some cases to determine a cult's rank.

The liturgical manuscripts from Scandinavia have, unfortunately, primarily survived as fragments.<sup>137</sup> The Reformation's attempts to completely sever ties to the previous church's administration led to the confiscation and dismemberment of many liturgical works. In Sweden, the Reformation and the "pressing need" created by Gustav Vasa's financial reforms in the sixteenth century saw to it that these church books would be mutilated and re-used as covers around the Swedish administration's various accounts. Although the parchment was also re-used in Denmark, the leaves from the liturgical books were usually used as covers for various copy-books and not for the central Danish administration's various accounts, unlike in Sweden.<sup>138</sup>

The Danish liturgical fragments included in this study are found in the DRA and DKB in Copenhagen, Denmark, as well as at the LUB Manuscript

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<sup>135</sup> The monastic liturgy might sometimes have had twelve readings instead of nine. Exceptions to the rule exist as there are examples where a *simplex* feast had nine readings at Matins. Harper 1991: 298, 315.

<sup>136</sup> The regular liturgy for *feria* was still used on these days. Harper 1991: 306.

<sup>137</sup> Despite the warning given by Archbishop Nils Alleson in his Rules for the diocese of Uppsala from 1298: "We forbid anyone, for the sake of profit or any pressing need, to cut apart, cut up or mutilate the books of the Church, on pain of excommunication." As quoted in, Abukhanfusa 2004a: 31. In Swedish: Abukhanfusa 2004b.

<sup>138</sup> Abukhanfusa 2004a: 13, Brunius 1994: 109, Brunius 1993b: 3-5. An earlier publication concerning the fragments in all of the Nordic countries is: Brunius 1993a: 8.



Department.<sup>139</sup> The fragments in the first two collections have been grouped according to codex number, where known, and it is by codex that they have been examined in this study. The fragments that have not been identified as belonging to a codex have been catalogued by fragment only, under the assumption that they belong to a separate codex and that one individual fragment is perhaps the only surviving piece of a particular codex. Unlike the fragment material at the SRA, the Danish fragments have not been organized into a database. Instead, it has been necessary to examine the various incomplete catalogues and indices in order to get an initial overview of the material.

The Danish fragment material differs from the Swedish and the Finnish. In Denmark, the central administrative accounts were bound in calf-skin and not parchment fragments. Instead, the parchment fragments were occasionally used to reinforce the bindings on certain copy-books and legislative documents, some of which are still preserved in various archives outside of DRA. These fragments, which number only a few hundred, have only been partially catalogued. In addition, many of the fragments were destroyed during the eighteenth-century re-organization of the exchequer's archive. These fragments would have been used in the bindings of old customs and town accounts and provincial accounts from before 1600. The provincial accounts as a group would have contained the majority of book fragments, as those accounts which have survived the reorganization are usually bound with intact parchment leaves.<sup>140</sup> Although inroads have been made into the classification and analysis of the various collections of fragments, the work is far from complete.

The Danish liturgical fragments, as with the Swedish, can be identified according to the books to which they originally belonged: Missals (MI), Graduals (GR), Breviaries (BR), Antiphonals (AN), Sequence books (SE), Hymnals (HY), Lectionaries (LE), Psalters (PS), *Vita sanctorum* (VI SA)

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<sup>139</sup> See also Table 2.0 to 2.8

<sup>140</sup> Of the nearly 5000 fragments preserved in DRA about 4000 still function as reinforcing for bindings around accounts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while about 600 fragments have been removed. The Danish Classicist, Jørgen Raasted, was the first to begin cataloguing the various fragments at DRA. The method used in the registering of the Danish fragments was copied from the approach developed by Toni Schmid at SRA in Sweden, including the Swedish system of categorizing fragments and assigning codex numbers. Brunius 1993a: 8, Raasted 1960: 146, Petersen 2005: 15. For more information regarding the two different types of accounts bound in parchment, see Tortzen 1987: 108-109.



and Bibles (BI). Over half of the fragment collection at DRA has been classified as originating from liturgical material.<sup>141</sup> As part of Jørgen Raasted's fragment cataloguing project, an attempt was made to create two complementary catalogues; however, the detailed codex card catalogue is incomplete and only describes a fraction of all extant Danish fragments.<sup>142</sup> The majority of leaves come from a codex labelled "Bible 10".<sup>143</sup>

The first, published catalogue of the DRA fragments, *Middelalderlige Håndskriftfragmenter*, was compiled by Esben Albrechtsen in the late 1970s based on the extensive information collected by Raasted.<sup>144</sup> The majority are fragments of Missals; however, many of these are merely thin strips that were used to reinforce account bindings.<sup>145</sup> There are several, newer catalogues which list the detached fragments found in the DRA and act as a continuation of Albrechtsen's 1976 catalogue. In addition to the *Folioregistratur 221*, which also includes re-interpretations of several of the fragments from the original catalogue regarding their categorization and with a more accurate dating, Michael H. Gelting and Knud Ottosen have compiled several inventories accessible online.<sup>146</sup>

One of Ottosen's online publications consists of a project entitled "Liturgical Fragments from Denmark". Besides giving an introduction to the fragments at DRA, as well as Danish Liturgical Books in general, Ottosen has undertaken an analysis of two codices identified among the

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<sup>141</sup> Raasted 1960: 147.

<sup>142</sup> The original project took place from 1944-1960. The first was to comprise an index of "codex cards", each containing a photograph of the fragment in question in addition to a comprehensive description of the fragment. The second was to be a "systematic index", also organized on cards. The highly detailed codex card catalogue is incomplete. Raasted's handwritten notes and observations are kept in a filing cabinet at the DRA, accessible by special permission only. Raasted 1960: 149.

<sup>143</sup> Towards the end of the fragment-cataloguing project, Raasted and his fellow scholars mainly focused on the many leaves extant from a codex they labelled "Bible 10". This Bible was assumed to have been used in Copenhagen, while fragments from various other codices on accounts from a "klosterlän" (province based on a monastery's lands) are assumed to have come from books from the local, dissolved monastery's library. For example, fragments on accounts from Sorø were originally from a Cistercian house, while those from Ringsted would have come from the Benedictine house there. Thelma Jexlev in Brunius 1993a: 9.

<sup>144</sup> This catalogue contains information as to which archive and collection the fragment can be found in, an approximate dating and a classification of the fragment's text, for example Missal, Breviary, etc. Albrechtsen 1976, Petersen 2005: 15.

<sup>145</sup> Brunius 1993a: 8.

<sup>146</sup> Rigsarkivet 1976, Gelting and Ottosen 2002, Ottosen and Gelting 2002a, Ottosen and Gelting 2002b, Ottosen and Gelting 2002c, Ottosen and Gelting 2002d.

removed liturgical fragments at DRA. Both codices have been dated to after 1300 and are therefore not applicable to the present study.<sup>147</sup>

The DKB fragment collection, entitled “*Fragmentsamlingen*” (Collection of Fragments), was catalogued first in the 1880s and later revised in the 1970s by Jørgen Nybo Rasmussen.<sup>148</sup> The final catalogue, *Inventar over Det Kongelige Biblioteks fragmentsamling*, includes all of the fragments in the “Collection of Fragments”, but not the group which was originally stored in the University Library.<sup>149</sup> The information in this catalogue is similar to that found in Albrechtsen’s and subsequent catalogues for the collection of fragments at the DRA.<sup>150</sup> KB has recently published a website entitled *Fragmenta Latina Hauniensia* which contains digital images of a small percentage of the fragments in the KB collection from the year 800 to 1500.<sup>151</sup>

There are several major problems with the Danish fragment material. The first of these has to do with the size of the extant fragments of medieval liturgical books. Most of these fragments are merely thin strips which were used to reinforce book bindings. Those fragments which are still attached to a book binding are often hard to read: the text is usually wedged into the seams. In addition, the small size of the extant parchment leaves often makes it difficult to identify the type of liturgical book from which the

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<sup>147</sup> These are entitled *Missale Danicum* and *Missale Ripense 1504*. Ottosen 2002. Each analysis contains information regarding the location of each fragment, as well as a brief description and a discussion of the liturgical context. In addition, pictures of the *recto* and *verso* of each fragment that was part of the original codex have been posted with a short transcription in the adjoining column. For example, the first folio of *Missale Danicum* is RA fragment 4613, which is presented here: <http://www.liturgiy.dk/default.asp?Action=Details&Item=536>. Ottosen 2002.

<sup>148</sup> Many of these pieces of parchment and paper were transferred to KB from DRA during the nineteenth and early-twentieth century. They had been used as covers on administrative documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in what was then Denmark, which also included present-day southern Sweden and northern Germany. There are also fragments at KB which were originally used as covers or part of bindings around KB books. The entire collection of fragments at KB is administered by the Manuscript Department and contains more than 3350 fragments. KB also houses fragments not officially contained within the “Collection of Fragments”. Among these are the fragments which were originally kept at the University Library and then transferred to KB in the early-twentieth century. Brunius 1993a: 8, Petersen 2005: 15-16.

<sup>149</sup> Created by Geert Andersen and Raasted: Andersen and Raasted 1983, Petersen 2005: 15-16.

<sup>150</sup> It includes fragment numbers, an approximate dating, classification of the fragment’s text, whether or not the fragment is parchment or paper, the fragment’s secondary provenance and, in some cases, comments on a particular fragment’s contents.

<sup>151</sup> See <http://www.kb.dk/da/kb/nb/ha/e-mss/flh.html> and Petersen 2005: 16.

fragment in question would have come, or even to identify the text of which the small fragment would have been a part. The diminutive size of the majority of the Danish fragments is also an impediment to determining the provenance of the fragment and, in turn, the provenance of the book to which it originally belonged (fig. 2).

A further difficulty is the fact that the Danish medieval parchment fragments have only been partly analyzed and catalogued. There is still a lot of work to be done before a similar system is in place as to that found at the SRA, the *Medeltida Pergamentomslag Database* ('Medieval Parchment Covers', MPO-database). Until then, the examination every fragment that might be applicable to a particular study is time-consuming. In many cases, for example, research into the cults of saints, the majority of fragments do not contain enough information to come to any definitive conclusions. The analysis of the parchment fragments undertaken for this dissertation found few clues in the early material for the rank of feasts, despite a thorough search.<sup>152</sup>

A further problem with the Danish parchment fragment material is related to determining the provenance of the individual fragments. It is important to consider the secondary or tertiary provenance of the manuscripts in order to

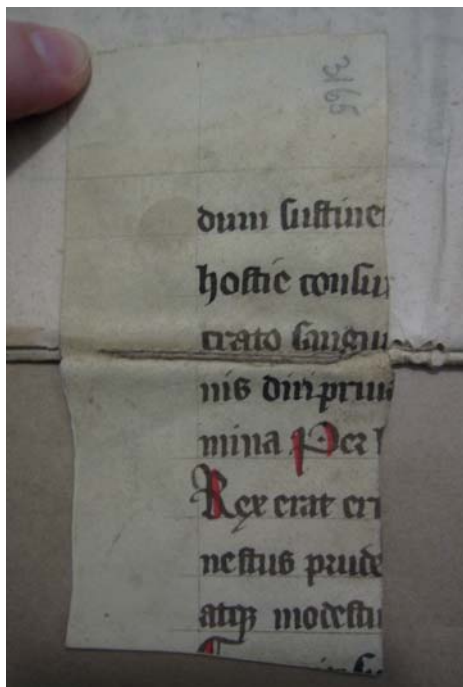


Figure 2. Fourteenth-century Breviary fragment with liturgy for Erik the Holy's feast day (DRA Fr 3165)

<sup>152</sup> The search of the fragment material in the Danish archives did not reveal any new information on the cults of local saints before 1300. The complexity in identifying commons (for all saints) versus propers (for specific celebrations, including saint's feast days) in the liturgy was an issue with such small fragments. Moreover, the preservation of fragments, although consistent in that it involved the systematic destruction of liturgical books made of parchment, was also random in that not all pages from specific manuscripts were used. Although there might have been other attempts to promote local saints and even attempt to have them canonized, these saints do not appear in the early fragmentary liturgical sources.

identify the distribution of a local saint's cult. These terms refer to the second or third locations in which the manuscripts were used, after being acquired by a different ecclesiastical institution than that for which the manuscript was first produced.<sup>153</sup> While it is usually possible to identify where the book was produced – its primary provenance – by palaeographical methods, determining a manuscript's secondary or tertiary provenance can be problematic. Christian Gorm Jensen insists that “not even in fragments from local archives can we expect any connection with local medieval libraries”.<sup>154</sup> This statement is in keeping with the view that because of complications in the binding process it is hard to determine a fragment's secondary provenance.<sup>155</sup> Moreover, Ottosen maintains that no geographical connection exists between the provincial account books and the liturgy found in a fragment's text. If this does occur, it is assumed to be coincidental.<sup>156</sup> It has also been suggested that few of the fragments in the Danish collection actually come from books used in the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, but were instead were books that were acquired later by various antiquarians.<sup>157</sup> Following this line of reasoning, any evidence of saints' cults found in the Danish fragment material could not be used to determine its geographic distribution within the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund.

However, other scholars disagree and maintain that, similar to the Swedish material, it is possible to say a particular fragment came from the same province or medieval bishopric as the account book it covers. As Erik Petersen has written, “the question of the medieval provenance of the fragments is complex and still open to discussion”.<sup>158</sup> For instance, fragments which have been found on accounts from a “klosterlän” seem to come from books from the local medieval monastery's library, evidence of regional or monastic use of the fragments, although not necessarily episcopal use.<sup>159</sup> For the purposes of this study, an attempt has been made to identify, through use of the fragment's secondary provenance, in which bishopric the original liturgical book was used in the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund. These

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<sup>153</sup> For example, parish churches, cathedrals or religious houses. Brunius 2002: 390.

<sup>154</sup> Tortzen 1987: 111.

<sup>155</sup> Tortzen 1987: 108.

<sup>156</sup> Personal e-mail correspondence with Knud Ottosen, 5 April 2006.

<sup>157</sup> Personal conversation with Erik Petersen, November 2006.

<sup>158</sup> Petersen 2005: 15.

<sup>159</sup> Thelma Jexlev in Brunius 1993a: 9.

manuscript fragments were most likely used in various counties in Denmark, where the book was originally confiscated.<sup>160</sup> Unfortunately, the study of the early manuscript fragments in the DKB did not unearth many fragments which contained mention of native saints.

In order to complement the lack of findings in the fragment material, several extant, early liturgical manuscripts have been studied whose provenance is in the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund. Those that include native or Scandinavian saints are the “Næstved Calendar” (Edon.Var. 52, 2°), the “Ribe Martyrology” (GKS 849 2°) and a thirteenth-century Calendar (Thott 805 fol. 2°) – all dated to before the end of the thirteenth century – plus a volume attributed to Peter of Dacia with a Calendar containing several later additions of Danish saints (NKS 275<sup>a</sup> 4°) and the Sunesen Psalter (BL Egerton 2652).<sup>161</sup>

Furthermore, there are several extant manuscripts and numerous fragments preserved at the LUB Manuscript Department. These manuscripts include an epistolary, *Lectioarium Lundense II* (Mh5); the “Record book from the Cathedral of Lund”, *Necrologium Lundense* (Mh6); and the “Martyrology of Ado, for use in the Cathedral of Lund”, *Liber daticus Lundensis vestustior* (Mh7).<sup>162</sup> With regard to the fragments, these total 128 and are mostly liturgical.

One of the earliest liturgical books mentioned by Tue Gad in his *Liturgiske bøger fra Danmarks middelalder* is an eleventh-century Gospel book of English design which apparently was in use in Denmark during

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<sup>160</sup> There are risks involved in determining provenance. Often the provenance of a fragment or text without a specific location written on it is determined by the saints contained within it. This method can lead to circular reasoning: a saint is associated with a particular place and therefore liturgical texts must come from there.

<sup>161</sup> DKB. See also the publications from the exhibition “Living Words and Luminous Pictures”: Petersen 1999b. Cf. Næstved: Petersen 1999a: 37. and <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/18/dan/>; Ribe: Petersen 1999a: 31–32.; Thirteenth-century Calendar Jørgensen 1923–26: 243.; “Peter of Dacia”: Jørgensen 1923–26: 419.

Online catalogues of DKB’s Manuscript Department: *Codices Latini Haunienses*. See <http://www.kb.dk/da/kb/nb/ha/e-mss/clh.html> Jørgensen 1923–26. The *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum* compiled by Ellen Jørgensen is one of the most comprehensive (contains *Codices Theologici*, *Codices Iuridici*, *Codices Philologici* and *Philosophici*, *Codices Geographici et Historici* and *Codices Mathematici Astronomici Medici*). The *Codices Theologici* contain liturgical works of interest to this study. For an early history of the Latin medieval manuscripts in KB, see Jørgensen 1927.

<sup>162</sup> The manuscripts are accessible primarily through the St Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library collection. See Ekström and Larsson 1985.

the Middle Ages.<sup>163</sup> In addition, Gad lists Epistolaries, Psaltars, Missals (including the late medieval printed copies), Breviaries (both hand-written and printed), Offices and other liturgical works, some related to the cults of saints.<sup>164</sup> Among the liturgical books he lists can be found the aforementioned “Næstved Calendar” and *Necrologium Lundense*.

For the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, the results of the liturgical fragment and manuscript searches will be combined in my analysis as being of equal weight. Both types of materials provide liturgical evidence of cult, and therefore the one should not outweigh the other in terms of their importance in helping to illuminate new cults of local saints in the first centuries of the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund.

Turning now to the liturgical sources from Sweden, it is important to keep in mind that the preservation of archives can influence the results of a historical study. For example, more of the medieval archives from Linköping have been preserved than those from Skara. The preservation work of the nuns at Vadstena from the end of the fourteenth century, as well as the fact that this archive was kept relatively intact after the Reformation has influenced source survival.<sup>165</sup>

Early research on the liturgy in Sweden focused on the printed medieval liturgical books from the late-fifteenth century. These include the *Missale Upsalense* (1484), the *Missale Strengnense* (1487), the *Missale Aboense* (Turku, 1488), the *Graduale Arosiense* (Västerås, 1493) and a Psalter and Manual from Uppsala (c. 1487), among others. Research on the liturgy in the early medieval period was based on the “Vallentuna Missal” (*Liber ecclesiae vallentunensis*), a manuscript with its principal hand from 1198, one of the oldest extant books produced in Sweden.<sup>166</sup> As mentioned, most of the extant liturgical material from medieval Scandinavia is in the form of codex fragments, with the largest collection to be found in Sweden.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> “Evangeliarer” Gad 1967a.

<sup>164</sup> The printed Breviaries often state that the older books are full of mistakes, which must be rectified. See Jørgensen 1933b: 482.

<sup>165</sup> See also Tables 3.1 to 3.12

<sup>166</sup> Schmid 1945, Helmfrid 1998, Brunius 1993b: 24, Abukhanfusa 2004b: 34, Björkqvall 1998.

<sup>167</sup> As the Uppsala province also included the Turku Bishopric, the Finnish material has also been taken into account and not just the MPO-database material. Three catalogues record the fragment material from Helsinki University Library, focussing on the fragments from Missals, graduals and breviaries. Haapanen 1922, Haapanen 1925, Haapanen 1932. The Finnish liturgical fragment material is now available online: National Library of Finland 2013.



Of the more than 22,500 book fragments in the SRA, the majority were originally from liturgical manuscripts.<sup>168</sup> As a large number of fragments have been dated to before 1300, they have the potential to help illuminate the history of the early church in Scandinavia, or at least the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, a time-period which is otherwise plagued by a paucity of sources.<sup>169</sup>

The MPO-database contains information on these medieval vellum leaves that were re-used as covers on the Swedish administration's various accounts from, especially, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>170</sup> The database has been referred to as representing the "national medieval library" and it is estimated that the fragments were originally located in about 6000 complete medieval manuscripts, an impressive number of books. The actual number of manuscripts in use in medieval Sweden would have been greater than those pieced together from the fragments, which affects how representative the fragment material is compared to the actual total number of liturgical books.<sup>171</sup>

Although many of the extant fragments were originally part of imported liturgical manuscripts, which were later modified to conform to the ecclesiastical province's traditions, a significant number were produced within the province. For example, previous research has shown that manuscripts from the twelfth century were written in Sweden, including

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<sup>168</sup> Of these 76 percent, 36 percent are from Missals, 34 percent from Breviaries, 13 percent from Antiphonaries, 8 percent from Graduals, 5 percent from Lectionaries, 3 percent from Psalters, 1 percent from Hymnals and no *Rituales* Abukhanfusa 2004a: 11, Brunius 2004: 154-155, Brunius 1993b. In addition, 10 percent are from legal manuscripts, 6 percent from theological works, 5 percent from Bibles, 1 percent from hagiographical manuscripts (i.e. saints' lives). The final 2 percent (the "Varia" group) include works of philosophy, history, science, medicine and lexicography. Björkvall 2004.

<sup>169</sup> The eldest from the eleventh century (91 fragments) and a large number from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (approximately 3636 and 5416 respectively). Brunius 2004: 155.

<sup>170</sup> The cataloguing of all the covers and fragments, including inputting those originally published in the CCM catalogue (*Catalogus Codicum Mutilorum*: 'Catalogue of Mutilated Books') by Toni Schmid and Oloph Odenius, has recently been compiled and is available online from Riksarkivet.

Abukhanfusa 2004a: 13, Brunius 1994: 109, Brunius 1993b: 3-5, Medeltida pergamentomslag database 2005-2014.

<sup>171</sup> Quote in: Abukhanfusa 2004b: 15. See also: Abukhanfusa 2004a: 15. Not all of the vellum bindings have survived the ravages of time and fire. It has been estimated that only half of the original collection of bindings exists today. The majority of the surviving fragments are made of parchment and are from folio sized manuscripts. Brunius 2004: 155-156.

the aforementioned Vallentuna Missal and the Skara Missal from between 1150-1170.<sup>172</sup> Much of the earlier material was originally imported from England and Germany, with additional fragmentary evidence of several French and Baltic manuscripts.<sup>173</sup>

There are also difficulties in determining a manuscript's provenances in the material from the Swedish archives. Firstly, although certain saints can be linked to particular dioceses, it does not mean that a liturgical book containing that saint was actually used in that diocese. The book could have been donated to a church in another diocese and used there; therefore, identifying with which diocese saints' feasts were affiliated does not necessarily identify with certainty the diocese in which it was actually used. Secondly, the liturgical elements necessary to determine whether or not a manuscript belonged to a religious order are rarely present in the fragment material; however, it has been possible to classify the provenance of several fragments this way by means of the special feast days celebrated by particular orders, for example, St Francis and his companions by the Franciscans.<sup>174</sup> Other clues, such as references to the churches in which the fragments were used, a note on ownership or donation of land, or parishioners added to the Calendar, which would otherwise aid in the determination of provenance, are rare.

Other possible methods have been used instead to determine the provenance of the manuscript fragments. The most promising method uses the available catalogue information pertaining to the account books (*räkenskaperna*). Thus, the fact that it is known when, where and by whom the accounts were bound can lead to the determination of the provenance of the vellum binding.<sup>175</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the district a sheriff (*fogde*) collected his accounts from was directly related to the final provenance of the fragments. This method has been used in the present study in combination with recent analysis which identifies from which

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<sup>172</sup> Brunius 1993b: 15, Schmid 1945, Helmfrid 1998. Unfortunately, there are no native saints in the Skara Missal. Björkvall 2006, Pernler 2006, Pahlmblad 2006a.

<sup>173</sup> Helmfrid 1998: 15.

<sup>174</sup> Brunius 2002: 391-392. See also Wolodarski 2004.

<sup>175</sup> Brunius' article includes a detailed discussion of the technicalities of using the catalogue information concerning the account books, including the method of determining whether the books were bound locally or centrally in Stockholm. I will not be going into that discussion here. Brunius 2002: 392ff, Brunius 2004: 156-159.



parishes certain Missals, breviaries and Calendars have come by means of ownership details included in the fragment material.<sup>176</sup>

Although the liturgical material cannot be viewed as a comprehensive collection of the medieval Swedish liturgy due to its fragmentary nature and *lacunae*, this material is comparable to all other historical sources: “we [historians] are obliged to use what we find and ... there is a risk that what we find will give a skewed interpretation of the past”.<sup>177</sup> Despite the risks of making a “biased interpretation of the past”, this material is central to the study of the cult of saints in the medieval Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala. Therefore, the main limitation of the source material – the fact that only pieces of the puzzle are available – must be kept in mind when trying to create a picture of the past, in this case the cults of local saints. For example, more local saints could have been included in the extant, fragmentary manuscripts, but due to various circumstances those leaves have been lost.

The present study on the cults of early local saints using the complete fragment material compiled in the MPO-database is unique and adds to earlier, pioneering research. For example, Schmid, in connection with her work on the CCM catalogue, published several articles and books in which she makes use of the available fragment material, for instance an analysis of the cults of Eskil, Botvid and David, as well as an edition of the Vallentuna mass book mentioned above.<sup>178</sup> In addition, studies in musicology, Slavic languages and Art History have made use of the parchment fragments.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Brunius 1991: 465-469, Brunius 1993a: 18-19. Seventeen manuscripts which can be tied to particular parishes have been found in the fragment material. Several of these books were in use before 1300, as the two extant leaves from a thirteenth-century Missal from Fredsberg, Västergötland, demonstrate. These fragments were used as a cover for the accounts from Vadsbo, Kåkinds and Valle hundred in Västergötland (1556-66) and include a notation that the Missal belonged to Fredsberg's church. Mi 779. Avtagna pergamentsomslag, VgH 1566:6:7 Kvittenser 1565-1566. Brunius 1991: 465, Medeltida pergamentsomslag database 2005-2014.

<sup>177</sup> “vi [historiker] är hänvisade till vad vi finner och ... det vi finner riskerar att ge en snedvriden uppfattning av det förflutna”. Jarrick 2005: 224.

<sup>178</sup> For instance, Schmid 1931b, Schmid 1945, Schmid 1934. In addition to his work on the Uppsala Liturgy, Helander has also written a book on the cult of Ansgar in Scandinavia which makes use of vellum fragments, in addition to church art, chronicles and printed material, in order to examine changes in the liturgy associated with this particular saint's cult. Helander 1989, Helander 2001.

<sup>179</sup> See Brunius 1993b: 9ff, Brunius 2008, Nilsson 2005, Pernler 2007.

### *Ecclesiastical art and iconography*

Another potentially useful source for the cult of saints is to be found in art, especially that which was commissioned for use in churches. During the Middle Ages, ecclesiastical art was an important means of expressing devotion and of depicting significant events and figures from church teachings as well as certain theological concepts.<sup>180</sup> Bishops and parish priests who were responsible for conveying this doctrine had a say in the adornment of their cathedrals and churches, leading to the conclusion that they would have been influential in the commissioning of works of ecclesiastical art.

The relationship between the bishops and priests might have played a role in deciding which works of art to acquire. On the other hand, it is possible that the laity, especially wealthy noblemen, could have commissioned a statue or wall-painting. In these cases ecclesiastical art reveals a lay interest. Involvement on the part of the laity was apparent in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries, according to Carina Jacobsson's study of sculpture in the Uppsala Archbishopric.<sup>181</sup>

In the period 1000-1300, it is more plausible that the clergy had a considerable say in the commissioning of works of art for their churches in both the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund and the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, which in turn would have influenced the thought of parishioners and supplemented church teachings. It was with this in mind that a search of the volumes in the Danish project *Danske kalkmalerier* ("Danish wall-paintings") was undertaken for images of saints from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.<sup>182</sup> In addition, Peter Carelli's work was consulted for

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<sup>180</sup> Lundén 1961.

<sup>181</sup> These donations are evident in later medieval art. Jacobsson's study is limited to the archbishopric and does not cover any other diocese in the province. Jacobsson 2002: 365-368, 388-389, 409-410. See also work on Olav the Holy in medieval artwork: Lidén 1999. and on legends of saints in pictures: Pegelow 2006.

<sup>182</sup> See also Table 2.9. A search of the volumes was made according to saint's name. Subsequently, the findings were sorted according to the date of the artwork. The Danish National Museum has produced six volumes cataloguing church art throughout Denmark, entitled *Danske kalkmalerier*. The project contains detailed reference to all medieval frescoes extant in Denmark from 1080-1536. Unfortunately, the volumes only contain frescoes and do not mention any other types of church art, including altar screens and statues, which could potentially be of interest to this study. The recent digitization of wall-paintings in Danish Churches can be found at: <http://www.kalkmalerier.dk/> and <http://natmus.dk/salg-og-ydelsler/museumsfaglige-ydelsler/kirker-og-kirkegaarde/kalkmalerier-i-danske-kirker/>. Hastrup and Egevang 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1992. Saxtorph 1986.

other possible depictions of saints and *Medeltidens bildvärld* for present-day southern Sweden.<sup>183</sup> The conclusion was that very few of the extant frescoes and other art works that can be dated to before 1300 are of local, Danish saints.

Several thousand churches were erected in Denmark during the early middle ages, yet it is uncertain how many of these were actually originally decorated with wall-paintings. Most of the early murals in the Romanesque style are believed to have been painted during the twelfth century, in particular those on Zealand and in Scania. Unfortunately, there are only a few churches with extant Romanesque frescoes in Denmark, about 130-150 in total.<sup>184</sup> The majority of extant frescoes are instead from the Gothic and, especially, Late Gothic periods.

It should also be mentioned that earlier art usually depicted universal saints or the Virgin Mary; however, many of the figures featured in the various forms of artwork have not been identified. Taking into consideration the fact that very few of the extant frescoes dated to before 1300 are of Danish saints, it is reasonable to assume that few other works of ecclesiastical art from this time period would depict these saints.

A search of the medieval image database, *Medeltidens bildvärld*, was conducted to find depictions of native Swedish saints from the year 1000 until 1300.<sup>185</sup> While the database contains a representative sample of

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<sup>183</sup> "The World of Art in the Middle Ages". The ecclesiastical art referred to by Peter Carelli includes baptismal fonts which are decorated with Biblical scenes or other designs. None of these fonts are adorned with non-Biblical saints besides a font from Lyngsjö (c. 1190) which features pictures of the murder of the English saint, Thomas Becket. Other works of ecclesiastical art include altar screens, church bells and crucifixes. The former contain images of universal saints (e.g. Clement) and English saints (e.g. Botulf), but no indication of Danish saints. Carelli 2001: 301-306, 310-312. In addition, Anders Fröjmark and Christian Krötzel have mentioned that the several gold-plates from Tamdrup Church in Jylland – possible decorations from a reliquary – are feasible indications of a cult of Poppo, the bishop who apparently baptized Harald Bluetooth in 960. Fröjmark and Krötzel 1997: 130, Historiska museet 2003.

<sup>184</sup> Carelli 2001: 291. This number includes those found in Skåne. In fact, they are mostly concentrated in three areas: East Jylland, Zealand and Skåne.

<sup>185</sup> The Museum of National Antiquities in Sweden (*Historiska museet*) has recently published a searchable internet database of medieval church art, *Medeltidens bildvärld*. This reference work contains photographs, dating and descriptions of 4,142 pieces of medieval church art from the whole of Sweden. These objects include the best preserved altar screens, wooden statues, baptismal fonts and frescoes preserved in museums and churches throughout the country. Historiska museet 2003.

medieval ecclesiastical art, it must be stated that not all works from the Middle Ages have survived. Many churches are thought to have owned extensive collections of statues, which have been lost or disposed of in the intervening centuries.<sup>186</sup>

In order to see if the cult of saints had any influence on art that had a secular rather than ecclesiastical function, the various seals contained in the medieval and early modern seal catalogues were considered.<sup>187</sup> The oldest extant seal from Denmark is from the eleventh century, while the last one taken into account for this study is from about 1300. The oldest extant seal in Sweden is from the late twelfth century, while the last one taken into account for this study is from 1305.<sup>188</sup>

In order to attest to the authenticity of a document or diploma, a seal was used as a sort of three-dimensional signature. The image and inscription on the seal identified the executor or issuer of the document and was used to prevent people from forging or tampering with it. Although seals had been in use since Roman times, it was not until the twelfth century, in the midst of the establishment of the Scandinavian ecclesiastical provinces, that the use of seals became more common.<sup>189</sup> At first only rulers and bishops possessed seals; however, different groups such as guilds, monasteries and even other individuals began to have their own unique stamps created in this period.<sup>190</sup> By the end of the Middle Ages, most people or establishments who were often involved in the issuing of diplomas owned their own seals. The use of images of saints upon seals shows the importance of that saint to individuals and different groups, as well as indicating a well-established cult following.

Although research into seals has mainly focused on the extant seals attached to *diploma*, the oldest known seal from Denmark has been preserved as one of Johan Peringskiöld's seventeenth-century drawings.

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<sup>186</sup> Jacobsson 2002: 409-410. For an overview of all the saints that have been depicted in art in Swedish churches, see Pegelow 2006.

<sup>187</sup> See also Table 2.10. These catalogues include those of Poul Bredo Grandjean which deal with seals from towns, guilds and provinces – *Danske gilders Segl fra Middelalderen*, *Danske Købstæders Segl indtil 1660* and *Slesvigske Købstæders og herreders Segl indtil 1660. Herunder Landskabers Segl* – as well as Henry Petersen's catalogues on royal, ecclesiastical and noble seals: *Danske Gejstlige Sigiller fra Middelalderen* and *Danske Kongelige Sigiller samt Sønderjudske Hertugers og Andre till Danmark Knyttede Fyrsters Sigiller, 1085-1559*. Grandjean 1937, Grandjean 1948, Grandjean 1953, Petersen 1886, Petersen 1917.

<sup>188</sup> Nevés et al. 1997.

<sup>189</sup> Carelli 2001: 333-335. See also Norberg 1970: 187f.

<sup>190</sup> See Nevés et al. 1997.

This image is of the double-sided seal that originally hung under the *diploma* containing Knud the Holy's donation to Lund Cathedral in 1085. This seal has been the subject of a debate as to its authenticity. Some scholars argue that Lund Cathedral forged Knud's seal in the fourteenth or fifteenth century in order to promote their own interests, while other scholars disagree and insist that the seal was genuine.<sup>191</sup> Both of the seal's images are of Knud the Holy before his promotion as a saint. Therefore, this seal does not depict a contemporary saint, as Knud the Holy was not regarded as one during his lifetime.

One of the oldest extant seals from Denmark is that of King Canute VI, dated to about 1194 and considered to be the oldest example of the Danish royal coat of arms.<sup>192</sup> Similar to Knud the Holy's seal, this seal does not contain any image of a saint. In fact, it appears that most royal seals feature neither saints nor saints' symbols, although religious signs such as crosses are used and one reference to the Virgin Mary has been found; the image on Queen Margarete Sambiria's seal from about 1263 is of the Virgin Mary with the text "*Margareta regina daci*".<sup>193</sup> The same absence of saints and their symbols is true for other secular seals, including those belonging to nobles and merchant towns before the end of the thirteenth century.

The oldest ecclesiastical seal in Denmark is from the cathedral chapter at Roskilde and has been dated to about 1130. It is assumed that all bishops had their own seals by the last-half of the twelfth-century, and, as might be expected, seals from ecclesiastical establishments featured saints and their symbols. For example, among those dated to before 1300, Augustinian and Benedictine seals featured the patron saint of their church or local monastery, while Dominican and Franciscan seals displayed images of two patron saints.<sup>194</sup> The use of local saints on seals started in the late-twelfth century, but it did not become common until the mid-fourteenth century to use local or Scandinavian saints on seals from cathedrals or monasteries. On the other hand, it appears that the use of saints and their symbols on the seals for guilds was popular from the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>195</sup> These included both Scandinavian and universal saints, the most popular being either Knud the Holy or Knud Lavard.

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<sup>191</sup> Carelli 2001: 334-336.

<sup>192</sup> Bartholdy, Petersen 1917.

<sup>193</sup> Petersen 1917: 2.

<sup>194</sup> Petersen 1886, Prange 1970: 201-203.

<sup>195</sup> Grandjean 1948.

The practice of using ecclesiastical seals is also believed to have come to Sweden in the twelfth century: one of the oldest seals extant in Sweden is that of Archbishop Stefan of Uppsala from the 1160s, sometime after 1164. It features a picture of Stefan in bishop's clothing standing with a shepherd's crook and holding a book in his hands.<sup>196</sup>

The seal of Uppsala's cathedral chapter from 1278 is the next oldest extant seal from the archdiocese. Both of the church's patron saints are pictured on it: Laurence and, on the back, Erik the Holy. Another of the first seals to be used in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala survives from Växjö's cathedral chapter and has been dated to 1292, with a motif from Sigfrid's legend.<sup>197</sup> Other cathedral chapters have seals depicting universal saints, such as Saints Peter and Paul on Linköping's cathedral chapter's seal dated to about 1294.<sup>198</sup> The Poor Clare Convent in Stockholm had a picture of St Clare, their founder, and two angels, while the earliest example of their seal is from about 1290.<sup>199</sup> Similar to Denmark, many monastic seals from Sweden also featured pictures of their founders, for example, Dominic for the Dominicans.<sup>200</sup>

Eventually, some of the laity also used saints on their seals. A seal from just after the end of this study's time period, 1305, is one example. Hemming Susanneson, an inhabitant and councilman of Linköping, had an oval seal with a motif of Olav the Holy.<sup>201</sup> In addition, secular administrative entities chose saints and their attributes for official seals, such as the town of Skänninge's seal from about 1300 containing a picture of the Virgin Mary and Jämtland's seal from the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>202</sup> The use of saints on seals is explored further in the following chapters.

Identifying the geographical origins of these works of art – i.e. where they had their audience and in turn, who that audience was – is important

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<sup>196</sup> RAperg 1164-1167, DS 51. Nevéus et al. 1997: 13, 62.

<sup>197</sup> RAperg. 1292 20/7, DS 1075. Nevéus et al. 1997: 18, 63.

<sup>198</sup> Nevéus et al. 1997: 18, 63.

<sup>199</sup> Nevéus et al. 1997: 19, 63.

<sup>200</sup> Dominic and Peter Martyr, Dominican saints. Strängnäs priory seal, 1275. RAperg 1505 26/3. Nevéus et al. 1997: 20, 63.

<sup>201</sup> RAperg. 1305 6/12, DS 1489. Nevéus et al. 1997: 27, 64.

<sup>202</sup> RAperg 1384 u.d., Riksarkivets pergamentsbref II (1868), nr 2069. Nevéus et al. 1997: 29, 34, 64.

to the present study.<sup>203</sup> By identifying where and when images of local saints were produced, a distribution pattern of their cults over time could be identified. The results from this search revealed only a handful of artworks depicting local saints, which are presented in the following chapters.

### *Diplomataria and chronicles*

In order to discover how wide-spread a saint's cult was, it is also necessary to examine the extant early medieval diploma material. As part of the new system of administration being established in the region, any official decision would have had to have been recorded in writing. For instance, donations and church or chapel dedications would need to be recorded. Any mention of a saint's feast day indicated knowledge of that saint on the part of the commissioner or recipient of a letter. In addition, use of a saint's feast for dating purposes is an example of the saint's popularity as the day would be common knowledge.<sup>204</sup> If the feast day was included in a letter of donation in honour of a new local saint, it is a sign that the cult was well-known and important to the commissioner. The use of a new, local saint's feast day in the dating of a letter is also a sign that the cult was established, at least on an ecclesiastical or administrative level. Other mentions of saints' feast days include letters of indulgence, vows, fasts, offerings to the saint and pilgrimages.

The medieval Danish *diploma* are contained in the *Diplomatarium Danicum* (DD).<sup>205</sup> The first extant domestic, document production, apart from runic inscriptions, is from the end of the eleventh century.<sup>206</sup> The establishment of the Church brought the concept of an administration to both Denmark and Sweden. The Danish king employed scribes and from the twelfth century had an established group of clerics. Cathedral chapters took care of practical church matters, including the production and storing of documents, and had their own scriptoria.<sup>207</sup> Letters were drawn up for both ecclesiastical and secular concerns. For example, starting in the twelfth century, royal charters

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<sup>203</sup> Since it is possible to query/search the database by province ("landskap"), the main criteria used in the search were the modern Swedish provinces, including Blekinge, Bohuslän, Halland, Jämtland and Skåne (as well as "Denmark" and "Norway"). The findings from Blekinge, Halland and Skåne, which were a part of the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, are included in the Danish material.

<sup>204</sup> Jexlev 1988: 189.

<sup>205</sup> See also Table 2.11 to 2.19

<sup>206</sup> Gelting 2004b: 169.

<sup>207</sup> Skovgaard-Petersen 1997: 69.



began to use biblical language and give us an idea of Danish royal ideology.<sup>208</sup> As with much of the medieval material in Scandinavia, there are *lacunae*; however, the remaining items give us valuable information about the time period. There are over one hundred *diploma* preserved in the DD which mention Scandinavian saints to varying degrees.

The medieval Swedish *diploma*, mostly held at SRA and now accessible through the archive's online database (SDHK, *Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbreven*), were primarily gathered and catalogued in the nineteenth century.<sup>209</sup> The oldest extant Swedish letter was written in 1160s by the Archbishop of Uppsala and adorned with the archbishop's and the king's seals.<sup>210</sup>

Letters were written and commissioned for both ecclesiastical and secular documentation. Diplomas were commonly drawn up for certain kinds of law starting in the fourteenth century in Sweden. By the twelfth or thirteenth century, cathedrals and monasteries had formed their own scriptoria where letters were written and copied and records were made about gifts or donations to churches or monasteries. Copies could be made in copy books that were just as legally binding as the original register in the cathedral, while the problem with forgeries, even in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, led to the use of witnesses, seals and dating.<sup>211</sup>

As is the case with the Danish material, many *diploma* have been lost through fire or simple misplacement. Despite these *lacunae*, there are over fifty *diploma* preserved in the *Diplomatarium Suecanum* (DS) which mention Scandinavian saints and have been used in this study.

### *Chronicles and vitae*

Early literature written in Latin in the Danish kingdom was comprised of saints' *vitae* and historiography.<sup>212</sup> Similar works appear later in Sweden. These types of sources provide further information on the native Danish cults to supplement the lack of liturgical fragment finds. The Danish source

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<sup>208</sup> Gelting 2007: 88.

<sup>209</sup> See also Table 3.13 to 3.21. For the "Huvudkartotek, SDHK" of the Swedish medieval diploma material, see <http://www.riksarkivet.se/default.aspx?id=2453&refid=8005>

<sup>210</sup> Fritz 2004: 7.

<sup>211</sup> Fritz 2004: 8-9, Gejrot 2004: 25-26. Forgeries were sometimes created to strengthen property claims. See Gejrot 2003: 31.

<sup>212</sup> For a related discussion of these sources, with various examples, see Gelting 2007: 105-106.



material that fits into this category will be discussed in more depth in relation to the presentation of saints in the following chapters, while the subsequent section contains a brief introduction to some of the main texts.

Firstly, one of the earliest hagiographic works produced in Denmark was the *Gesta Swenomagni Regis et filiorum eius et passio gloriosissimi sancti Canuti Regis et martyris* dealing with Knud the Holy and written by Ælnoth sometime between 1110 and 1117.<sup>213</sup> The importance of Knud the Holy on a secular and ecclesiastical level is reflected in this work.

More information is available on the early history of two of the Danish dioceses, Roskilde and Ribe, due to the fact that chronicles were composed there in about 1137-1138 and 1225-1230, respectively. Firstly, the *Chronicon Roskildense* (Roskilde Chronicle) contains several references to local saints throughout the Lund province, not just within the Roskilde diocese.<sup>214</sup> These include Thøger and Knud the Holy. Furthermore, the *Chronicon Roskildense* refers to tensions between Lund and Roskilde that provide insight into the promotion of local saints and *loca sanctorum*.

Secondly, the *Ribe Bispekrønike* (Chronicle of the Bishops of Ribe, *Cronica ecclesiae Ripensis*) contains information related to the bishopric of Ribe and emphasizes the diocese's relatively independent actions in relation to the archbishop of Lund and Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen. For instance, the history included in this chronicle does not rely on Adam's *GH*. Moreover, it reveals the respect that Ribe had for one of its early bishops, Liufdag.<sup>215</sup> Additional historical sources for the cults of saints that are not specifically hagiographic include Saxo Grammaticus' work, *Gesta Danorum*.<sup>216</sup> Saxo's history was written about fifty years after the Roskilde Chronicle and includes events also found in the chronicle, while adding others. Of interest to this study is the portrayal of Knud Lavard in the work.

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<sup>213</sup> Liebgott 1982: 173, Gad 1971: 153-154. Gertz 1907: 26. Conti 2010: 193. Knud the Holy's legend was re-written in about 1230.

<sup>214</sup> Gelting 1979, Gelting 2012.

<sup>215</sup> Jørgensen 1933-35, Gelting 2004b: 184, Gelting 2012.

<sup>216</sup> Saxo Grammaticus 12th cent. (2005).

## Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of the development of the cult of saints in Western Christendom. The conversion and early Christianization of Scandinavia has also been discussed, as well as the sources available for the early cults of native saints in the region and previous research on the relevant hagiographical topics. Initially, the cult of saints was a local phenomenon which grew in acceptance and popularity as the Church developed into a larger and more established institution. The cults of saints never lost their function in popular devotion or their role in the instruction of proper religious behaviour. These aspects seem to have been an important part in the final establishment of Christianity in newly converted areas. The situation in two of Scandinavia's ecclesiastical provinces, Lund and Uppsala, will be explored in this dissertation by means of an analysis of the emergence of cults of native saints.

This dissertation's application of the theory of "Micro-Christendom" to the two Scandinavian ecclesiastical provinces has been presented. In addition, interpretive methods and terminology have been outlined. For instance, the term "native saint" is used as a translation of "inhemskt helgon" instead of "local saint" due to the limitations of Vauchez' category. In addition, in order to provide an interpretive framework for the cultic spread, they have been categorized according to Thacker's concept of "unilocal" and "multilocal".

The main sources which are used in this dissertation include the extant manuscripts of and liturgical fragments from Breviaries, Missals and, especially, Calendars. The fragments, especially, provide a relatively unused resource for the identification of early cultic establishment, importance and spread. For instance, the provenances of these fragmentary liturgical books can help determine where the new cults of saints arose and how important they were to the official Church. The new cults of native saints are seen as a way in which the landscape was made holy, especially through the creation of *loca sanctorum*, and the inclusion in the liturgy reflects the degree of cultic importance. In order to supplement the liturgical material and provide a broader picture, legends or *vitae*, ecclesiastical art, *diploma*, chronicles and seals have also all been analyzed.

The subsequent chapters contain the results of this dissertation project. Chapter Two presents the cults of native saints that arose in the areas that became the medieval Ecclesiastical Province of Lund and the Ecclesiastical

Province of Uppsala. The cults are then considered according to the terms, “unilocal” or “multilocal”. Chapter Three provides an analysis of the development of the cults of native saints related to the emerging bishoprics in these two provinces from a Micro-Christendom and *loca sanctorum* perspective. The primary investigation focuses on the liturgy associated with each bishopric. Finally, in Chapter Four, these new cults of native saints are compared in relation to emergent themes, such as institutional legitimization, secular and ecclesiastical politics, and a gender perspective, all within a Christianization perspective.



## Chapter Two

### New Native Saints in the North

#### **Introduction: the emergence of cults of native saints in Scandinavia**

Missionary work in the periphery, with its goal of spreading the Christian faith to new areas, often had an additional outcome: the creation of new martyrs. In some places, such as Anglo-Saxon England, new cults of saints arose in conjunction with the conversion and early Christianization. Despite mention of missionaries and martyrs in the *GH* and evidence of a considerable Christian population in finds from ninth century Scandinavia, cults of native saints did not arise until the end of the eleventh century. Although new saints were often created in conjunction with missionary work, it should be mentioned that the rune stones, which provide a localized history, do not name any new saints. God and the universal saints such as the Virgin Mary, Archangel Gabriel and Michael are the most commonly mentioned in prayers. These saints were venerated throughout Christendom and their veneration would have been brought with the missionaries. The first signs of native saints in Scandinavia appear instead in the Latin texts written by clerics starting in the late-eleventh century.

As the purpose of this dissertation is to examine the cults of new, native saints, including their promotion and role in the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions, the veneration of these saints has been identified in the extant medieval liturgical, art and non-liturgical (e.g. *diplomataria*) sources produced and used in the Lund and Uppsala provinces from the eleventh century through to the year 1300. A cult of a native saint is one that has been initiated and promoted in a particular ecclesiastical province and is dedicated to an individual who lived and was active in that selfsame province. The promotion of these cults reflects the local acceptance of all facets of the new religion, as well as the institutional ability to support the veneration of native saints.

Cults dedicated to the majority of these saints emerged, and in most cases spread geographically, before the end of the thirteenth century; the spread was multilocal or the cult remained unilocal. In addition, several categories within the spread of cults have been identified as follows: “missionary saints”, “lay saints”, “holy bishops and priests”, “monastic saints” and “royal saints”.<sup>217</sup> These categorizations are important as the type of saint, as presented in a *vita* or legend, has often been seen to have influenced the spread of a cult and was connected to its importance on an official or popular level.

### *Missionary saints*

A number of missionary saints appear in the early sources describing the newly emerging Scandinavian ecclesiastical provinces. For instance, Adam of Bremen in his *GH* writes about a number of them; however, he also refers to several martyrs and missionary saints who were active in the north without naming them. In order to explain their absence from the *GH*, Adam quotes Sven Estridsen, one of his sources, as saying that they were too numerous to record.<sup>218</sup>

The missionaries that Adam names from the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen who were active in Denmark include: Poppo, Liufdag, Unni and Ansgar. Poppo and Ansgar also worked in Sweden, as did Wolfred, Eric *peregrinus* and Stenfi (Stenfinn).<sup>219</sup> Although he does report that they worked miracles, it is unclear whether or not Adam regarded these individuals as saints. For instance, Poppo did not have a feast day and no liturgical celebrations are extant. The scenes on an altar depicting Poppo’s role in the story of the conversion of Harald Bluetooth have led to the hypothesis that Poppo enjoyed some sort of cultic following until 1200 in Tamdrup.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> These categories support those formed by Fröjmark and Krötzl. See Fröjmark and Krötzl 1997, Fröjmark 1996a.

<sup>218</sup> Adam of Bremen 11th cent. (2002): II.xliiii(41).

<sup>219</sup> Liufdag: Adam of Bremen 11th cent. (2002): II.iv(4), II.xxvi(23), IV.xxxiv(33), Nielsen 1985: 2. According to Adam, Poppo was apparently destined to be bishop in Slesvig: Book 2, xxxv (33). Wolfred: Book 2, lxii (60) Adam of Bremen 11th cent. (2002): 78f, 97f.. Cf. Antonsson 2010: 32-33.

For a similar interpretation, see Antonsson 2010: 28. For a related discussion on martyrs and missionary saints in Scandinavia, see Antonsson 2010: 17-18, 26-32, 36-37, Gelting 2007: 99.

<sup>220</sup> Gelting 2004b: 197.

According to Adam, "*Hericus peregrinus*" or, Eric *peregrinus*, was a martyr and is also mentioned in Botvid's *vita*; however, there are no other extant signs of a successful cult. Thus, except for Ansgar, it is uncertain whether these missionaries were regarded as saints by their contemporaries or Adam. Ansgar was later promoted as a saint by Hamburg-Bremen. Details of his missionary activities can be found in Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii*. In Scandinavia, Ansgar's cult grew in popularity by the end of the fifteenth century.

All of the contemporary sources for actual missionary work in the early conversion period in Scandinavia are of a foreign origin.<sup>221</sup> Nevertheless, later saints' legends claim missionary status for several of the new saints in the area. In the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, the venerated saints were Liufdag and Thøger of Vestervig. For the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, these saints include Eskil of Tuna, Sigfrid of Växjö, Henrik of Finland and David of Munktorp.<sup>222</sup>

### *Lay saints*

These saints did not claim to have an official religious calling and were members of the laity. One of the notable aspects in the categorization of native saints from the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund is that most fall into religious or royal saint categories. The exceptions to this rule are both women: Margarete of Roskilde and Magnhild of Fulltofta. The lay saints from the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala include a woman and a man: Elin of Skövde and Botvid of Södermanland. Lay saints were especially important to the laity as they could identify with these saints on a more practical level.

### *Holy bishops and priests*

In terms of universal saints, this category is the best represented. Men who made an active decision to join the work of the Christian religion are the most common type of saints. The Ecclesiastical Province of Lund features two saints who were promoted before 1300 and were clerics: Kjeld of Viborg and Anders of Slagelse. With regard to the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, Nicolaus of Edleskog fits into this category as a holy priest. It

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<sup>221</sup> Some argue that only in "Sweden" were missionary saints "a notable feature of the medieval religious landscape, especially as patron saints of Swedish bishoprics". This apparent difference will be discussed in the following chapters. Cf. Antonsson 2010: 32.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. the situation in Denmark and Norway where kings were promoted as converters, even at a later date. See Geary 2006: 324-325. Cf. Mortensen 2006b: 258-259.

is important to note that many of the missionary saints were also bishops and could therefore have been placed in this category instead; however, their importance as missionaries in their legends is stressed to a higher degree than the fact that they were bishops.

### *Monastic saints*

These saints had spent at least part of their earthly lives active in a monastery. This category differs from the previous as the connection to a religious order was an extra factor in whether or not they would have been venerated by the Church in general or within a specific order. In the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, only one saint falls into this category: Wilhelm of Æbelholt. For the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, an early monastic saint was Ingrid Elofsdotter of Skänninge, the founder of the Dominican nunnery in Skänninge. Although Ingrid died in the late-thirteenth century and there is reason to believe that she was locally revered as a holy woman, the earliest evidence of the promotion of her cult has been dated to the fourteenth century.<sup>223</sup>

### *Royal saints*

Saints in this group had been members of the ruling families in their respective kingdoms, in some cases even the reigning monarch. In the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, this category of saints seems to be the most widely promoted, at least judging by previous research on the topic. Several members of the Danish royal families were officially canonized saints, while some were promoted as saints by their descendants without official papal (or episcopal) approval. Royal Danish saints included Knud the Holy, Knud Lavard, Erik Plovpenning<sup>224</sup> and Niels of Aarhus.<sup>225</sup>

In the region that would eventually become the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, there was a relative lack of Swedish royal saints. The main saint of choice was Erik Jedvardsson (Erik the Holy). Otherwise, the other royal saints that were venerated in this area all originated in the Lund or Nidaros

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<sup>223</sup> Sahlin 2010: 694-695.

<sup>224</sup> Plovpenning translates to roughly “plough penny” and refers to a tax associated with Valdemar I and Erik Plovpenning. The term is used in this dissertation to differentiate between the two saint Eriks.

<sup>225</sup> Despite claims of his holiness in the *GH*, Harald Bluetooth was never promoted as a royal conversion saint unlike Olav the Holy of Norway. For further discussion, see Antonsson 2010: 31-32.



provinces. The most popular royal saint throughout Scandinavia was, of course, Olav the Holy of Norway.

### **Native saints and geographical cultic spread**

The following contains an overview of the lives of the native saints included in this dissertation, the hagiography associated with them and their claims to sanctity. In addition, the geographical spread of their cults, whether multilocal or unilocal, is discussed.

#### ***Multilocal cults***

The majority of the cults of native saints from Scandinavia can be classified as “multilocal”. These saints were venerated in several different dioceses within an ecclesiastical province and in some cases across provincial boundaries. The saints below are presented according to the chronological establishment of the original bishopric with which they are associated.

#### ***Thøger of Vestervig***

The missionary saint, Thøger of Vestervig, enjoyed an early cult. Despite the fact that there is no mention of him in Adam’s *GH*, Thøger’s legend claims that King Sven Estridsen, who was otherwise a source for Adam, was instrumental in the establishment of his cult.<sup>226</sup> Information about Thøger comes from his legend which has been dated to the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century. It reports that he was born in Thüringen. Later, his travels took him to England and Norway, where he was chaplain for a king Olav.<sup>227</sup> Finally, he arrived in Denmark to preach and convert. Upon arriving in Vestervig (north-east Jutland), he built a church, where he served as a priest until his death.<sup>228</sup> The legend assumes it was in the early-eleventh century, but the accuracy of this date is uncertain.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> See Antonsson 2010: 30. In general, there seems to have been a lack of interest by the bishoprics in the Lund province in venerating the remainder of the “many martyrs” that Sven Estridsen had mentioned to Adam. For a discussion of Sven Estridsen’s involvement in relation to the other cults mentioned by Adam, see Antonsson 2010: 30.

<sup>227</sup> It is uncertain which Olav, but speculation has pointed towards Olav Haraldsson. See Gad 1971: 251-252.

<sup>228</sup> Several other saints in this study are specifically mentioned as church-builders, including Elin of Skövde and Erik the Holy.

<sup>229</sup> Antonsson 2010: 29.

Furthermore, Thøger's legend contains a story about his translation in 1117, with the addition that the local bishop was against it. Ensuing miracles were enough to convince the bishop to translate his body and Thøger's continued veneration was supported. Reference to his papal canonization is also included in the legend.<sup>230</sup>

### *Kjeld of Viborg*

The holy priest, Kjeld of Viborg, who had been born into a family of high-standing in about 1105, was made a provost of the cathedral chapter in Viborg in the early-twelfth century. His legend relates that he had originally opposed the idea, preferring to give away his possessions and live a life of poverty. His generosity in almsgiving was reportedly why his fellow canons forced him to resign. Afterwards Kjeld visited the pope (Eugene III) in Rome, who instructed him to return immediately to his post in Viborg. It appears that the papal admonition was convincing as Kjeld was re-instated and remained provost until his death from natural causes in 1150.

After his death, Kjeld's reputation for sanctity grew and, in the 1180s, the cathedral chapter of Viborg began to promote his cult and attempted to have him papally canonized.<sup>231</sup> Kjeld's cult was also approved by the archbishop and king.<sup>232</sup> His *translatio* took place on July 11, 1189, by which time his cult was known throughout the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund.<sup>233</sup> He was canonized by Pope Clement III. In addition, knowledge of Kjeld's cult later spread to the provinces of Nidaros and Uppsala as evidenced by the stories of miracles.<sup>234</sup>

Kjeld's *vita* survives in excerpts from his canonization process from the twelfth century.<sup>235</sup> The successful canonization application also included

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<sup>230</sup> Nielsen 1985: 4. See, also, Antonsson 2010: 29. For an alternative dating to the late-eleventh century due to mention of Sven Estridsen, see Gelting 2007: 105. See also Carlé and Frøjmark 1996: 512,530, Gertz 1908-1912: 9.

<sup>231</sup> Antonsson 2010: 29.

<sup>232</sup> Absalon was simultaneously bishop of Roskilde and Archbishop of Lund at this time. The king was Knud VI (1182-1202).

<sup>233</sup> See Ciardi 2010: 59-60. Jexlev also mentions that his feast day was used to date many legal documents throughout Jutland in the later Middle Ages, which shows a lasting cultic influence. Jexlev 1988: 186.

<sup>234</sup> Møller Jensen 2012a. Miracles were reported in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and even Scotland, according to Gertz's edition of *Miracula beati Ketilli confessoris*. See 'Medieval reception and transmission' in Møller Jensen 2012a.

<sup>235</sup> Gelting 2007: 105.

Kjeld's legend and miracles.<sup>236</sup> Liturgical material composed to celebrate or record his feast day is extant for the early period and will be discussed in relation to its place of use. The continuity and popularity of Kjeld's cult throughout the Middle Ages is evidenced by the two late medieval missals from Viborg and Slesvig which contain a mass written for Kjeld's day with new prayers not included in the earlier office.<sup>237</sup>

### *Knud the Holy*

One of the many royal saints who enjoyed a multilocal cult that spread outside of its original province was Knud the Holy: Knud IV Svendsen, son of King Svend II Estridsen and king of Denmark in the mid-eleventh century, from about 1080-1086. The first royal saint to have been venerated in Denmark, Knud the Holy's cult became important in both the Lund and Uppsala provinces.

Knud the Holy's story is well-known and research into various aspects of his cult has been popular.<sup>238</sup> His martyrdom in St Alban's Church was motivated, according to the *Chronicon Roskildense* (Roskilde Chronicle, c. 1140), by the fact that he forced a new tax on the Danes. After his death, an unknown monk of St Alban's wrote the oldest version of Knud's life. Sometime between 1110 and 1117, a monk by the name of Ælnoth composed the *Gesta Swegnomagni Regis et filiorum eius et passio gloriosissimi sancti Canuti Regis et martyris (Passio)*.<sup>239</sup>

The first to honour Knud the Holy as a saint were the Benedictine monks in Odense in about 1095.<sup>240</sup> His translation subsequently took place in about 1101, following his canonization in 1100. Those responsible for applying to the papacy included the monks in Odense and King Erik

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<sup>236</sup> Jexlev 1988: 186.

<sup>237</sup> These include a sequence. See 'Missa' in Møller Jensen 2012a.

<sup>238</sup> For example, Albrechtsen 1986, Chesnutt 2003, DuBois and Ingwersen 2008, Gad 1963, Gertz 1907, Villads Jensen 2002, Jexlev 1986, Kofod-Hansen 1986, Wallin 1975, Wallin 1986.

<sup>239</sup> Liebgott 1982: 173, Gad 1971: 153-154, Gertz 1907: 26. For a short discussion of the dating of the *Passio*, see Conti 2010: 193. For a discussion of how Ælnoth's work was part of a mythopoietic movement, see Mortensen 2006b. For the monks functioning as the cathedral chapter and the influence of their Knud devotion on the cathedral's liturgy, see Wallin 1975: 142. See, also, Ciardi 2010: 44ff., 63. *Chronicon Roskildense*: Gelting 1979, Gelting 2012. Knud the Holy's legend was re-written in about 1230.

<sup>240</sup> July 10 was the feast day of his death. Unlike Olav the Holy, Knud the Holy was not venerated as a conversion king, although his support for the new church was emphasized in his legend.

Ejegod. His shrine can still be seen in the crypt under St Knud's Church in Odense.<sup>241</sup>

With regard to his saintly disposition, Knud the Holy is said to have performed miracles after his death and he is credited with defending the Church during his lifetime. Evidence for his cult exists in the form of hagiographical writing including his legend and liturgical texts for his feast days.<sup>242</sup> In addition, several churches were dedicated to him, including his primary shrine in St Knud's Church in Odense, and some early wall-paintings in the Lund province probably feature the saintly king.<sup>243</sup> Furthermore, his image was used at an early date in Odense.<sup>244</sup> The interest of guilds in having Knud the Holy as a patron contributed to his cult becoming multilocal across provincial boundaries.

Regarding the liturgical material, Knud the Holy is well-represented. He is found in most diocesan calendars on both of his feast days and his feast day was used to date letters by the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>245</sup> Knud the Holy's feast day can also be found in the extant obituary books from Lund, Roskilde, Copenhagen, Nysted and Ribe.<sup>246</sup> His veneration was wide-spread.

In the Uppsala province, there are a number of extant, pre-1300 fragments that bear witness to a liturgical cult in Knud the Holy's honour.<sup>247</sup> These liturgical fragments were originally included in calendars, missals and breviaries from throughout the Uppsala province. As it is possible that some of these books were produced in the Lund province and then later used in the dioceses within the Uppsala province, Knud the Holy's

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<sup>241</sup> Liebgott 1982: 173, Gelting 2007: 101. The papal acceptance is dated to 1099 and the celebration to April 19, 1100, see Nyberg 2002: 54-56.

<sup>242</sup> Feast days: day of death, July 10 and translation, April 19. Gad 1971: 156. See also Nyberg 2002: 54-56.

<sup>243</sup> Knud the Holy can be seen among the wall-paintings in Stehag Church in Skåne (1150-1200); however, the image and inscription ("KANVTR") could instead refer to Knud IV, king of Denmark from 1182-1202. Otherwise, the majority of paintings which include Knud the Holy were commissioned in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Liebgott 1982: 173. Historiska museet 2003: ID 900617M4. For the later iconography of Knud the Holy, see Kofod-Hansen 1986.

<sup>244</sup> See below. The seals belonged to St Knud's monastery and chapter, dated to c. 1183, and Bishop Gisico of Odense (1286-1300), from about 1296. Grandjean 1948: 43, #41 and #43.

<sup>245</sup> See below and Jexlev 1986: 90-92. Jexlev also discusses the use of Knud the Holy or Knud Lavard in letter dating.

<sup>246</sup> Wallin 1975: 142.

<sup>247</sup> Table 3.11

presence in these books could simply have indicated knowledge of Knud as a saint. However, a late-thirteenth century letter from the bishop of Linköping indicated that the cult of presumably Knud the Holy was important enough to require rules governing the days after his feast.<sup>248</sup> As will be discussed further in the coming chapters, both Knud the Holy and Knud Lavard were popular patron saints of guilds in both Sweden and Denmark, a practice which started in about 1300.

The multilocal, multi-provincial spread of Knud the Holy's cult was long-lasting. In the fourteenth century, Knud the Holy's feast was added to new calendars in Linköping, Uppsala, Västerås and Turku, which indicated that he was still venerated on a liturgical level after this date in the Uppsala province.

### *Knud Lavard*

The royal saint, Knud Lavard, suffered a fate akin to that of his relative, Knud the Holy: he was murdered. Despite his unfortunate end, Knud Lavard's descendants were eventually victorious, winning both the throne and a saintly relative. In addition, Knud Lavard's cult became multilocal.

In 1131, Knud Lavard, Duke of Slesvig and king of the Obotrites, was killed by his cousin Magnus, son of the reigning monarch Niels. This incident in turn led to civil war and years of feuding until Knud Lavard's own son, Valdemar I, became king in 1157.<sup>249</sup> The monastery responsible for the initial promotion of Knud Lavard's cult was located near his place of martyrdom, Ringsted, and, as with the monastery in Odense, was run by the Benedictine order.<sup>250</sup> These Benedictines were also responsible for the promotion of his cult, partly through the composition of his *vita* as well as the care of his relics located in a shrine in the main altar of St Benedict's (St Bendt) Church in Ringsted.

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<sup>248</sup> See discussion below. Written in 1294. DS 111 (Table 3.21)

<sup>249</sup> Gad 1971: 157, Gelting 2007: 102.

<sup>250</sup> According to Ane Bysted (presentation at *Ora pro nobis* conference in Copenhagen April 3-4, 2014), the foundation of the abbey occurred during Svend Norman's reign in the 1080s and not during Erik Emune's in 1135. The basis of this reinterpretation is that the translation of DD 1:2 nr 65 (February 1135) is a misinterpretation of "coadunavimus" which means "we have gathered" and instead indicates that an abbey had been established or that brothers were already residing in Ringsted.

An English Benedictine monk, Robert of Ely, wrote Knud Lavard's first biography. It has been assumed that Lavard's half-brother, Erik Emune, requested its composition.<sup>251</sup> Written before 1137, this original biography would have contained three books dealing with Knud Lavard's life, death and miracles, but it is unfortunately almost entirely lost.<sup>252</sup> The monks in Ringsted did not wait for the official canonization before the composition of a liturgy in Knud Lavard's honour.<sup>253</sup> A *Vita altera* was created by the Ringsted monks, providing a *historia* which met contemporary liturgical requirements.<sup>254</sup> Excerpts from this *historia* were then used in Roskilde and Odense for the secular liturgy; however, the strategy of attempting to spread Knud Lavard's cult to Jutland did not fully succeed as the later medieval missal from Viborg and breviary from Aarhus are missing the Passion Mass and the Office, respectively.<sup>255</sup>

The papal canonization of Knud Lavard was confirmed by a letter from Pope Alexander III in 1169. This letter also mentions miracles that occurred by Knud's grave as well as a spring dedicated to him near the pilgrimage chapel in Haraldsted.<sup>256</sup> According to some, Knud Lavard was described as a crusader and his cult was promoted as such, especially through the Knud Guilds (*Knudsgilder*) when they were under his patronage.<sup>257</sup>

Despite disparities in various medieval *necrologia* and calendars from the ecclesiastical province, Knud Lavard's feast days marking his death on January 7 and his translation on June 25 were included in every diocese in

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<sup>251</sup> Chesnutt 2003: 5.

<sup>252</sup> The surviving excerpts were copied into other manuscripts, among these AM 1049 4to in the Árni Magnússon Collection in Copenhagen, Denmark. Chesnutt discusses these and presents the hypothesis that Ælnoth's biography of Knud the Holy was the literary model. Chesnutt 2003: 5.

<sup>253</sup> Chesnutt 2003: 66–67.

<sup>254</sup> Chesnutt discusses the various possible composers and provenances of the *vita* in detail. See Chesnutt 2003: 54–67. Furthermore, based on his analysis, Chesnutt assumes that the ruling ecclesiastical authorities in Denmark did not wait for the papal canonization before composing a liturgy for Knud Lavard.

<sup>255</sup> Chesnutt 2003: 66–67.

<sup>256</sup> Gelting 2007: 102. Liebgott 1982: 173. It was built in about 1150 (presentation by Ane Bysted at *Ora pro nobis* Conference in Copenhagen, April 3–4, 2014).

<sup>257</sup> Villads Jensen 2002: 66–73.

the Lund province by the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>258</sup> Sources indicating the later medieval popularity of Knud Lavard's cult are two ballads and a mystery play based on the liturgy for his feast day.<sup>259</sup>

With regard to the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, mention of Knud Lavard is rare in the extant liturgical fragments. Only a few contain his name; however, two letters from the late-thirteenth century reveal an active cult in the Linköping Bishopric by the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>260</sup>

### *Margarete of Højelse/Roskilde*

Among the Danish non-royal, lay-saints, only Margarete's cult can be considered multilocal as her veneration was evident in at least two dioceses. Margarete reportedly died in 1176, having been murdered by her husband. The death had initially been reported as a suicide as her husband made it look as if she had hung herself. She was originally buried, therefore, in unconsecrated ground on the beach in Køge as a suicide. After miracles were reported at her original grave, her body was translated in 1177 to Our Lady Church in Roskilde, part of the Cistercian nunnery.<sup>261</sup> Absalon, the bishop of Roskilde, accepted these miracles as evidence of Margarete's innocence and promoted her as a martyr.<sup>262</sup>

Margarete of Roskilde's cult is an exception in the Danish pantheon of saints. She is one of few female Danish saints from before 1300 whose cult was actively promoted, who was a layperson and who stood a chance of enjoying a continued cult following. There was also an attempt made, in part by Absalon, to officially canonize Margarete.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> These deviations were found in the Roskilde Bishopric which included both feasts from an early date and Lund which only celebrated his day of death. Næstved and Nysted, despite being located in the Roskilde Bishopric, only celebrated his day of death. Initially, only his translation day was celebrated in Ribe. These differences eventually resolved themselves over the course of the next few centuries as both of his feasts are found in all of the later printed breviaries. Wallin 1975: 144.

<sup>259</sup> DuBois and Ingwersen 2008: 165-170.

<sup>260</sup> Table 3.21

<sup>261</sup> A discussion of *translatio* as an important aspect of the initiation of a saint's cult and a description of the festivities can be found in: Nielsen 1985: 3. The church was built by Svend Nordmand, bishop of Roskilde from 1073-1088. In the 1160s it was attached to a Benedictine nunnery. By the time of Margarete's translation the nunnery was Cistercian (from the 1170s).

<sup>262</sup> For a connection of Margarete to the "general trend" in promoting local saints, see Antonsson 2010.

<sup>263</sup> Clausen 2009. See below.



Her story was written down in several texts. Among these are two hagiographical works: one from Roskilde (*Relatio de translatione sanctae Margaretae Roskildensis*) and the other found in Herbert of Clairvaux's book, *De miraculis* or *Liber miraculorum*.<sup>264</sup> Both texts include numerous *exempla*. These texts reveal who Margarete supposedly was and how she lived; their descriptions were accepted as the truth about the life of this saint. One version of the story includes a sister-in-law in the family constellation on the farm in Højelse where Margarete was reported to have lived. Margarete was described as a pious and forgiving woman, as well as humble. Her good works and humility irritated her husband to the point that he abused her and considered her stupid.<sup>265</sup> According to this second version of her *historia*, Margarete's sister-in-law apparently was a fellow antagonist, as well as a co-conspirator in Margarete's murder.<sup>266</sup>

Other evidence for Margarete's cult includes mention of her shrine in an Icelandic itinerary for thirteenth century pilgrims.<sup>267</sup> Moreover, Margarete was included in the liturgy of the Roskilde Diocese by the thirteenth century. Later evidence for the continued veneration of Margarete is exemplified by a relic, a piece of her clothing, that was stored at Lund Cathedral and used to help women in childbirth.<sup>268</sup>

### *Wilhelm of Æbelholt*

The only monastic saint in the Lund province was Wilhelm of Æbelholt, whose cult became multilocal.<sup>269</sup> Wilhelm himself was a French Augustinian regular Canon, who had been born, raised and educated in Paris. During Absalon's student-days in Paris, he and Wilhelm met and got to know each other. When Absalon became bishop of Roskilde, he sent for Wilhelm in order to aid in the reorganisation of the abbey in Eskilsø in the Roskilde

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<sup>264</sup> Also known as *Liber miraculorum* (c. 1178-82) and edited by Weibull. Weibull 1931: 285-288. See also Sahlin 2010: 690-691, Damsholt 1985: 218-219, Damsholt 2012.

<sup>265</sup> Sahlin 2010: 690-692, Damsholt 1985: 212-216, 219, Weibull 1931: 288. Damsholt and Weibull estimate that the entry about Margarete in the *Liber miraculorum* was written in about 1180. See also Damsholt 2012.

<sup>266</sup> These details are not found in the *translatio* text.

<sup>267</sup> Jexlev 1988: 187.

<sup>268</sup> For reference to later popular use of her cult, including the clothing relic in Lund and her relics in Gumlöse (Skåne), see Sahlin 2010: 691.

<sup>269</sup> The Danish spelling of his name is used here. Originally he would have been known as Guillaume and in English as William.



fjord.<sup>270</sup> The monks there were apparently in need of some guidance. As part of his reform efforts, Wilhelm moved the abbey to Æbelholt, where it eventually became one of the largest in Denmark.<sup>271</sup> According to his legend, these reforms were not met with open arms and Wilhelm was opposed, often with threats of violence, even drowning, or selling him to the Wends. Wilhelm, naturally, was patient and kind despite the hostility he encountered.<sup>272</sup>

Before Wilhelm died in 1203, he was a productive writer, mostly within his position as abbot of one of Denmark's most important abbeys. He was responsible for a large collection of letters, several diplomas and his treatise, *Tractatus*.<sup>273</sup> For example, Wilhelm wrote letters to his former abbey and he composed several letters of edification to the nuns in Slagerup, including the king's daughters. In one of these, he discussed the drinking habits of Danes at mealtimes.<sup>274</sup>

In addition, Wilhelm was actively involved in Danish political affairs. Not only was he friends with the highly industrious, reform archbishop, Absalon, but he also had connections in France through his former abbey, St Geneviève in Paris. An example of Wilhelm's political dealings was his role in the tragic marriage of the Danish princess, Ingeborg, to the French king, Philip II Augustus – both brokering the union and attempting to save it by obtaining a papal bull on the matter, as well as supporting Ingeborg via encouraging letters during her imprisonment.<sup>275</sup> Wilhelm's activities during his lifetime indicate that this non-royal saint had an important political role and that ecclesiastics were important in secular politics.

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<sup>270</sup> Located off the coast of Sjælland.

<sup>271</sup> The 25 canons served 100 poor people food every day and ran a large hospital. Wilhelm was aided by Absalon in his work. See Gad 1971: 257.

<sup>272</sup> Of course, all of these acts in opposition to Wilhelm's plans were presented as works of the devil and were used in order to clearly demonstrate Wilhelm's piety and holiness, making him a perfect candidate for a saint.

<sup>273</sup> See Damsholt 2001: 5, 10-13.

<sup>274</sup> Apparently getting drunk at meals was a Danish custom about which Wilhelm felt it important to warn the women. For a short discussion of these letters in the genre of St Jerome, see Damsholt 2001: 13.

<sup>275</sup> Damsholt 2001: 12. Wilhelm had an important political function in his lifetime with his connections to Paris and the archbishop of Lund. See also Wellendorf 2012.

There is no extant Danish version of Wilhelm's life, but a copy was also made at Wilhelm's original abbey in Paris where it has survived intact.<sup>276</sup> The miracles attached to his legend, sent to Rome as part of the canonization application, contain detailed descriptions of illnesses, the anxiety of the ill, their prayers and Wilhelm's subsequent intercession.<sup>277</sup> The papal canonization process was completed in 1224, whereas Wilhelm's *translatio* was not undertaken until 1238.<sup>278</sup> In Roskilde, two feasts were celebrated in his honour, June 16 and November 30, the anniversary of the translation of his arm from Æbelholt to Roskilde. Eventually, Wilhelm was liturgically venerated all over the Lund province, while his miracle collection reveals connections to the Uppsala province.

### *Erik Plovpenning*

This late-comer to the royal-saint category enjoyed a multilocal cult. In about 1250, the Danish king Erik Plovpenning was murdered by his brother, Abel, who wanted the throne for himself. Both were sons of King Valdemar II Sejr, known for his expansionist policies. The background to their conflict probably began when Erik Plovpenning was made co-sovereign with his father, while Abel was given the duchy of Slesvig. Erik Plovpenning succeeded his father as sole monarch in 1241 without much trouble. However, nearly his entire reign was fraught with conflict with the Danish church and war inside and outside of his kingdom. After declaring himself king as part of his continuing war upon Erik Plovpenning, Abel had Erik forced aboard a boat on the Slien Fjord where he was murdered and his body unceremoniously dumped overboard. Abel was then declared king.

This type of fratricide would not normally lead to a case for canonization, especially considering Erik Plovpenning's conflict with the Danish bishops during his short reign. However, his case was supported by the fact that

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<sup>276</sup> Gelting 2007: 105. See Gertz 1908-1912: 288ff., Olrik 1893-1894: 169-286.

<sup>277</sup> Gad 1971: 257. For Wilhelm's miracles, divided into two chapters, see Olrik 1893-1894: 248-277, 277-286, Gertz 1908-1912: 288ff. The miracles also reveal regular medieval medical practices and show people from a variety of locations who knew about Wilhelm and his saintliness. For pilgrims in the miracle stories, see Krötzl 1994: 190ff.

<sup>278</sup> For an interpretation that Wilhelm was actually canonized in 1224, see Gad 1971: 257, Damsholt 2001: 5. Although Jexlev writes that the process was "initiated" in 1224, from the rest of the paragraph about Wilhelm's cult, it appears to be a question of an unsuitable choice of words. Jexlev 1988: 187.

miracles attributed to him were reported. Moreover, a rival candidate for the throne, Erik and Abel's youngest brother, Kristoffer, seemed to feel his claim would benefit from a saintly brother.<sup>279</sup>

With regard to the miraculous side of things, the first indication of Erik Plovpenning's holiness was a reported mysterious light-show which simplified the discovery of his body by fishermen where it had washed ashore. Although originally buried in Slesvig, near where he was murdered, Erik Plovpenning was translated to the royal tomb in Ringsted in 1258 under Kristoffer's initiative. In connection to his *translatio*, an application for Erik Plovpenning's canonization was reportedly sent to the pope; however, interest in the case seems to have eventually diminished.

Other evidence for the attempt to create a cult around Erik Plovpenning includes the wall-paintings in St Bendt Monastery Church in Ringsted (Sjælland) and Tømmerup Church near Kalundborg (Sjælland).<sup>280</sup> The wall-paintings in St Bendt Church in Ringsted depict the murder of Erik Plovpenning and the miracle that caused the fishermen to find his body.<sup>281</sup>

Erik Plovpenning's cult was primarily confined to Sjælland and does not appear to have survived long. For example, no liturgy was written in his honour, although a miracle collection has survived.<sup>282</sup> It seems that he enjoyed some sort of cultic following on a popular level. For example, he was the patron saint of some guilds in Copenhagen, Rødninge, Kallehave, Næstved and Stege.<sup>283</sup> A number of extant seals from two guilds based in the area around Kallehave (South Sjælland) feature Erik.<sup>284</sup>

Erik Plovpenning also had connections to the ruling family in *Suecia*. Erik's daughter, Sophia, apparently took the cult with her to Sweden when she married Valdemar Birgersson.<sup>285</sup> Evidence for the awareness of

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<sup>279</sup> This will be discussed below in connection with the cults of saints and secular politics.

<sup>280</sup> Tømmerup: Haastrup and Egevang 1987: 190-191. Ringsted: Haastrup and Egevang 1989: 84, 86-87. It is important to note that Erik Plovpenning and Knud Lavard are the only local/regional saints, besides Olav, featured in ecclesiastical art before the fourteenth century in Denmark.

<sup>281</sup> Ringsted: Haastrup and Egevang 1989: 84, 86-87. See also Jørgensen 1909b: 51.

<sup>282</sup> See Olrik 1893-1894: 382ff.

<sup>283</sup> Jørgensen 1909b: 51-52.

<sup>284</sup> St Erik "Regis" Guild in Kallehave ("Kalwehav", c. 1266 or 1275) and Rødninge Paa Møen ("Røthinge", c. 1275). Petersen interprets these as belonging to Erik the Holy of Sweden, which is unlikely. Petersen 1886: 19-20, Tavle 1c-1d.

<sup>285</sup> Ahnlund 1948: 312-315. Other research suggests that his cult became popular in just a short time. Wallin 1975: 57.

a cult in Erik Plovpenning's honour can be found in his miracle collection from 1274. Several of the miracles mention Swedish locations.<sup>286</sup>

There is no indication that Erik Plovpenning was venerated liturgically in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala.<sup>287</sup> As in the Lund province, his cult appears to have only been active on a popular level for a limited period. The cult's multilocal spread did not last in the long run.

### *Eskil of Tuna (Strängnäs)*

One of the earliest missionary saints from the Uppsala province to enjoy a multilocal cult was Eskil. According to the version of his legend written in the late-thirteenth century, Eskil was a missionary bishop who was active in and around Tuna, Södermanland, in the eleventh century. The legend describes his martyrdom which was a direct result of a pagan reluctance to accept Eskil's attempts to establish the Christian religion in the area.

Eskil's legend is not the first indication that a missionary by the name of Eskil lived in the area. In the early-twelfth century, a monk by the name of Ælnoth, who was living in Denmark, mentioned Eskil in his writings. The earliest liturgical reference to Eskil is in the Litany of Saints found on a twelfth-century missal fragment of undetermined provenance.<sup>288</sup> Numerous fragments from various dioceses provide evidence for a multilocal liturgical cult. Moreover, early signs of Christianity in the area where Eskil was active corroborate the presence of an early mission; they include a church built by the end of the eleventh century and a monastery founded in Tuna by 1185.<sup>289</sup>

Eskil's legend also describes a successful mission, which was supported by a local king named Inge. His see and place of burial was said to have been located in Tuna (present-day Eskilstuna), while Fors was thought to have been his place of residence.<sup>290</sup> Eventually, an organized movement emerged among the locals which opposed the missionary activity. According to

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<sup>286</sup> For example, Johannes from Stockholm who had a crooked leg and Helga from Åsarp in the Skara Bishopric whose daughter's injured shin was healed. Orlík 1893-1894: 383-384, 385-386, Gertz 1908-1912: 437-438.

<sup>287</sup> According to Oertel, the 1444 seal of the Uppsala canon, Erik Pedersson, is of Erik Plovpenning; however, it is more probable that the seal is in fact of Erik the Holy, albeit unusual in that the king is depicted in a ship. Cf. Oertel 2014: 223, fig. 35.

<sup>288</sup> Fr 9635, Botvid is also found on this fragment.

<sup>289</sup> See Blomkvist et al. 2007: 183, Schmid 1931b: 102-103.

<sup>290</sup> Fifth reading from Eskil's *Officium*. Edited in Lundén 1946a: 96. It is unlikely that this is the same person as Inge the Elder.

the legend, those involved in this resistance replaced the Christian King Inge with one known as *Blodsvæn* or *Blotsvæn* who was also responsible for Eskil's death.<sup>291</sup> By the thirteenth century, Eskil's cult was supported by archbishops and the bishop of Strängnäs.

The different versions of Eskil's legend include one partly preserved version on a fragment from the fourteenth century (referred to there as A1036 XIII), which contains the name "*Blotsvæn*". Eskil's complete legend is also found in *Codex Laurentii Odonis* and in a Strängnäs Breviary, both from the late-fourteenth century.<sup>292</sup>

### *Botvid of Södermanland*

Botvid was a native lay-saint from the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala whose popularity increased throughout the Middle Ages, ensuring the multilocal spread of his cult.<sup>293</sup> According to his legend, this eleventh-century layman and merchant was baptized in England and returned home to Södermanland to evangelize to his community and engage in good works despite the possibility of persecution. Eventually Botvid was murdered on a voyage to Gotland by one of his freed slaves and consequently declared a martyr for the new faith. Suffering martyrdom as a Christian was usually a straightforward way of achieving sainthood.

As a role model for subsequent generations, Botvid showed that good, Christian behaviour was possible even in the early missionary period. In addition, Botvid's death was used as the reason for building a church in the area, which also became a destination for pilgrims. Despite his status

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<sup>291</sup> Fourth reading from Eskil's *Officium*. Edited in Lundén 1946a: 96. Similar variants to this story are also found in Rimbert's *VA* (ninth century), in the story of Anund in Adam of Bremen's *GH* (eleventh century) and the episode about "*Blotsvæn*" in *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks* from Iceland (thirteenth century).

<sup>292</sup> Schmid 1931b: 103-104, esp. fn 9.

<sup>293</sup> Similar cults of laypeople were promoted in the neighbouring Ecclesiastical Province of Nidaros: Sunniva in Bergen and Hallvard in Oslo. It was claimed that these saints were of royal descent: Sunniva was thought to be Irish royalty and Hallvard a relative of Olav the Holy. Cf. Antonsson 2010: 20-21. For a discussion of the development of Hallvard's cult in the diocese of Oslo, see Ommundsen 2010: 89f.. For Sunniva's cult, see O'Hara 2009. Although Hallvard is usually regarded as a unilocal saint and generally thought to only have been celebrated in the Nidaros province, his feast day on May 15 appears in a late-twelfth century calendar for the Skara Bishopric. Hallvard was venerated in Dalsland, Värmland and Västergötland – all in the jurisdiction of the Skara Bishopric. In contrast, Hallvard's feast day has not been found among the liturgical fragments nor in the *diploma* material examined for this study. Johansson 1956: 81-82.

as a merchant, Botvid's cult was quite popular among both the ordinary people and in ecclesiastical circles. The latter is evidenced in his inclusion in twelfth and thirteenth-century liturgical manuscripts.

The twelfth-century liturgical manuscripts provide the earliest evidence for Botvid's cult. Among these is the well-known Vallentuna Calendar from 1198. Although Botvid's feast day found its way into the liturgy at an early date, no prayers or lessons from the earliest material are extant.<sup>294</sup>

Botvid's cult was concentrated, as the geographical label suggests, in the province of Södermanland which belonged to the Strängnäs Bishopric by the end of the twelfth century.<sup>295</sup> By the end of the Middle Ages, Botvid was venerated throughout the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala – a clear multilocal cult. He can be found in nine liturgical fragments from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The provenances of these missals, calendars and breviaries indicate that his cult was known in the Västerås Bishopric, the Linköping Bishopric and the Uppsala Archbishopric by the end of the twelfth century.

### *Elin of Skövde*

A further lay-saint from the Uppsala province whose cult became multilocal was Elin of Skövde. Elin was believed to have lived in the twelfth century, not long before the ecclesiastical province was created and when the region was still being converted. According to her legend, Elin was a lay noblewoman from the province of Västergötland, a region within the Skara Bishopric, who was associated with the towns of Skövde and Götene in particular. In her legend, Elin is presented as a young widow who decides to dedicate the rest of her life to God's work, albeit as a laywoman, instead of remarrying. She is assumed to have been a generous and wealthy woman, even undertaking a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Similar to the other female lay-saints included in this dissertation, Margarete of Roskilde and Magnhild of Fulltofta, Elin was subjected to family violence having been murdered to avenge the death of her son-in-law

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<sup>294</sup> Table 3.3. Two of the twelfth-century fragments are from Litanies of the Saints (Fr 9635 and Fr 28049) and the other three from calendars (Fr 4549, Fr 25621-25622 and the Vallentuna Calendar).

<sup>295</sup> Earlier, it would have been divided between the Tuna and Strängnäs bishoprics. Botkyrka, where Botvid's relics were taken, is in the eastern part of the province and belonged to Strängnäs.

by his blood relatives. It is stressed in Elin's legend that she had no part in her son-in-law's murder and, in fact, that his own servants had killed him as they were tired of the abuse he inflicted on their mistress, his wife and Elin's daughter.<sup>296</sup>

Before her martyrdom, Elin was believed to have been an active proponent of the new faith, as well as a church-builder. Financial and ideological support was important for the new religion and Elin's example would have been important to her neighbours. Moreover, Elin was described as embodying all of the appropriate characteristics of a female saint, for example chaste, wise, quiet, pious and modest.<sup>297</sup>

According to later, fifteenth-century annals, the earliest evidence for a cult in Elin's honour was a papal letter from 1164 to the new archbishop of Uppsala, in which the pope refers to Elin as a holy woman.<sup>298</sup> However, there is no extant contemporary evidence for this letter nor is there any other suggestion of a papal canonization. If this letter did exist, it could have been the basis of the later claim in her late-thirteenth century *officium* to her earlier canonization proceedings. In any case, it is apparent that the papacy accepted her cult at the end of the thirteenth century as shown by the letter of indulgence issued by Pope Nicholas IV in 1291.<sup>299</sup>

The earliest evidence of a liturgy for Elin's feast day comes from several thirteenth-century fragments.<sup>300</sup> These fragments suggest that a cult emerged relatively shortly after her death. They also indicate that a liturgical cult in her honour existed prior to Brynolf Algotsson of Skara writing her *officium* in the late-thirteenth century.<sup>301</sup> In addition, the Dominicans seem to have been interested in promoting her cult even outside of Skara.<sup>302</sup> Although it was concentrated in the Skara Bishopric, specifically at her

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<sup>296</sup> The domestic abuse motif is similar to that in Margarete and Magnhild's legends. See below.

<sup>297</sup> See Ellis Nilsson 2014a. Ellis Nilsson 2014c.

<sup>298</sup> Pernler 2007: 164-171.

<sup>299</sup> SDHK 1542 (Table 3.16) See, also, discussion in Ellis Nilsson 2014c.

<sup>300</sup> Table 3.5

<sup>301</sup> For the various analyses and translations of Elin's *officium*, see also Pernler 2007, Piltz 2007, Brunius 2007, Lundén 1983: 102-136. The veracity of Brynolf as the author of Elin's *officium* has been disputed in previous research, most notably that by Ingvar Milveden. However, the argument in Brynolf's favour is convincing and his authorship is assumed in this dissertation. Milveden 1972. and Pernler 2007: 13-14.

<sup>302</sup> As exemplified by F.m.I 115 (Table 3.5). See discussion in section on the Turku Bishopric.



shrine in Skövde, Elin's cult had spread to all dioceses in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala by the end of the Middle Ages. Her cult became so popular that she was chosen as one of the patron saints of Sweden and even enjoyed a cultic following in Denmark by the early-sixteenth century.

### *Sigfrid of Växjö*

Another early missionary saint with a multilocal cult from the Uppsala province was Sigfrid. Although the earliest extant references to him as a saint in the liturgical sources are from the thirteenth century, previous research has estimated that the oldest version of his legend was probably written in the 1160s, while the complete version is contained in the *Gesta Beati Sigfridi (GBS)* from 1206.<sup>303</sup> One of the earliest extant, albeit short, versions of his legend is found in a mid-to-late thirteenth century breviary held at the British Library and is presumably a summary of the *GBS*.<sup>304</sup>

In the short version of his legend, Sigfrid is described as an English missionary who travels to the king of *Suecia*, who was called Olof. The legend claims that Olof had previously asked the English king to send him someone to teach the Christian faith. Sigfrid preached successfully and was able to baptize the king and his followers. Due to the fact that some men were not pleased with Sigfrid and his fellow missionaries destroying the idols and baptizing people, a dozen men murdered Sigfrid's nephews by chopping off their heads during his absence.

The first miracle associated with Sigfrid occurred when he heard of his nephews' death. He miraculously discovered their heads although they had been sunk to the bottom of a lake in a chest. The veneration of his nephews, Unaman, Sunaman and Vinaman, was intimately tied into Sigfrid's own cult. They are mentioned in a fragment of Sigfrid's *officium* from the early-thirteenth century, and their heads are featured on Växjö's seal from 1292. Later versions of his legend describe Sigfrid as an English bishop, even the

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<sup>303</sup> The dating of the *vita* is based on MSS which include the Chronicle of Växjö Bishops and the *GBS*. See Lundén 1983: 175. (*Script. Rer. Suec.* III:2, 129 ff.). Blomkvist et al. 2007: 188. Larsson 1975: 13 f., Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>304</sup> BL Add. 40146. Table 3.9. The calendar from this fragmentary breviary is missing January-February; however, it can be assumed that it would have included Sigfrid as his *officium* with three lessons is contained in the "*De sanctis*". Jørgensen 1933a: 190-191. Jørgensen 1933a: 191, Lundén 1983: 177.



archbishop of York.<sup>305</sup> In the Växjö version, Sigfrid was presented as a subject of King Mildred, possibly Æthelred, who willingly travelled to the pagans in *Suecia* at his king's request. His nephews are named in this version as his travelling companions, as well as Cisterican monks. Their journey brought them first to King Sven in Denmark before they travelled to Sweden; the Växjö version of the legend specifically names *Värend* in this episode. In addition, Sigfrid is described as a church-builder.<sup>306</sup>

The provenance of these liturgical fragments is wide-spread. They include a breviary from Småland, an Antiphonary from the Uppsala Archbishopric (Uppland) and two "*Breviarii cum missali*": one from Toresund (the Strängnäs Bishopric) and one from Memmings Hundred (Linköping Bishopric).<sup>307</sup> Continued evidence of Sigfrid's multilocal veneration is found in fourteenth-century liturgical fragments from Småland from the Växjö Bishopric and Linköping Bishopric, as well as the Uppsala Bishopric and Strängnäs Bishopric.

### *Henrik of Turku/Finland*

Another missionary with a multilocal cult, Henrik, first appears in the extant version of Erik the Holy's legend, written in the 1270s.<sup>308</sup> Henrik's own legend was originally composed in about 1280-1290. He was regarded as a martyr for the faith during a "crusade" to Finland which he undertook together with King Erik the Holy.<sup>309</sup>

According to his own legend, Henrik was born in England and came to Uppsala to be bishop.<sup>310</sup> At some point after this, traditionally believed to be in the 1150s, he and Erik the Holy, then king of Sweden, undertook a

<sup>305</sup> E.g. *Codex Laurentii Odonis* from 1417. Lundén 1983: 177-179, Carlé and Fröjmark 1996.

<sup>306</sup> Lundén speculates that this king could have been Sven Forkbeard (d. 1014). Lundén 1983: 179.

<sup>307</sup> Table 3.9

<sup>308</sup> According to a recent study, a first version of Erik the Holy's legend could possibly have been written in the late-twelfth century. Unfortunately, its contents are unknown. Bengtsson and Lovén 2012: 37-38.

<sup>309</sup> See Lehtonen 2007, Heikkilä 2009: 229-235. Henrik's death is recounted in two sources: the latin St Henrik's legend and a later source in Finnish, *Piispa Henrikin surmavirsi* ("The Lay of Bishop Henrik's Bane"). The earliest extant version of the latter was written in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Heikkilä 2009: 17. For an in-depth study of the details of Henrik's legend and cult, see Heikkilä 2009, Heikkilä 2007.

<sup>310</sup> Heikkilä 2009: 9-10.

crusade to Finland, baptized the Finns and incorporated Western Finland into the Swedish kingdom. When Erik returned to the western part of his realm, Henrik was left behind to continue the important missionary work. The mission was a success and Henrik was considered the first Finnish bishop and responsible for establishing a bishop's see for the area at some point before he was murdered. Shortly thereafter it is believed that he was venerated as a saint and martyr for the new faith. Henrik was eventually named the patron of the cathedral of Turku and he was added to the liturgy before 1300, as evidenced by a surviving fragment of a thirteenth-century breviary. Any potential earlier evidence for his cult is no longer extant.<sup>311</sup>

### *Erik the Holy*

With regard to the native royal-saint of the Uppsala province with a multilocal cult, Erik the Holy was believed to have been the founding member of the Erik-dynasty in the twelfth century. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Erik and Sverker dynasties competed for the throne of what would become Sweden by the end of the Middle Ages. The regions over which they originally had control differed somewhat; however, the focus of the two families was in Götaland.<sup>312</sup> According to his legend, Erik was a church-builder and an exemplary king – even ensuring the Christianization of Finland as mentioned in connection with Henrik of Finland. Erik the Holy was murdered in Östra Aros (present-day Uppsala) by a Danish claimant to the throne.<sup>313</sup> He was subsequently declared a martyr and his cult was promoted by the local bishopric, (Gamla) Uppsala, which would later become the Archbishopric of the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala.

The violent death of a king who had converted is a common motif, at least in Scandinavia.<sup>314</sup> For example, both Olav the Holy and Knud the Holy were murdered and their deaths were later interpreted as equal to that of the ancient martyrs. Erik's death and subsequent promotion as a saint fits into this pattern. However, Erik's cult does not seem to have initially been as popular as the other two kings.

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<sup>311</sup> LUB fragment 106 (Table 3.8)

<sup>312</sup> See, for example, Lindkvist 2007: 31, Lindkvist 2009: 42-43.

<sup>313</sup> For an excellent discussion of Erik's legend, see Bengtsson and Lovén 2012.

<sup>314</sup> Klaniczay discusses the "suffering Christ" analogy in reference to Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian martyr-kings. Klaniczay 2002: 94, 98-99.

The earliest evidence for Erik the Holy's cult is a late-twelfth century addition to a breviary in use in the Linköping Bishopric and in the Vallentuna Calendar from 1198 in use in the Uppsala Archbishopric.<sup>315</sup> Other early liturgical evidence is found in the form of fifteen fragments which date from the late-twelfth to the early-fourteenth century.<sup>316</sup> This early liturgical material for Erik's cult shows the multilocal spread and importance of his feast.

Erik the Holy's feast was originally concentrated in the Archdiocese of Uppsala. With the renaissance of his cult in the late-thirteenth century, his veneration spread to most of the other dioceses. In the later medieval period, his cult assumed a different character when it was combined with the cults of the other two saintly Scandinavian kings, Olav and Knud the Holy. The connection of these three kings can be seen to have provided ideological support for the Kalmar Union, while the kings later provided the focus for nationalistic sentiments.<sup>317</sup>

### ***Unilocal cults***

The veneration of saints that was limited to only one geographical location is termed unilocal. The native saints whose cults emerged before the end of the thirteenth century in the Lund and Uppsala province include most types: missionary saints, lay saints, royal saints and holy bishops and priests.

### ***Liufdag of Ribe***

According to Adam of Bremen, Liufdag of Ribe was from Frisia and acted as a missionary in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. According to information in the *Ribe Bispekrønike* (Chronicle of the Bishops of Ribe)<sup>318</sup> which was written in about 1230, it is apparent that Liufdag's veneration was promoted from the 1170s by the Ribe Bishopric.<sup>319</sup> Although this information is absent from Adam's report of Liufdag's activities, the *Ribe Bispekrønike* reports that he was martyred by pagans. Furthermore, the chronicle states that after his missionary work, Liufdag became a bishop in Denmark. Finally, his translation occurred in 1162, with subsequent miracles, while a cathedral was

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<sup>315</sup> Fr 22220 and Vallentuna Calendar, Table 3.6

<sup>316</sup> Table 3.6

<sup>317</sup> Klaniczay 2002: 341-342, 367-368, 392-393, Nyberg 1995/96.

<sup>318</sup> Latin: *Cronica ecclesiae Ripensis*

<sup>319</sup> Jørgensen 1933-35: 26, 29. The Chronicle as a source of older history is suspect. See Nielsen 1985: 1-2, Antonsson 2010: 28-29.

built to house his relics (although it later burnt down). In the last half of the twelfth century, Bishop Radulph of Ribe was the most active in promoting Liufdag's cult and was reportedly responsible for his translation.<sup>320</sup>

It is plausible that Liufdag's martyrdom is a twelfth-century addition, a fitting death for the supposed first bishop of Ribe in what was described in later chronicles as a period of conversion.<sup>321</sup> Moreover, the martyr-cult appears to have been constructed to fit in with a supposed pagan-Christian conflict in the area from the tenth century. Other elements that seem to have been added to his later legend include the location of his grave (in the churchyard) and his *translatio*, an important cultic element.<sup>322</sup> Despite this promotion, the cult of the missionary-saint, Liufdag, remained unilocal.

### *Niels Knudsen of Aarhus*

A near contemporary of Knud Lavard was Niels Knudsen (d. 1180), the son of the Danish king, Knud IV Magnusson. In contrast to Knud Lavard, Niels' cult remained unilocal. Shortly after his death, Niels gained a reputation for sanctity and performing miracles in the local area. Thereafter, the bishopric and cathedral chapter of Aarhus began promoting his cult in the 1190s.<sup>323</sup> The chapel in which he was buried, and reportedly commissioned, was eventually replaced by a stone church and consecrated as the cathedral for Aarhus Diocese.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Jørgensen 1933-35: 28-29. Radulph died in 1171 and in 1176 a fire in Ribe destroyed much of the cathedral. Nielsen supports the authenticity of Liufdag's translation, although the bones might not really have been his. Nielsen 1985: 2, 7. For a discussion of Liufdag as a missionary, see Antonsson 2010: 28-29. Stenfinn of Hälsingland (Sweden), mentioned in Adam's *GH* and who was promoted as a martyr in later medieval sources, is comparable to Liufdag. See, also, Fröjmark 2008. For speculation that the bishop responsible for promoting Liufdag's cult was not on good terms with the Archbishop of Lund, which resulted in a failed attempt at having the cult officially recognized by the province, see Ciardi 2010: 62.

<sup>321</sup> Antonsson 2010: 29.

<sup>322</sup> Nielsen mentions parallels of the importance of translation in Knud the Holy, Margarete, Knud Lavard and Thøger's cults. Moreover, she explores the idea of festivities in honour of Liufdag for his translation. Although the bones Radulph moved may not really have been Liufdag's, they were believed to have been his. Nielsen 1985: 2, 7. See also Fröjmark and Krötzel 1997: 128, Gelting 2007: 105, Antonsson 2010: 28-29.

<sup>323</sup> Gelting 2007: 102, Ciardi 2010: 60. For the connection of Niels to Antonsson's "general trend" of promoting local saints, see Antonsson 2010: 28-29.

<sup>324</sup> Liebgott 1982: 185. Niels acts as a church-builder in this scenario from his thirteenth-century legend. Gad 1967b: 306.

Niels' *vita et miracula* was composed in the mid-thirteenth century as part of his canonization process and is still preserved in excerpts.<sup>325</sup> King Kristoffer I and Archbishop Jakob Erlandsen were among those who submitted a request to the papacy to have Niels officially canonized. Two papal commissions to determine his claim to sanctity were undertaken in 1254-1255; however, the official canonization attempt failed.<sup>326</sup> Consequently, Niels' cult was confined to Aarhus Diocese, although his feast was never added to the diocesan calendar, nor was he included in any wall-paintings. Niels' ecclesiastical cult was very local and left few traces after its initial beginnings. A document from about 1350 contains episodes from his life which is not part of a liturgy. It seems likely that Niels' cult continued in some form on a popular level in the local area as it was still known in the seventeenth century.<sup>327</sup>

### *Anders of Slagelse*

In the Roskilde Bishopric in the late-twelfth century, a holy cleric gained a reputation for sanctity.<sup>328</sup> He was commonly known as "Anders of Slagelse" and was believed to have gone on several pilgrimages: to the Holy Land, to Santiago de Compostela in Spain and Olav the Holy's shrine in Nidaros, Norway. His miracles included healing the lame and blind, as well as saying mass in Slagelse and Jerusalem on the same day. He is said to have died in about 1205.

Although Anders of Slagelse's later hagiography claims that he was venerated as a saint shortly after his death, there is no extant evidence for his cult before the fifteenth century. Most of what we know about Anders can be found in a legend that was discovered during the Reformation in St Peter's Church. In addition, a donation from 1419 for a mass mentions a chapel in Slagelse dedicated to him.<sup>329</sup> Although fragments of a later liturgy

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<sup>325</sup> Probably between 1252-1254. Gad 1967b: 306, Gelting 2007: 105.

<sup>326</sup> Gelting 2007: 102, Liebgott 1982: 185. The papal refusal came in 1254 or 1255, according to Ciardi. See Ciardi 2010: 60.

<sup>327</sup> Gad 1967b: 306-307. It appears that his feast day was also known in Ribe as it was entered into the *Ribe Oldemoder* at some point in the early-fourteenth century. See Jørgensen 1909b: 52.

<sup>328</sup> Gad 1971: 63-64, Liebgott 1982: 149.

<sup>329</sup> Queen Margarete I donated money for mass to be said for her in St Ander's Chapel in St Peder's Church. Other late evidence of his veneration by locals includes a local landmark (a cross) and a verse about him being generous to the needs of the local inhabitants' livestock. Gad 1971: 63-64.

exist, there is no extant record of a feast day in his honour. Furthermore, Anders never received papal canonization and can, therefore, be classified as a popular saint with a unilocal cult.

### *Magnhild of Fulltofta*

Magnhild lived and died in Fulltofta, Skåne, in the region controlled by the archbishopric of Lund. Her cult was confined to the archbishopric and was unilocal. Unfortunately, Magnhild's cult has not left many traces. The only information we have about her is regarding her death; Magnhild had been murdered by her daughter-in-law and was then buried in Fulltofta church's cemetery. After miracles were reported by her grave, a cult subsequently developed with the result being that a chapel was built over her place of burial. Regular masses were said in that chapel.<sup>330</sup> It can be assumed that Magnhild was the object of veneration for at least a hundred years due to the following evidence.

Support for the existence of her cult can be found in a letter from 1383 in which Archbishop Magnus Nielsen of Lund instructs two canons to move Magnhild's remains to the cathedral in Lund, nearly forty kilometres away.<sup>331</sup> Although the diploma evidence is late, it suggests that her cult was introduced in the beginning of the thirteenth century. An entry in *Libri Memoriales Capituli Lundensis* supports this idea, as Andreas Sunesen (archbishop from 1201-1223, d. 1228) had called Magnhild "*sancta mulier*" in an entry about a donation to the cathedral chapter in her honour.<sup>332</sup>

The translation of Magnhild's remains in 1383 was important enough that the archbishop declared that those who attended the procession or ceremony in the cathedral, especially murderers and those who had committed infanticide, would be granted half of a 40-day fast and half a year of penance. However, the occasion was not sufficiently significant to warrant a reoccurring indulgence to encourage the continued celebration

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<sup>330</sup> Källström 2011: 158.

<sup>331</sup> DD 4:2:338. See Källström 2011: 158-160. for discussion of a later cult, which contradicts claims to the contrary in Fröjmark and Krötzl 1997: 133-134. The instructions explained that the remains were to be moved by a number of priests who were also to organize a procession from Fulltofta to Lund.

<sup>332</sup> DD 4:2:338

of Magnhild's feast day in the cathedral.<sup>333</sup> The conclusion that can be drawn from this evidence is that Magnhild enjoyed a cult up until 1383, but afterwards, although mention of an altar was made in 1478, a liturgical cult was not created.<sup>334</sup>

### *David of Munktorp*

Among the later cults that claim missionary status for their saints is that of David of Munktorp. Before 1300, his cult was decidedly unilocal, although by the end of the Middle Ages its spread had transformed it into a multilocal cult.

According to his later legend from the early-sixteenth century, David was born in England in the eleventh century and became a Cistercian monk.<sup>335</sup> The legend then ties David's story to Sigfrid's. It mentions Sigfrid's nephews (in this case also Cistercian monks) and how they had been martyred in Sweden. This news prompted David to travel to Sweden as he realized that more missionary work was needed in the region. He arrived in Västmanland and, after being advised by Sigfrid, built a church in Snevringe Hundred (near what was later called Munktorp, south-west of Västerås). His preaching and praying did not incite any pagan uprising, however, and he died of old age.

It is impossible to say which details from this legend were later additions. It is clear that some details, such as the incorporation of Sigfrid and his nephews, tie in to the province's conversion myth that developed gradually during the medieval period and are probably not original.<sup>336</sup> On the other hand, it is plausible that David's status as a missionary saint was present at the onset of his cult.

The earliest indications of a liturgical cult in David's honour are from after 1300 and there is no other corroborating evidence of his missionary work in earlier sources. There are no *diploma* containing references to David

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<sup>333</sup> Källström 2011: 158-160. Traces of Magnhild's cult were still to be found in the eighteenth century near Fulltofta. These traces include a spring called "Magnhild's spring" and a monument called "Magnild's stone". More recently, in 1936, a stained glass window with several scenes from Magnhild's story was placed in the church in Fulltofta. See Källström 2011: 160 (fn 130).

<sup>334</sup> Källström 2011: 159.

<sup>335</sup> This is found in the printed breviary from the Västerås Bishopric, *Breviarium Arosiense* (1513). See also Lundén 1983: 261.

<sup>336</sup> Cf. Mortensen 2006b.



before 1300, while the earliest addition of his name to a liturgical fragment is from the early-fourteenth century.<sup>337</sup> Despite the lack of liturgical material from before 1300, the inclusion of David in a mass indicates that a cult in his honour had been initiated by at least the end of the 1200s.

### *Nicolaus of Edsleskog*

Nicolaus of Edleskog was a priest in the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century in Dalsland, within the jurisdiction of the Skara Bishopric and a contemporary of Anders of Slagelse. He was the only non-bishop, clerical saint known to be venerated before 1300 in the Uppsala province. Nicolaus was a priest who was murdered on his way to delivering the Eucharist to a sick parishioner. After this incident the priest was regarded as a holy man and the miracles connected to him furthered this view. A church dedicated to Nicolaus was eventually built in Edsleskog.<sup>338</sup> Its location, along with Nicolaus' shrine, lay alongside an important pilgrimage route to Trondheim. The cult was popular and unilocal.

As the location of this *locus sancti* was important, the lack of extant contemporary sources for Nicolaus' cult is surprising. There is no extant liturgical material or a feast day for Nicolaus. The only information that exists for Nicolaus and his cult instead comes from the 1220 letter from Pope Honorius III (pope from 1216-1227) to Bishop Bengt (the younger) of Skara (bishop, c. 1219-1228). This correspondence will be discussed below in relation to the Skara Bishopric in the following chapters.

### *Eric peregrinus*

One of the missionary saints was an individual shrouded in mystery: Eric *peregrinus*. Brief mention of this saint is found in Adam's *GH* and Botvid's *vita*.<sup>339</sup> In the *GH*, Eric *peregrinus* is presented as a missionary who preached to the people north of Mälaren; miracles were later reported at his grave. In Botvid's legend, some information about Eric *peregrinus* was added that stated Eric *peregrinus* was a monk who was killed at a *Ting* in Flottsund

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<sup>337</sup> Fr 27029 (Mi 372), Missal fragment from the Uppsala province, the specific see is uncertain. With regards to the British Library find of a Strängnäs Breviary, David was added to the calendar at a later date in the fourteenth century (BL Add. MS 40146). See Table 3.4, the following chapters and Jørgensen 1933a: 190-192.

<sup>338</sup> See also Lundén 1983: 160-162.

<sup>339</sup> Adam of Bremen 11th cent. (2002): III, 54 (53), Fröjmark and Krötzel 1997: 126-127.



and his body was then buried in Tälje. Other than these references to him, however, no other signs of an early, active cult are extant.<sup>340</sup> Thus, this lack of interest in promoting Eric *peregrinus* in the liturgy or otherwise was an example of one of the possibly many cults that were initiated but never flourished, at least on a textual level.

### *Ragnhild of Tälje, Torger of Strand and Torgils of Kumla*

Lay saints whose cults were unilocal also included those whose promoters claimed had early medieval origins, but evidence of the cults first appeared in the later medieval material. These include Ragnhild of Tälje, Torger of Strand and Torgils of Kumla.<sup>341</sup> Most of these saints were not important enough to the official church to have won a place in the liturgy. It is possible, however, that the local following these cults enjoyed was important enough to warrant a local feast day.<sup>342</sup>

For instance, Ragnhild of Tälje is thought to have lived in the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century; however, the earliest indication of an interest in creating a cult is from the fifteenth century.<sup>343</sup> Although Torger of Strand is said to have lived in Värmland in the twelfth century, he is first mentioned in Håkan Håkansson's saga, *Håkonar saga Hákonarsonar*, written in the thirteenth century. This mention of the burial place of a holy man is the only source we have of Torger and his potential cult; no liturgical cult exists.<sup>344</sup>

Lastly, Torgils (Torkel) of Kumla was a local saint from Närke, whose cult is evidenced by the shrine dedicated to the saint in the Kumla church. Apparently, Torgils had a feast day in May or June (at least in Kumla)

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<sup>340</sup> Fröjmark and Krötzel 1997: 126-127. Fröjmark 1996a: 126. Antonsson 2010: 32. A noteworthy attempt to show that the cults of Erik the Holy and Eric *peregrinus* were deliberately connected can be found in Lovén; however, this connection is improbable based on the evidence surrounding the cult of Erik the Holy as discussed in this dissertation. Lovén 2004. Cf. Antonsson 2010: 32.

<sup>341</sup> Other later, unilocal saints include Sven of Arboga and Björn of Klockrike. A chapel dedicated to Sven of Arboga is mentioned in a source thought to be from the fourteenth century, while a well or spring dedicated to him is found in a source from 1459. Björn of Klockrike apparently died around 1309 and a cult would have developed after this date. See Lundén 1983: 453. Lundén 1983: 458-459.

<sup>342</sup> Lundén presents a number of additional unilocal saints. Lundén 1973: 78, 96, 98-99, Lundén 1983: 442-466, Fröjmark 1996b.

<sup>343</sup> See Fröjmark 1996b: 613.

<sup>344</sup> See Lundén 1983: 169-171.

and his name was engraved on the church bell used before the eighteenth century. A prayer book, presumably from Vadstena, contains a prayer to him in a litany. Although Torgils' cult appears to have been supported by the church and it has been speculated that he was venerated at an early date (twelfth century), no pre-1300 liturgy is extant.<sup>345</sup>

### *The special case of Olav the Holy of Norway*

Olav the Holy is introduced here due to his origins as a native saint from the Ecclesiastical Province of Nidaros and his cult's prevalence in Scandinavia, including all of the episcopal institutions in this study's analysis. As is well-known, the cult of Olav Haraldsson spread throughout Scandinavia, and indeed medieval Northern Europe, after the initiation of his cult in the mid-eleventh century. With regard to the saint himself, Olav was the king of Norway during the conversion period and his efforts in Christianizing his kingdom were described in the various versions of his legend.<sup>346</sup> In the late 1020s, he was ousted by Knud the Great (Denmark/England) who was bent on expanding his own kingdom and empire. A later attempt by Olav to regain his throne failed and he was eventually killed in the Battle of Stiklestad.

Soon after his death, Olav was promoted as a saint. Bishop Grimkell of Nidaros was the main promoter, performing the *translatio*. He was thereby responsible for validating his cult with a form of local canonization, which was confirmed in 1164 by Alexander III. Adam mentions the royal saint, Olav the Holy, in several places in his *GH* as a martyr and a holy example for future kings. From this source, it appears that Hamburg-Bremen was in favour of the cult of the holy king.<sup>347</sup>

Olav's image can be seen on wall-paintings throughout the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund.<sup>348</sup> Moreover, there are numerous *diploma* from the province which mention his cult in various ways, including requests for

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<sup>345</sup> Cf. Lundén 1983: 461-463.

<sup>346</sup> This image of Olav Trygvasson or Olav (the Holy) Haraldsson as the first king to convert Norway has been questioned in favour of Harald Finehair. See, for example, Bagge and Nordeide 2007: 135-138, Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 152, Fletcher 1997: 410.

<sup>347</sup> See, for example, Adam of Bremen 11th cent. (2002): II.lxi(59), III.xiii(12), III.xvii(16).

<sup>348</sup> For example, in Sällstorp, Halland and Visseltofta, Skåne from the late-thirteenth century (*Medeltidens bildvärld*, ID 920505S5 and ID 900518S2). See also: Hastrup and Egevang 1989. Cf. Lidén 1999.

upgrading the celebration of his feast to nine *lectiones*. Olav can also be found in all of the extant liturgical manuscripts.

Olav the Holy's early popularity is also evident in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala seen partly in his inclusion on a large number of the extant liturgical fragments from throughout the province.<sup>349</sup> Moreover, although initiated in the late-thirteenth century, the high level of correspondence found in the *diploma* related to his cult shows an awareness of Olav's cult throughout the kingdom of Sweden, including instructions for pilgrimage.<sup>350</sup> In addition, the extant ecclesiastical art points to the prominence of Olav's cult throughout the Uppsala province.<sup>351</sup>

An in-depth examination of Olav's cult would perhaps lead to a greater understanding of the connections between the Ecclesiastical Province of Nidaros and the members of the Norwegian royal dynasties scattered throughout Scandinavia, as well as connections to other bishoprics throughout Europe. An analysis of the cult's spread would also be a fruitful method by which to determine connections between the Nidaros, Lund and Uppsala provinces. However, the purpose of this dissertation is to examine the cults of new, native saints and their promotion and role in the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions within the geographical boundaries of the emerging ecclesiastical provinces and their dependent bishoprics. Olav's cult does not, therefore, fall into this category. Furthermore, the provinces of Lund and Uppsala were officially connected with each other by means of Lund's continued primacy, while Nidaros was granted its archdiocese and a province independent of Lund in about 1153.

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<sup>349</sup> Table 3.10

<sup>350</sup> DS 901 in which Filip Karlsson instructs his servants to undertake a pilgrimage to St Olav (Nidaros) at his expense and presumably also for his benefit. Table 3.19

<sup>351</sup> Most of the extant paintings or statues of Scandinavian saints dated to before 1300 were of Olav. For example, a wall-painting in Kaga Church from the first-quarter of the thirteenth century (ID950911M2) and a statue from Kristberg from the second-half of the thirteenth century (ID 950810S5). Historiska museet 2003. See, for example, Lidén 1999. Brunius 2008, Iversen 2000, Knuutila 1997, Nyberg 1997, Rumar 1997.

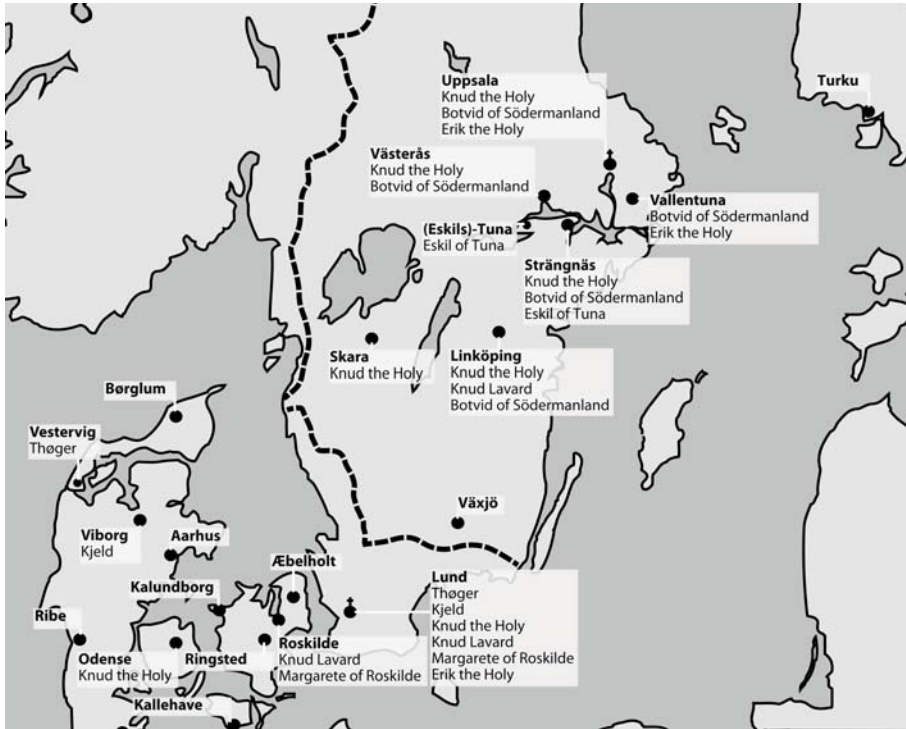


Figure 3. Distribution of cults of native saints at the end of the twelfth century

### Summary and discussion

In the Lund and Uppsala provinces before 1300, all categories of saints contained multilocal and unilocal cults. Thus, the hypothesis that the type of saint would influence its spread is not substantiated. For instance, the cults of the missionary saints Sigfrid, Thøger and Eskil were all multilocal while Liufdag and David were unilocal. Many others, such as Poppo and Eric *peregrinus*, had an uncertain cultic status, which was presumably unilocal.

Of the holy priest and bishops, only Kjeld enjoyed a multilocal cult, while the cults of the contemporaries Anders and Nicolaus remained unilocal. The cult of the only monastic saint from the Lund province, Wilhelm, was multilocal.

The spread of the cults of the laity, whether royal or common, was also mixed. The veneration of Knud the Holy, Knud Lavard, Erik ploypenning, Erik the Holy, Elin, Margarete and Botvid expanded into multilocal cults, in some cases the spread was across provincial boundaries. On the

other hand, despite ecclesiastical interest, the cults of Niels Knudsen and Magnhild remained unilocal.

The type of saint did not, therefore, affect the expansion of a cult, despite the fact that it would have influenced veneration. In addition, not all multilocal cults proved lasting on an ecclesiastical or liturgical level. For example, Margarete had a promising cult that became multilocal, albeit restricted to two dioceses, but it only had a lasting effect on a popular level. In comparison, Elin of Skövde's cult was both multilocal and official. Although the Lund province was initially interested in promoting the cults of saintly women, by the end of the medieval period the Uppsala province would have a greater number of multilocal female cults.

Likewise, the gender of the saint did not seem to determine the multilocal character of a cult. Of the three female saints in this study, two of their cults were multilocal. None of the female saints were members of a monastic order. Within all categories, the majority of the saints in the area were male. In fact, in contrast to the situation in Hungary where many of the royal saints were female, even the royal Scandinavian saints were all male. This preference for male saints was not unusual, however, as they dominate throughout Europe.

Similarly, being royal was not a prerequisite for a multilocal cult. Although nearly all of the royal saints had multilocal cults, Niels of Aarhus, for example, had a unilocal cult. This inconsistency could also possibly be due to the fact that Niels was not as important a political figure that the other royal saints were.

Thus, the reasons for a cult to have become multilocal or remain unilocal were diverse. Even the spread of the cults of missionary saints, holy bishops and priests and monastic saints were affected by something other than simply the type of saint. Even though these saints were prime candidates for multilocal reverence due to their close ties with the church, even that connection was not enough to ensure a multilocal distribution.

A further aspect to consider is the fact that the actual spread of multilocal cults was not equal. For instance, Margarete's cult was multilocal by definition, although her cult was only present in two dioceses. In contrast, another saint whose cult originated in Roskilde, Knud Lavard, enjoyed a wide-spread cult which even crossed provincial boundaries. Other multilocal cults, such as Knud the Holy, Elin of Skövde and Erik the

Holy, also fit into this second type of multilocal, cross-provincial boundary following, at least by the end of the Middle Ages. The remaining multilocal saints were venerated within their respective ecclesiastical provinces.

There are many possible reasons for the variations in multilocal cults. Firstly, the category of saint could have influenced its spread. Although it has been seen that the type of saint did not necessarily influence its spread, it is possible that it had some bearing. For instance, the cult of Margarete, a female saint, developed in a province which, although initially interested in promoting women as saints, diverged from this course in the long-term. Secondly, the political status of a saint could have influenced its multilocal spread. For instance, Erik Plovpenning's cult could have enjoyed a wider multilocal spread than it did; however, the earlier cults of Knud the Holy and Knud Lavard were already firmly established and their function might have made a new royal cult superfluous in the long run.

If the type or category of saint did not guarantee a wide-spread veneration, what affected the spread of these new cults of native saints? The next chapter examines the promotion of the cults of new saints in relation to their function as *loca sanctorum* and the Christianization of society as seen through the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions, in particular the bishoprics.

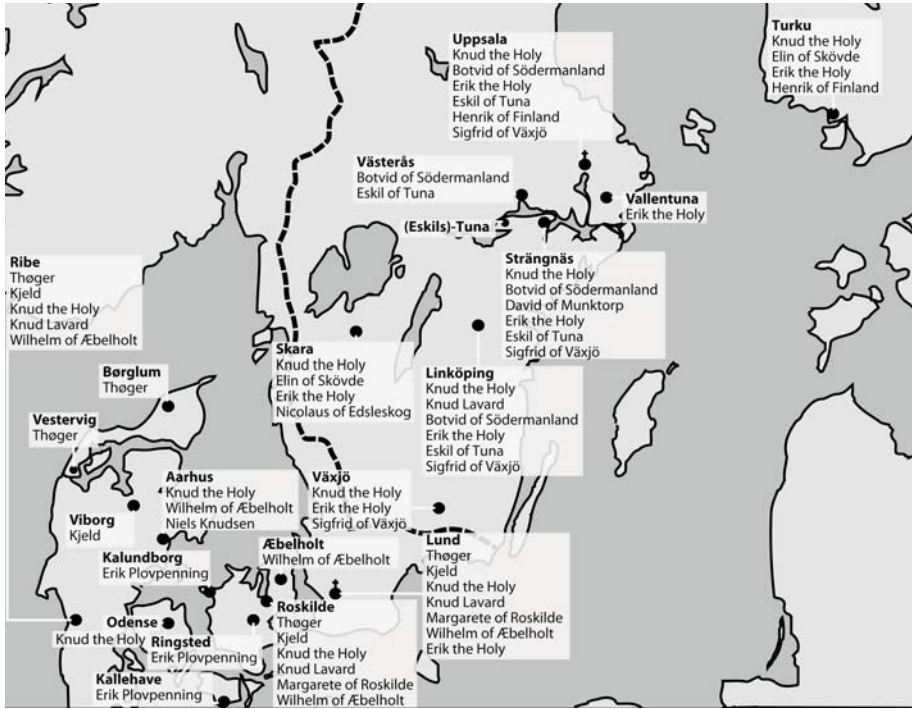


Figure 4. *Distribution of cults of native saints at the end of the thirteenth century*





## Chapter Three

### Bishoprics, *loca sanctorum* and new saints

#### **Introduction: the emergence of bishoprics**

In a recently published book on the Christianization of Denmark, the continuing existence of church bells and their daily pealing which can still be heard throughout the country is extolled.<sup>352</sup> These bells and the churches in which they ring are a continuing witness to the profound changes that took place in Denmark and, in fact, all of Scandinavia during what we call the Middle Ages. The foundation of these alterations to Scandinavian society can be found in the introduction of Christianity to the ruling elite and later to the larger fabric of society.

In turn, the cults of saints were instrumental in the establishment of a Christian society and its adherent institutions. In part, saints were an imported phenomenon; many of the saints who eventually became popular in the newly converted areas were venerated throughout the medieval Christian world. The cults of saints never quite lost their popular function or role in the instruction of proper religious behaviour and were an important part in the final establishment of Christianity in newly converted areas.

When it was first formed, the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund was responsible for overseeing the dioceses throughout Scandinavia and it even retained its primacy over the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala after its establishment in 1164. This chapter analyses the emergence of new cults of native saints, especially in the liturgy, in the newly established ecclesiastical provinces. The level of importance of creating *loca sanctorum* within the individual bishoprics, or in the provinces as a whole, is also explored. Firstly, an overview of the development of an ecclesiastical organization is presented providing a foundation on which to build a fully functioning Christian society.

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<sup>352</sup> McGuire 2008: 17-21.

This chapter presents the development and legitimization of the dioceses on the Florence List, arranged according to ecclesiastical province starting with the Lund province and followed by the Uppsala province, in relation to the emergence of their associated new cults of native saints. The emergence and promotion of the cults in these bishoprics will be discussed. The creation of a liturgy for a particular saint is seen as a sign of official, ecclesiastical approval of a cult, as well as evidence of a firmly established cult in an area. The importance of *loca sanctorum* is discussed in relation to the emergence of new cults. Moreover, the contents of the legends written for these cults contain elements which reveal the legitimization of an ecclesiastical organisation and groups associated with this organization. The group giving the approval is then examined to see whether it is on the papal, episcopal or archiepiscopal, or local (parish or religious house) level.

### **Early ecclesiastical organization in Scandinavia**

From the time that missionary activity began to show results in the ninth century, an established ecclesiastical organization was needed in order to continue Christianization work. Moreover, canon law required sees to be established in urban centres in Christian countries.<sup>353</sup> The initial, official jurisdiction over Scandinavia was centred in the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen, which originally divided up the region into bishoprics. From the initial missionary presence in the region, it would take about 300 years for the first Scandinavian archdiocese to be founded in Lund, 50 more years for a second archbishopric to be founded in Nidaros and another 60 years until Uppsala received the same honour.

Thus, the early organization of the Church in Scandinavia, in all of the future ecclesiastical provinces, was a question of gradual development. It is also important to note that the establishment of the Church in Scandinavia came at a time when new concepts concerning a universal church with the pope at its administrative and spiritual centre were coming into being. These ideas included emphasizing the importance and practice of the diocese as a mediator between the local churches with their collections of believers and the papacy in Rome.<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> Cubitt 2002: 446.

<sup>354</sup> Hallencreutz 1996b: 256f.

The initial establishment of bishoprics in Scandinavia was connected to specific provinces.<sup>355</sup> However, it was not unusual for early bishops to have been attached to a king's retinue or visit an area temporarily. This fact ensured that it was possible for bishops from German and English dioceses to temporarily visit an area without a formal administrative bishopric being established. Beginning in the tenth century, this preliminary process of establishing bishoprics in Scandinavia was the next step taken by the missionaries in the Christianization process. The bishops at this stage were all suffragans of either the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen or Canterbury.<sup>356</sup> These steps towards an established ecclesiastical organization would also lead towards a Christianization of the Danish and Swedish landscape. However, in the beginning, the dioceses existed mainly in a conceptual state, making the administration of the area by the Hamburg-Bremen missionaries easier, rather than being tangible locations.<sup>357</sup>

At this early date, bishops were connected to the people of an area, not necessarily to geographical boundaries. Once the new religion was accepted in a certain region, the bishop would have been an important member of the local 'Thing' together with the ruling chieftain. Gradually, as more areas were converted, these bishops would meet separately in synods. Since bishops were the only clergy allowed to perform certain functions, such as the consecration of new priests, churches and cemeteries, their presence in a missionary context was imperative.<sup>358</sup>

Dioceses with permanent boundaries were not established in Scandinavia until the eleventh century. Denmark had the first organized system of bishoprics in the region, by about 1060. Norway was next, with dioceses founded in Nidaros and on Selja by King Olav Kyrre. Oslo was also founded about this time. The dating of the initial establishment of official dioceses is ambiguous in Sweden; however, by the year 1100 there were cathedrals in Skara, Sigtuna and Linköping, but without set diocesan

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<sup>355</sup> See, also, Hellström 1971: 389-390.

<sup>356</sup> Hellström 1971: 389-390.

<sup>357</sup> See, for example, Gelting 2004b: 172-177, Lindkvist 1996: 219.

<sup>358</sup> For a discussion of this early development of ecclesiastical chapters and synods as tied in to the existing 'Things' and provinces, including the bishop being consecrated only after being chosen by a 'Thing', see Hellström 1971: 389, 393-397.

boundaries.<sup>359</sup> As the establishment of the Scandinavian bishoprics was not complete until the thirteenth century, it is apparent that society was still in the process of Christianization until that time.

The Florence List reveals which bishoprics were known to Rome by 1120.<sup>360</sup> The list contains information on the areas affected by the “Gregorian reform movement”: France, Poland and Scandinavia.<sup>361</sup> At this time, Scandinavia was made up of the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, with the Archbishopric of Lund at its head. The future archbishoprics, and ecclesiastical provinces, of Nidaros and Uppsala were originally included in this Danish Province.

The bishoprics of the future Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala were also originally included in the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund. The sees are called *ciuitas* (city) and no mention of a *metropolis* exists for Sweden (or Norway).<sup>362</sup> The sees found on the list said to be located in Denmark and Sweden will be discussed in more detail below in their relevant subchapters.

The process of bishopric establishment was finalized in the kingdom of Denmark by the time the first separate ecclesiastical province in the region was established in about 1103. After the founding of the Nidaros province in 1153, and, by 1164 with the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, the diocesan structure was on its way to being set in Scandinavia (fig. 5).<sup>363</sup> The creation of these provinces was one of the last stages of diocesan development; however, as will be seen, the need for legitimacy and creating an acceptable story behind these foundations continued into the thirteenth century.

It is possible that the initial discussion regarding the creation of a Scandinavian ecclesiastical province was initiated due to the desire to reduce Hamburg-Bremen’s authority in the area. Pope Gregory VII (d. 1085) was the first to leave a record of having considered this action, but it was not until 1103 that Lund was made an arch-see with its provincial jurisdiction to include all of Scandinavia. Hamburg-Bremen actively

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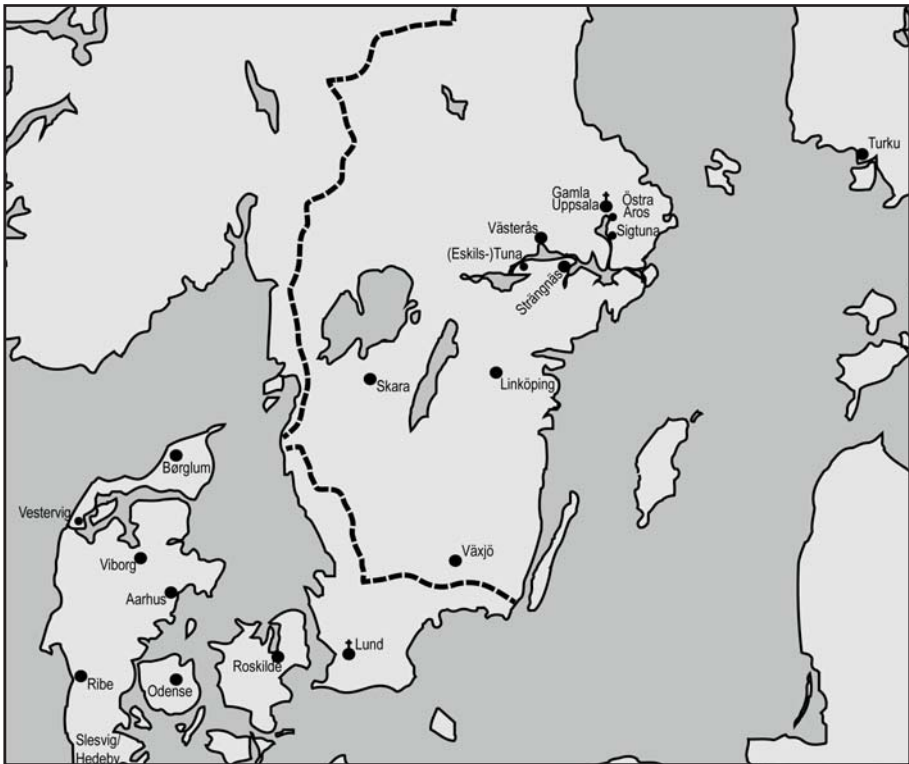
<sup>359</sup> Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 155. For an overview of the establishment of Swedish bishoprics, see also Blomkvist et al. 2007: 192-195.

<sup>360</sup> Found in Codex Ashburnham 1554 in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Firenze. See Skovgaard-Petersen 1997: 63-65, Bäärnhielm 1983: 450ff. “Kapitel 6” in Nilsson 1998: 70-85. For an alternative dating to about 1100, contemporary with the attempt to establish the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, see Nyberg 1991: 158ff.

<sup>361</sup> Hallencreutz 1996b: 253-255.

<sup>362</sup> “*Nomina ciuitatum in suethia.*” Bäärnhielm 1983: 450.

<sup>363</sup> Hellström 1971: 389.



**Figure 5.** *The Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala*

pursued the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, with some success in the 1130s with the consequence that the province was temporarily dissolved. Hamburg-Bremen did not relinquish its claims until the 1160s. Subsequently, the Nidaros province was ratified in 1152 by the papal legate Nicholas Brekespear, effectively separating the region from the control of the Danish archbishopric.<sup>364</sup>

Finally, Uppsala was made into an archbishopric in 1164. It was still under the primacy of Lund; however, to all intents and purposes, the area that would be Sweden had now received a stamp of approval from the papacy and became an ecclesiastical province.<sup>365</sup> Thus, during the twelfth century, this region on the periphery was now considered mature enough to

<sup>364</sup> Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 154-155, Blomkvist et al. 2007: 184-186, 200, Gelting 2007: 95.

<sup>365</sup> For a discussion of the political situation surrounding the formation of the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, see Hallencreutz 1996b: 261-263. See also Blomkvist et al. 2007: 200, Gelting 2007: 95.

operate an ecclesiastical organization under the authority of the pope. The growth and importance of dioceses was an integral part of the assumption of a new Christian identity in this time period. One method by which to assess the internalization of new beliefs is through examining the promotion of the *loca sanctorum* and the cults of saints.<sup>366</sup>

The new faith came to the Scandinavian region with new ideas and concepts, as well as “institutional instruments” that supported and strengthened the idea of having a central political power, instead of a number of smaller chieftaincies. Christianity introduced a new language and a new script, a new corpus of literature including the Bible, as well as a connection on a cultural level to the rest of Europe. In addition, the building of churches and the introduction of the customs of the church, for example training of the clergy in particular rituals and forming buildings in certain ways, made a large impact on society.

In particular, the idea of dioceses as geographical entities helped secure the Christianization process in distinct administrative units.<sup>367</sup> This new type of political organization was made possible by a combination of the ideals introduced to Scandinavian society by the new religion and the type of administrative system the churchmen were accustomed to using. The question remains about what sort of regional differences the political and religious implications of the establishment of the new religion had and what the cults of native saints can reveal, especially in terms of the establishment of new *loca sanctorum*.

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<sup>366</sup> This can be seen as one part of the answer to the important question posed by Hallencreutz in his article: can we see how the growing dioceses became more and more important as frameworks for the establishment of a new Christian identity in different levels of early medieval society? Hallencreutz 1996b: 256.

<sup>367</sup> Hallencreutz 1996b: 244-245. These changes to society, including the Christian influence on laws, are thought to already be apparent in the eleventh century, if not before. Sawyer and Sawyer 2003: 155-156. For further information on the law codes and a discussion of parish building and canonical norms, see Blomkvist et al. 2007: 200-201, 203-204, Gelting 2007: 103-104. For a discussion on the lack of the conversion's initial effect on literacy and the use of runes for the vernacular versus Latin, as well as a similar discussion concerning Latin writing and Danish, where it meant an ultimate end to the use of runes, see Blomkvist et al. 2007: 201, Gelting 2007: 102-104.

## **The Ecclesiastical Province of Lund: cultic establishment of Scandinavian saints and laying the foundations of an ecclesiastical organization**

The Florence List, as referred to earlier, provides a list of Danish episcopal sees known to the papacy in the early-twelfth century (fig. 6). The names from the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund are as follows: “*Metropolis ciuitas Lunda./ Prouincia Danorum./ ... /Ciuitas Lunda. /Roskeada. Othensia. Hethabia. Ripa. Arosa. Vibiarga. Birgila.*”<sup>368</sup> These correspond to bishoprics in Lund (the Archbishop’s see), Roskilde, Odense, Hedeby<sup>369</sup>, Ribe, Århus, Viborg, Børglum.<sup>370</sup>

However, the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions was not over and administrative foundations continued to be created until the end of the twelfth century. In order for the Church to operate properly on all levels, a functioning administrative system with cathedrals, monasteries, parish churches and their adherent members needed to be established.

The first cathedral chapters in Denmark were founded in Roskilde in the 1070s and Lund in about 1085, while Odense’s chapter was founded just before 1100. All of these were run by Benedictine monks. The rest of the Danish cathedral chapters were founded in the twelfth century, Aarhus being the last in 1197.<sup>371</sup>

Other foundations of monastic houses, separate from the cathedrals, were initially Benedictine, for example All Saints’ Monastery in Lund founded in the eleventh century. One of the most important Benedictine houses, Sorø, was later reformed by Absalon (as bishop of Roskilde) into a Cistercian Abbey in the 1160s. Another important Benedictine house was that of St Peder’s in Næstved (Sjælland), which was founded by Peder Bodilson and his fellow monks in 1155. Several extant liturgical sources come from Næstved, thanks in part to this monastery.

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<sup>368</sup> Found in Codex Ashburnham 1554 in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Firenze. Bäärnhielm 1983: 450.

<sup>369</sup> According to Bäärnhielm, this was the diocese responsible for the area of medieval Slesvig. Bäärnhielm 1983: 450-451. In fact, the use of “Hedeby” on the list shows a difficulty in differentiating between the two towns, which lay close together and had an interconnected history. Slesvig was most likely the preferred market-town from the end of the eleventh century.

<sup>370</sup> This bishopric was originally referred to as the name of the province, Vendsyssel (Wendila Region). It was later moved to Aalborg in the 1500s.

<sup>371</sup> Gelting 2007: 97-98. For a discussion on cathedral chapters and saints, see Ciardi 2010.



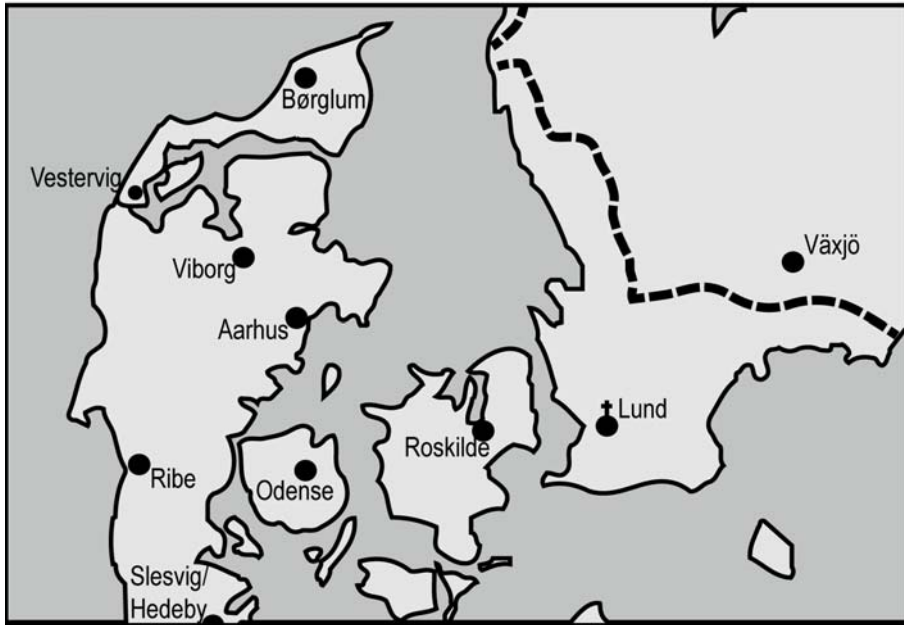


Figure 6. Bishops' sees in the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund

The Cistercians and Premonstratensians who arrived in the mid-twelfth century established new abbeys in Herrevad, and Tommarp and Børglum respectively. In Dalby, the priory (Holy Cross) was instead an Augustinian foundation from the twelfth century. The Knights of St John of Jerusalem or the Order of St John also established themselves in the Lund province, in Antvorskov on Sjælland by the 1160s.<sup>372</sup> Fewer nunneries were founded in Denmark, however, with the first appearing by the twelfth century. In the Lund province, the Christianization, as reflected in institutional establishment, seems to have been completed by the early-thirteenth century.

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<sup>372</sup> Gelting 2007: 97-99.



### *Hedeby and Slesvig*

Hedeby or Haithabu was originally an important trading centre and lay near the border of the Jutish-Danish and Frankish kingdoms. During the conversion period, it was one of the points of contact between the two regions. According to Ansgar's legend, a Danish king rewarded Ansgar's diplomacy in a dispute with the Frankish king by allowing him to build a church in Hedeby for use by a priest. The king himself was not converted.<sup>373</sup> This ninth century story is mythopoetic as it provides a foundation for the incorporation of the area into Christian history.

As a trading town, Hedeby was the forerunner of Slesvig, the move taking place between 1050 and 1100; moreover, Hedeby was often referred to as Slesvig.<sup>374</sup> By the mid-tenth century, around the time of the conversion of Harald Blåtand, a bishop of Slesvig was mentioned by name at a synod attended by the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, Adaldag, and his suffragan bishops which included Ribe and Aarhus.<sup>375</sup> In other words, the archbishopric preferred the nearby Slesvig as a see instead of Hedeby at this time. It has been discussed in recent scholarship, as well as stated by Adam of Bremen, that these bishops might never have set foot in their dioceses.<sup>376</sup> However, the creation of these positions demonstrates the seriousness of Hamburg-Bremen's interest in the region and its initial influence in the Christianization of the North.

Despite, Hedeby's early entrance into the network of official Christianity, there are no local saints from this area extant in the pre-1300 liturgical material. Any possible native saints in the area were not deemed important enough to be promoted on an official episcopal level or even on a political level. Even the alleged first bishop of Slesvig, Ored, was not later promoted as a saint, in contrast to Liufdag of Ribe.

There are several possible reasons for this lack of interest in promoting Slesvig's first bishop. One is that Hedeby/Slesvig had always been close to the Hamburg and Bremen bishoprics, not only in terms of geography,

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<sup>373</sup> Schwarz Lausten 2004: 21, Rimbert 1961: Chpt XXIV.

<sup>374</sup> The connection between Hedeby and Slesvig is presented in Schwarz Lausten 2004: 14, 21, Gelting 2004b: 179-180, Christensen 1993: 3.

<sup>375</sup> On provisional bishops and the development of the Scandinavian bishoprics, see also Hellström 1971: 389-390.

<sup>376</sup> Adam of Bremen 11th cent. (2002): II.xxvi(23). On the idea of "shadow bishops" in Denmark from the Archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, see Gelting 2004b: 172-175.

but also liturgical order and celebration in which Danish saints were not important. Another reason could be that control of the province of Slesvig was continually in dispute between the Danish and Frankish kings. A final possibility is simply the fact that the *lacunae* in the Danish liturgical material might have contained mention of several native saints from this area, but those references are now lost.

### *Ribe*

The other bishopric with claims to an early start is that of Ribe on the west coast of Jylland. A church founded in Ribe was mentioned in Ansgar's legend in connection with a king Horik II. Furthermore, a bishop of Ribe, along with Slesvig and Aarhus, was one of the first mentioned in connection with an episcopal synod in the mid-tenth century.<sup>377</sup>

Ribe's local saint was Liufdag, a missionary saint and bishop who was recorded as being connected to Ribe's beginnings and was incorporated in the origin myth of the Ribe Diocese. Interest in Liufdag's cult could have existed throughout the entire history of the bishopric; however, it was first in the twelfth century that an attempt was made to promote Liufdag as a saint and create a cult around his veneration.<sup>378</sup>

One of these active steps could have included the addition of Liufdag's martyrdom to his story in the twelfth century. It is entirely plausible that this was seen as a fitting end for the supposed first bishop of Ribe in what was described in later chronicles as a period of conversion. Moreover, the martyr-cult appears to have been constructed to fit in with a supposed pagan-Christian conflict in the area from the tenth century.

Other elements that seem to have been added to Liufdag's later legend include the location of his grave (in the churchyard) and his translation, the latter being an important cultic element. Even if there were no authentic relics, it was important to claim possession of a saint's remains as part of cultic control.<sup>379</sup> Therefore, when Bishop Elias of Ribe (d. 1162) transferred Liufdag's remains into the church and then his successor, Bishop Radulph (1162-1171), ordered the *translatio* of Liufdag's remains

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<sup>377</sup> Schwarz Lausten 2004: 21-24.

<sup>378</sup> Nielsen 1985.

<sup>379</sup> In her study, Nielsen also supports the authenticity of Liufdag's translation. Although the bones might not really have been his, they were believed to have been. Nielsen 1985: 2, 7.

to the altar in about 1162, they acted as primary promoters of Liufdag's cult.<sup>380</sup> In addition, Radulph was involved in the construction of a new cathedral to house Liufdag's relics. By his actions, Radulph would have created a destination for pilgrims and perhaps generate the much-needed funds for the construction of the new cathedral. Radulph and Elias were also promoting the supposed founder of their bishopric as a holy man, which would have secured Ribe's status as a holy place, *locus sancti*, with a long history, increasing its status among the many bishoprics on Jylland.

In contrast to the Danish custom of obtaining papal approval for a cult, Radulph was unusual in the Lund province in that he seems to have thought that his own episcopal authority was sufficient to authorize Liufdag's cult. There could have been several reasons for neglecting to obtain higher approval. Firstly, as the liturgical documents witness, Ribe was heavily influenced by England, whereas by the twelfth century the Lund province seems to have turned to Frankish or Carolingian sources for the basis of its martyrologies, which indicates a disagreement with the archbishops, most notably Eskil or Absalon, on liturgical matters in the twelfth century.<sup>381</sup>

Another reason, related to the first, could simply have been that Radulph was not on good terms with Eskil, the Archbishop of Lund. Eskil supported Pope Alexander III over the anti-pope Victor, whom King Valdemar acknowledged as a product of his alliance with Emperor Frederick I.<sup>382</sup> Radulph was a member of the king's court and his subsequent appointment as bishop of Ribe was ratified by the anti-pope. Due to Radulph's ties to the emperor, through the king, and the anti-pope, Eskil was not willing to accept Radulph's appointment as bishop in the ecclesiastical province over which he had control. After Eskil returned from his exile, however, Valdemar and Radulph had changed sides in the papal conflict and Radulph was properly installed as bishop in Ribe by Eskil.

Unfortunately, Radulph died in 1171 without managing to successfully promote Liufdag as a saint outside his own diocese. In addition, it does not appear that a liturgy was ever written for Liufdag, even in Ribe. Indeed,

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<sup>380</sup> Jørgensen 1933-35: 26, 28-29. See also Ciardi 2010: 61-62.

<sup>381</sup> See Gelting 2007: 100-101.

<sup>382</sup> For speculation that Radulph was not on good terms with Eskil, which resulted in a failed attempt at having the cult officially recognized by the province, see Ciardi 2010: 62, Gelting 2004b: 197-198.

by the end of the thirteenth century, Ribe's martyrology did not contain his name.<sup>383</sup>

A clue to this absence of liturgy comes from the *Ribe Bispekrønike*. The fire in 1176, which destroyed much of the cathedral including Radulph's relics, was seen as divine punishment for Radulph's presumption in authorizing a saint's cult without permission from the pope or the archbishop: *Tempore illo episcopus sancti Leofdani martyris ossa in scriniis posita collocat in altari absque auctoritate papæ et archiepiscopi. Sed incendium parum post subsequutum ecclesiam destruxit et martyris ossa incineravit.*<sup>384</sup>

It seems that Radulph's successors did not share his independent mind-set. Moreover, it appears that the twelfth century marked the end of the acceptance of episcopally canonized saints, at least in Denmark, and only permitted the promotion of those whom the pope approved.<sup>385</sup> Liufdag was a prime candidate to be Ribe's special, local patron saint: a bishop, supposed martyr and tied into the diocesan origin myth. However, the circumstances surrounding the promotion of his cult did not bode well for its success and indeed seem to have led to its failure.

Despite the lack of success of Liufdag's cult, Ribe was more successful in its active promotion of other cults of saints from Jylland. Several letters of indulgence were granted for visiting Ribe cathedral on feast days of both native and universal saints, for example, Kjeld and Thøger.<sup>386</sup> The letters of indulgence for visiting Ribe Cathedral on Kjeld's and Thøger's feast days were an indication of an effort to promote cults of other native Jutish saints by the bishopric. Further evidence that Kjeld's feast day was well-known and celebrated in Ribe is provided by a 1272 letter of donation to Løgum Abbey, issued by Bishop Esger of Ribe, that was dated "...in die sancti Ketilli".<sup>387</sup> Using a saint's feast day to date a letter indicates a well-known and observed cult.

The promotion of other native Jutish saints appears to be an attempt to secure Ribe's superior status among the other bishoprics on Jylland. Moreover,

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<sup>383</sup> According to some modern secondary sources, his feast day is supposed to have been February 3; however, contemporary sources are silent on the matter.

<sup>384</sup> Jørgensen 1933-35: 29, Gelting 2007: 101.

<sup>385</sup> Ciardi has also mentioned the possibility of a "transition period" in connection to the lack of success of Liufdag's cult. See Ciardi 2010: 62.

<sup>386</sup> See Table 2.14 (Kjeld) and 2.17 (Thøger)

<sup>387</sup> DD 2:2:187 (Table 2.14)

the act of promoting native saints reinforces the bishopric's strong historical ties to England which was known for the promotion of many native saints.<sup>388</sup>

Other native saints from throughout the Lund province were also venerated in Ribe Diocese as shown by its thirteenth-century martyrology.<sup>389</sup> Firstly, Knud the Holy's feast day was included, showing an awareness and veneration of the saint, at least among the clergy, since his feast was written in black, a *festum chori*.<sup>390</sup> In addition, Knud Lavard was included in the obituary.<sup>391</sup> Strangely enough, prior to 1300, it was Knud Lavard's *translatio* that was venerated in Ribe as a *festum chori* and not his death-day.<sup>392</sup> The same phenomenon is true for Wilhelm of Æbelholt's feast day, as his *translatio* to the cathedral in Lund on June 16 was venerated in Ribe.<sup>393</sup> By supporting the veneration of these multilocal native saints, Ribe connected itself to the Roskilde and Odense dioceses, supporting *loca sanctorum* outside of its own boundaries.

### *Aarhus*

The last of the three earliest bishoprics was Aarhus, located on the east coast of Jutland. The bishopric's early history was tied to that of the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen, as it was originally its suffragan diocese. Aarhus was also mentioned in Adam's *GH*, including the fact that the see was dissolved after the death of Archbishop Adaldag in 988.<sup>394</sup> It was later revived in about 1059 as part of the general reorganization of the Danish dioceses.<sup>395</sup>

The first bishop of the see, Reginbrand – one of the first three Danish bishops – does not seem to have been venerated or actively promoted as a saint in Aarhus. In fact, a cult of the first local saint in the area did not emerge until the twelfth century.

The object of the cult was Niels Knudsen, one of the Danish royal saints. His sainthood was first promoted by the bishopric of Aarhus, or its

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<sup>388</sup> See Cubitt 2002: 451–452.

<sup>389</sup> GKS 849 2°

<sup>390</sup> Table 2.1

<sup>391</sup> Table 2.2

<sup>392</sup> Cf. Wallin 1975: 144.

<sup>393</sup> Table 2.6

<sup>394</sup> Schwarz Lausten 2004: 24, Gelting 2004b. Adam of Bremen 11th cent. (2002): II.46(106–107). See also Gelting 2004b: 173.

<sup>395</sup> Gelting 2004b: 190–192.

cathedral chapter, in the 1190s soon after Niels' death.<sup>396</sup> The reason for this support was based on the miracles attributed to Niels.

The physical presence of Niels' cult included the wooden chapel in which he was buried and which was eventually replaced by a stone church sometime after 1197. By 1240, the stone church was consecrated as the cathedral for Aarhus Diocese. The rebuilding of the chapel into a church indicates the importance of Niels' cult to the archbishopric. In one scenario from his legend, Niels was presented as having donated funds to the building of the original chapel in which he wished to be buried. His involvement indicates the importance of promoting him as a church-builder and the symbolic founder of the new cathedral. His pious activity was directly tied into the century of church-building in Denmark.<sup>397</sup>

The importance of Niels' cult, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was demonstrated by the offerings made to his grave. These donations were large as suggested by contemporary *diploma*. For instance, in 1219, King Valdemar II Sejr (d. 1241) gave himself the right to the offerings made to Niels' shrine, stating that he would pay them back if he were victorious in the war in Estonia.<sup>398</sup> A second letter by Bishop Ebbe described the division of the funds received at Niels' shrine sometime after 1215. The pope then confirmed this division of two-thirds to the cathedral's building fund and one-third to the canons.<sup>399</sup> The income from the shrine was initially an important source of income for the building of the cathedral.

Although Niels was interred as a saint in the new cathedral, the fact that he was never canonized meant that the canons in Aarhus could not use his name in the dedication, in keeping with the Lund province's belief in the supreme validity of papal canonization.<sup>400</sup> Therefore, when the cathedral was consecrated, it was dedicated to a universal saint, St Clement.<sup>401</sup> Despite this,

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<sup>396</sup> For the connection of Niels to Antonsson's "general trend" of promoting local saints, see Antonsson 2010: 28-29.

<sup>397</sup> Liebgott 1982: 185, Gad 1967b: 306. Parallels exist in the lives of other Scandinavian saints, see below.

<sup>398</sup> DD 1:5:65

<sup>399</sup> DD 1:5:65, DD 1:5:108 Gad 1967b: 307.

<sup>400</sup> For a similar interpretation, see Jørgensen 1909b: 52. It is also important to note that dedications to non-papally canonized saints occurred in Uppsala (Erik the Holy) and Turku (Henrik).

<sup>401</sup> The original church, known as St Nicolaus Church, was converted into a Dominican priory in the mid-thirteenth century.

however, it appears that the canons were still interested in legitimizing their new cathedral as a *locus sancti* with an appropriate native saint. Thus, in order to create a proper place of pilgrimage at Aarhus and to confirm its saint's holiness, the bishopric needed an official canonization for Niels.

After the initial promotion of the cult, letters were issued by both Pope Innocent IV and Pope Alexander IV addressed to several bishops and abbots on Jylland and concerning the investigations into Niels' sanctity.<sup>402</sup> According to the first of these letters, among those responsible for bringing Niels to the attention of the pope were King Kristoffer I (king, 1252-1259)<sup>403</sup> and Archbishop Jakob Erlandsen of Lund (1253-1274), illustrating royal and archiepiscopal support for the cult by the 1250s.<sup>404</sup> By applying for official papal canonization of a local saint, Aarhus was following the official regulations outlined in the 1234 bull of Gregory IX. Thus, the work surrounding the new cathedral and the attempt to canonize Niels appear to go hand in hand.

Taking into consideration the initial promotion of the cult by the bishopric of Aarhus, it is interesting to note to whom the mid-thirteenth century instructions were written. Pope Innocent IV's letter is addressed to the bishops of Slesvig and Viborg, as well as the abbot of Øm in the Aarhus Diocese; however, Pope Alexander IV's letter is addressed to the Dominican Prior in Aarhus rather than the Slesvig bishop.<sup>405</sup> Both groups were charged to investigate the miracles associated with Niels and revealed that the pope was open to the possibility of canonizing him. The two papal commissions to determine his claim to sanctity are thought to have been undertaken in the years in which the letters are dated, 1254-1255.<sup>406</sup>

The fact that these letters were addressed to the bishops of Slesvig and Viborg in the first instance suggests a common interest on Jylland in gaining approval for the local cult, the only one of a royal saint on the peninsula.<sup>407</sup> The removal of the bishop of Slesvig from the second letter

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<sup>402</sup> DD 2:1:146, DD 2:1:169 (Table 2.16)

<sup>403</sup> Kristoffer was also responsible for promoting the cult of his brother, Erik Plovpenning. See Chapter Four.

<sup>404</sup> DD 2:1:146

<sup>405</sup> DD 2:1:169 (Table 2.16) The bishop of Slesvig at the time of Niels' death was his half-brother, Bishop Valdemar.

<sup>406</sup> Gelting 2007: 102, Liebgott 1982: 185.

<sup>407</sup> The cultic centres of Knud Lavard and Erik Plovpenning were on Sjælland, while Knud the Holy's was on Fyn.



and replacing his name with the abbot of the Dominican Priory in Aarhus could be an indication of the centralization of the occurrence of miracles in or close to Aarhus, or the desire to centralize the work in Aarhus.

Despite this promising start, the abbot of Øm and the bishop of Aarhus were in conflict at this point in time; therefore, it is possible that the abbot was deliberately obstructing the official canonization attempt.<sup>408</sup> The attempt ultimately failed and papal refusal has been dated to soon after the papal commissions were appointed.<sup>409</sup> Another idea is that, although an explicit refusal may not have been given, cults were allowed to fade into liturgical obscurity due to a lack of local support.

Niels' cult was later confined to Aarhus Diocese. Hagiographical literature created for his cult was limited to a *vita* and presumably the collection of miracles gathered for his canonization attempt.<sup>410</sup> The miracle stories and *vita* indicate that those who venerated Niels came from eastern Jylland, although a few were associated with Sjælland. Despite the promising nature of the cult surrounding Niels, Aarhus – like Ribe – failed in its attempt to establish a legitimate native cult.

Aarhus also showed an interest in native cults from other dioceses. By the 1280s, it appears that the bishop of Aarhus, Tyge, supported the cult of Knud the Holy in Odense. While visiting the Odense Bishopric, Tyge wrote a letter of indulgence which rewarded all who visited Knud the Holy's shrine and aided Knud's church in Odense.<sup>411</sup>

Tyge also granted indulgences to those who came to the aid of St Agnes Church and Convent in Roskilde. This diploma shows that Wilhelm of Æbelholt's cult was well-known even in Aarhus by 1264 as the letter is dated "...in die beati Willelmi abbatis."<sup>412</sup> This act shows that Aarhus was interested in cooperation across diocesan boundaries in the promotion of the *loca sanctorum* of native saints.

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<sup>408</sup> For a short presentation of prosopographical connections of the clerics related to the conflict, see Clausen 2009: 306-318.

<sup>409</sup> For instance, Ciardi reasons that papal refusal must have occurred already by 1255. See Ciardi 2010: 60.

<sup>410</sup> Jørgensen 1909b: 52-53, Ciardi 2010: 60.

<sup>411</sup> DD 2:3:92 (Table 2.11)

<sup>412</sup> DD 2:1:431 (Table 2.8)



### *Børglum (Vendsyssel Region)*

A fourth diocese on the peninsula of Jutland was Vendsyssel. This diocese was reportedly founded in the 1060s and was unique in that it did not originally have a see. It has been speculated that the bishopric was originally based in Vestervig, until 1120 and the arrival of the Augustinians, which would then make the pre-1120 dating of the Florence List questionable.<sup>413</sup> This conclusion is based on an episode from the Roskilde Chronicle in which five bishops were reported killed, among them Bishop Ketil from Vestervig.<sup>414</sup> However, at some point before 1130 and the compilation of the Florence List, Børglum was designated as the diocesan capital.<sup>415</sup>

The new saint associated with the Børglum Bishopric was Thøger of Vestervig. Thøger was a missionary in the area who, among other things, was responsible for building the church in Vestervig. The bishop and the king had originally opposed Thøger's *translatio* and promotion as a saint, but the bishop changed his mind after miracles had occurred which then proved Thøger's sanctity. Despite the fact that Thøger's shrine was not located in the actual cathedral town, there is no reason to suppose that the bishop could not oppose or promote Thøger's cult from another geographical location within the Vendsyssel/Børglum diocese, as long as the cult location was within his jurisdiction.<sup>416</sup> It appears that the bishop's change of heart and later support of Thøger's cult occurred in the 1060s.<sup>417</sup>

In addition to continued promotion by the bishop, the Augustinians that came to Vestervig in about 1120 had a vested interest in Thøger's cult.<sup>418</sup> From the start it appears that they were interested in controlling the cult of Vestervig's native saint. For instance, the church they built was dedicated to Thøger. Among the reasons for this interest would have been the management of pilgrims to the shrine.

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<sup>413</sup> Jexlev 1988: 186.

<sup>414</sup> Gelting 1979, Gelting 2002.

<sup>415</sup> See Gad 1971: 251.

<sup>416</sup> An interesting comparison can be made with Eskil of Tuna/Strängnäs, the first bishop of Tuna, see below.

<sup>417</sup> Gelting 2007: 100.

<sup>418</sup> Antonsson mentions that they "appropriated" the cult in the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century. Antonsson 2010: 29-30, 36.

The Augustinian abbey and its dedication to Thøger are mentioned in *Liber daticus Lundensis vestustior* (Mh7) dated to 1145-1146.<sup>419</sup> However, no mention of a feast day is evident in this document from the Lund archbishopric. The conclusion that can be drawn in this case is that Thøger's cult was not fully accepted by the archbishop of Lund at this date. Thøger's feast does not appear in the thirteenth-century liturgical material from the Roskilde Diocese on Sjælland either.<sup>420</sup>

It appears that Thøger's cult was concentrated on Jylland originally, spreading later in the Middle Ages throughout the Lund province.<sup>421</sup> An early piece of liturgical evidence for Thøger's feast day appears in a thirteenth-century martyrology from the Ribe Bishopric. The martyrology was probably in use in the cathedral in Ribe.<sup>422</sup> His feast was written in black ink indicating a *festum chori* observance and his feast day was given as October 30. Unfortunately, no liturgical material is extant from Børglum/Vendsyssel in order to determine the liturgical rank of Thøger's cult in the bishopric that promoted his cult.

No complete copy of the original *vita* exists. However, a fragment from Sølvesborg in Blekinge, within the jurisdiction of the Lund Archbishopric, contains excerpts of four miracle stories from the *vita*. All except one of these stories are also found in Thøger's later office.<sup>423</sup> These fragments are the only source which tells of Bishop Eskil's refusal to acknowledge Thøger as a saint until signs encourage him to change his mind.<sup>424</sup> Although it is uncertain which church or foundation owned the original book, acquiring

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<sup>419</sup> Table 2.5. Gelting supports an even earlier date, 1137/1138. See Gelting 2004a: 212.

<sup>420</sup> The extant sources for this period in the Roskilde diocese are from Næstved (St Peder's Abbey) and Copenhagen.

<sup>421</sup> Late Breviaries from Odense, Slesvig, Århus, Roskilde and Lund include Thøger's rhymed office. Møller Jensen 2012b.

<sup>422</sup> Table 2.5.

<sup>423</sup> The fragment came from Sølvesborg County within the medieval Danish kingdom and, from the fifteenth century, was possibly in the possession of the Carmelites. A search of the MPO-database did not uncover this fragment and the fragment itself has not been examined for this study. Instead, the description of the fragment has been used. It is included in Gertz 1908-1912: 25-26. And Møller Jensen 2012b. Cf. Jørgensen 1909b: 53-54, Gelting 2004b: 198. The miracles also contain those providing help at sea and punishment of people who wanted to steal relics. See Gad 1971: 252. The fragment's whereabouts were discovered just before this dissertation went to print. It is stored in the DKB with the designation: NKS 3249 4<sup>0</sup> (Table 2.5)

<sup>424</sup> Not to be confused with the attempt to burn his bones by Bishop Alberic after the original initiation of Thøger's cult.

a liturgical text which included Thøger's *vita* implies that his cult was also important in the eastern part of the province before 1300. It also indicates that Lund accepted the inclusion of Thøger in the province's official liturgy. The evidence presented in this dissertation is in opposition to Jørgensen's claim that Thøger's cult was restricted to the region of Thy in northwestern Jylland. The Ribe martyrology, inclusion in the Valdemar Jordbog Calendar and the use of Thøger to date a letter in Ribe arguably suggest otherwise for a pre-1300 cult. Although Jørgensen mentions these two liturgical sources and dismisses them, her claims are mainly based on his cult as seen in a long-term perspective (post-1300) exemplified by sources from around the Reformation.<sup>425</sup>

The fact that Thøger was still important to the bishopric of Børglum at the end of the thirteenth century is demonstrated by a letter of indulgence written by Bishop Jens II in 1278.<sup>426</sup> This letter was written in order to encourage the donation of funds to build a church in Bækkeskov on Sjælland and not on Jylland or within the Børglum diocese. The bishop mentions that the letter was written with the authority given to him by the Virgin Mary, the Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as St Thøger. The use of Thøger's name and association with other important universal saints reveals the high esteem in which Thøger was held in his native diocese. In addition, the letter demonstrates that Thøger legitimized the bishop's authority and is an example of cooperation among bishoprics.

Another indication of Thøger's veneration and the wide-spread knowledge of his feast day in Jylland is the diploma issued by King Erik VI Menved, while in Ribe, confirming the fact that the Bishop of Ribe is to decide the punishment for crimes by clerics in Ribe Diocese. The letter is dated to "*in die beati Thedgari confessoris*".<sup>427</sup> This use of dating indicates an active cult in the bishopric.<sup>428</sup>

If the date of the start of Thøger's cult in the 1060s is correct, the initial promotion can be associated with the foundation of the bishopric in the

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<sup>425</sup> See Jørgensen 1909b: 53, Gelting 2007: 100.

<sup>426</sup> DD 2:2:339 (Table 2.17)

<sup>427</sup> "... on the day of the Blessed/Saint Theodgarus/Thøger Confessor." DD 2:4:273 (Table 2.17)

<sup>428</sup> On the importance of saints in the dating of letters or diploma, see Jexlev 1986.

Vendsyssel Region.<sup>429</sup> The claim of a *locus sancti* would help validate the placement of a bishopric as suitable. Equally importantly, a shrine would presumably attract pilgrims, pilgrimage being an important ritual of the new religion and an important source of income for the Church. Veneration of Thøger also occurred in royal circles, which will be discussed below.

Regarding the official acceptance of Thøger's cult, on the archiepiscopal or papal level, Thøger's canonization by the pope is mentioned in his legend. This insertion, which cannot be verified in any other source, provided additional validation for Thøger as a saint, whose sainthood had, in fact, only been confirmed by the local bishop.<sup>430</sup> In addition, it was an attempt to ensure that its acceptance would not run into the same problems as experienced in Liufdag's case. In fact, considering that Thøger's cult was more successful than Liufdag's, this declaration of papal canonization worked in Børglum's and Vestervig's favour.

### *Viborg*

The final diocese on Jylland in this analysis was Viborg, which was probably founded in around 1059, contemporaneous with Aarhus and Vendsyssel/Børglum. Adam's mention in the *GH* of "*Wal Iburgensis Danorum episcopus*", who was active in the 1040s, indicated that a bishop Wal was probably resident in the castle of Iburg near Osnabrück and was only a shadow bishop on Jylland. In other words, the comment does not indicate that there was a bishop in Viborg at that time.<sup>431</sup> Viborg was also included on the Florence List; therefore, its existence is verifiable from the early-twelfth century. At the time of its incorporation, the diocese was suffragan to the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen. Keeping in mind the eleventh-century Danish royal interest in creating an episcopal province independent of Hamburg-Bremen, a cult of a new saint supporting the sanctity of the new area might have emerged around the time of the bishopric's establishment. However,

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<sup>429</sup> During his presentation at the *Ora Pro Nobis* conference (Copenhagen, April 3-4, 2014), Svend Clausen presented an argument that Vestervig was trying to promote Thøger as its main saint and is an example of evidence of the attempt to establish Vestervig as the bishop's residence. Clausen also concluded that the *vita* was written in about 1117 in Vestervig Abbey. This scenario is plausible and shows a parallel with Eskil of Tuna/Strängnäs. In both cases, the cults were subsequently run by a monastic order, albeit overseen by the bishopric. This interpretation fits this dissertation's assessment of bishoprics promoting *loca sanctorum*.

<sup>430</sup> Cf. Gelting 2007: 101.

<sup>431</sup> See Gelting 2004b: 182-183, 188-190.

it was not until the late-twelfth century that Viborg first promoted a local saint, that of Kjeld.

Kjeld's cult was supported officially by Archbishop Absalon and even King Knud VI, who both signed the letter of petition.<sup>432</sup> As evidenced by the letter from Pope Clement III in 1188, papal approval had been sought for his canonization and Archbishop Absalon's actions in confirming Kjeld's sanctity shortly thereafter were in accordance with the papal directive. By 1189, the year of his *translatio*, Kjeld's cult had spread throughout Denmark.

It is noteworthy that Kjeld's cult was widely accepted by the time of the Danish church's *consilium* in 1187, despite his death just over thirty years earlier. Kjeld's status as a cathedral provost, his connections to the bishop of Viborg and the Augustinians, his work in the cathedral school, his efforts in making peace between Knud Lavard and Svend and his piety, all worked in his favour. Kjeld was a perfect candidate for the official sainthood in Viborg considering all of his work for the church there. In addition, it does not appear that he was an offensive candidate for the sainthood in the eyes of any faction in the ecclesiastical province that might potentially have opposed his sainthood.

Concerning the extant liturgical material, none of the liturgical fragments or manuscripts which contain reference to Kjeld originated in the Viborg diocese.<sup>433</sup> This *lacuna* is most likely due to the lack of extant liturgical source material for Viborg. The manuscript used in the closest geographical proximity to Viborg was a martyrology from Ribe in which Kjeld is mentioned: "*In ciuitate wibergensi: s[an]c[t]I ketilli [c]o[n]fessoris.*"<sup>434</sup> Thus, Kjeld is acknowledged by Ribe, while at the same time the honour of the *locus sancti* is ascribed to Viborg. Moreover, this reference indicates that Kjeld's cult was still active at the end of the thirteenth century.

Official approval and papal awareness of the cult in the twelfth century was exemplified by the letters of indulgence issued by the papal legate, Guido, in 1266 and Pope Clemens in 1268.<sup>435</sup> These letters offered 60 or 100 days of indulgence to those who visited Viborg cathedral on several feast days, including Kjeld's.<sup>436</sup>

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<sup>432</sup> DD 1:3:150 (Table 2.14). See also Møller Jensen 2012a.

<sup>433</sup> Table 2.3. His name appears in material from the dioceses of Lund, Roskilde (Næstved and Copenhagen) and Ribe.

<sup>434</sup> GKS 849 2° (Table 2.3)

<sup>435</sup> DD 2:2:31, DD 2:2:37 and DD 2:2:117 (Table 2.3)

<sup>436</sup> Cf. the aforementioned letter of indulgence for visiting Ribe Cathedral on Kjeld's feast day.

Although Kjeld's feast day seems to have been extremely important to Viborg, certain work was allowed on that day as indicated by the certification of Bishop Svend's will by Bishop Lars of Viborg in 1291 and the announcement of the donation of land to Løgum Monastery.<sup>437</sup> At first glance, this might appear to indicate that the feast was of lesser importance as it was not an entirely work-free feast day; however, using the feast to date an important document indicated that the day was an observed feast in the Calendar, at least in the cathedral chapter. Prior to 1300, although the use of feast days to date letters did exist, it was unusual in Scandinavia. Thus, this practice reveals the importance and acceptance of the feast days.<sup>438</sup> Furthermore, the prescription against work usually called for its cessation after a certain hour on a feast day, enabling letters to be copied in the morning, for example.<sup>439</sup> Thus, of all of the dioceses on Jylland to promote local saints before 1300, Viborg was the most successful in the initiation of a cult of a saint and associated *locus sancti* which spread relatively quickly throughout the Lund province. Arguably, Thøger's cult was also successful, although for the most part it remained geographically contained on Jylland. Veneration of the saint also spread to the Lund Archbishopric and knowledge of his cult to the Skara Bishopric (Lödöse).

### *Odense*

Turning now to the eastern parts of Denmark and the island of Fyn, one of the early bishoprics found on the Florence List had reportedly been established in the tenth century after the conversion of Harald Blåtand in 958 or 965.<sup>440</sup> Odense was not included on the list which describes the partitioning of dioceses by Archbishop Adalbert in about 1059; therefore, it had presumably been left intact after the instalment of a new bishop, Eilbert, in the 1040s.<sup>441</sup> As with all of the other bishoprics, Odense was in a process of establishment and consolidation from the mid-eleventh century. By this time, what were former

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<sup>437</sup> DD 2:4:14 and DD 2:2:187 (Table 2.14)

<sup>438</sup> On the importance of the feast days used to date letters in Scandinavia, especially Knud the Holy, see Jexlev 1986: 87.

<sup>439</sup> The hour work ceased depended on the importance of the saint to the person or institution in question.

<sup>440</sup> Harald Bluetooth. Gelting 2004b: 172-173.

<sup>441</sup> Gelting 2004b: 188-190, 194.

itinerant missionary bishops assigned to the diocese-on-paper now became resident and a cathedral chapter was in the process of being established.<sup>442</sup>

Similar to all of the original bishoprics, except Ribe, Odense's first (nameless) bishop was not the subject of a cult, although his promotion as a saint would have helped legitimize the bishopric by creating sanctified origins. Instead, Odense was the location of the cult of the first royal saint, who was also the first local, canonized saint in the Lund province. This cult was initiated in the late-eleventh century, about fifteen years after Adalbert and King Sven reorganized the Danish bishoprics.

Knud the Holy died in 1086 and about a decade later his grave was moved to the church which he supposedly helped build. From the outset, Knud the Holy's sainthood was promoted by the English Benedictine monks of St Albans in Odense, in whose church he was buried.<sup>443</sup> As mentioned previously, it was one of these monks, Ælnoth, who wrote the original *vita*. The religious house involved in the promotion of Knud the Holy's cult did not have a connection to the original conversion; however, the monks' connection to England suggests that they were part of the plan to set up an independent archbishopric in the Danish kingdom. Therefore, Ælnoth's *Passio* can be seen to be using Knud the Holy and his cult as part of a mythopoetic moment.<sup>444</sup> In other words, the monks of St Alban's used the opportunity of Knud's martyrdom in order to write the saint and his kingdom into the wider history of Christendom. Remarkably, none of the extant liturgical material which contains reference to Knud the Holy comes from the Odense bishopric. This *lacuna* is most likely due to the general paucity of material from Odense in the pre-1300 period.<sup>445</sup>

There are several additional reasons why Knud the Holy was promoted by the monks of St Alban's in Odense. The first of these includes English influence on the acceptance of making kings into saints.<sup>446</sup> Although Knud the Holy was not a contemporary of these early Anglo-Saxon

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<sup>442</sup> See Ciardi 2010: 41-43.

<sup>443</sup> Erik Ejegod was also involved in the promotion of his relative, Knud the Holy, as will be discussed below.

<sup>444</sup> For further discussion of Ælnoth as an early Danish historian, see Conti 2010: 204ff.. For mythopoetic moments and the Christianization in Norway, Denmark and Hungary, see Mortensen 2006b.

<sup>445</sup> See Table 2.1

<sup>446</sup> For a discussion of the Anglo-Saxon model, see Klaniczay 2002: 71-99. See also the section on Ribe and Roskilde in this chapter.



king-saints, the tradition of saintly kings in England would have made this idea plausible. For instance, Ælnoth's *vita* describes Knud the Holy's planned invasion of England as motivational for his men, but also as liberating for the English, as he would be fighting the Norman conquerors, connecting the fortunes of England and Denmark.<sup>447</sup>

A further cause for the monks' interest was related to Knud the Holy's generous donations to the new church, including the abbey of St Alban's. Moreover, Knud the Holy was said to have been responsible for bringing the relics of St Alban and St Oswald to Odense. The connections between Knud the Holy and Odense can be seen to have been strong. Knud the Holy also fits perfectly into the "image of the holy ruler which had developed in the course of the eleventh century".<sup>448</sup> That image includes a king of a royal lineage who supported the Church, protected the rights of his subjects and challenged those in power. Moreover, due to certain policies that king would have been rebelled against – albeit unjustly.

The *diploma* of donations to the abbey or the cathedral chapter from the beginning of the twelfth century until the end of the thirteenth century reveal a cult with a following within the aristocracy and the importance that the cathedral chapter in Odense had among the wealthy in society. For example, King Niels Svensen, Knud the Holy's brother, made several donations between 1104 and 1134. These included a donation in honour of his son's soul and a letter of privilege for the church.<sup>449</sup>

In other words, Knud the Holy brought prestige and income to the institution that cared for his shrine. Even the archbishop of Lund, Eskil, supported the cult, which enabled its continuation even as the consolidation of liturgical control shifted into the hands of the archbishop and, eventually, into the hands of the pope.<sup>450</sup> In fact, one of the confirmation letters

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<sup>447</sup> Klaniczay 2002: 171.

<sup>448</sup> Klaniczay 2002: 152.

<sup>449</sup> DD 1:2:32, DD 1:2:34, DD 1:2:35 (Table 2.11) Knud the Holy's connection to the ruling families will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

<sup>450</sup> Archbishop Eskil's letters: DD 1:2:77, DD 1:3:19. Pope Alexander III also granted papal protection and confirmed the abbey's privileges in 1180 (DD 1:3:92). However, when Pope Honorius III renewed papal protection in 1226, contrary to Eskil's letter, he clarified that the abbey was under the bishop's jurisdiction (DD 1:6:62). In 1245, Pope Innocent IV re-confirmed papal protection and rights and privileges (DD 1:7:104). (Table 2.11) All of these popes had a conflict of some sort with the Holy Roman Emperor, especially Innocent IV.



includes a limit on the bishop's rights over the abbey and how they are to act more like a cathedral chapter, specifically choosing their own prior and electing the bishop. The same letter also confirms the right to alms from a number of areas and suggests that bishops and the laity are responsible for these donations.<sup>451</sup>

Donations to the abbey in Odense were not limited to the Odense diocese or the aristocracy, as shown by a donation from Gentofte village.<sup>452</sup> In addition, in the Roskilde Diocese, Sorø Abbey – by that time Cistercian – donated property to St Knud's abbey in 1190.<sup>453</sup> This donation shows the connections between the two abbeys – both of which were important ecclesiastical institutions – and further illuminates the strong attraction of the cult in Odense to other institutions.<sup>454</sup> Connections with Ribe are also evident in that Knud the Holy's feast day was used to date a letter written by King Erik VI Menved when he was in Ribe. The use of his feast day in dating suggests two things: one, a connection between the king and this royal saint and, two, the fact that Knud the Holy's feast day was well-enough known and presumably celebrated in Ribe to use it in dating.<sup>455</sup>

Moreover, ties are evident between the Odense Bishopric and the Uppsala province from the late-thirteenth century. The bishops of Skara, Linköping and Strängnäs wrote a letter of indulgence for all who visited or supported St Knud's church and the monks in Odense.<sup>456</sup> In addition, a will which included donations to St Knud's church and chapter in Odense was written in Husaby, Skara Bishopric, in 1295.<sup>457</sup> Niels Hamundsen who drew up the will could have been a former resident of Odense or elsewhere in Denmark who just happened to be in Husaby; however, the letter could instead show the importance of Knud's cult among those travelling to other areas. A further possibility is that the cult of Knud the Holy was celebrated in the Uppsala province.<sup>458</sup>

<sup>451</sup> DD 1:3:19 (Table 2.11)

<sup>452</sup> DD 1:2:99 (Table 2.11) Conflicts between the abbey and the locals can also be gleaned from the sources. One example is the declaration that a meadow does indeed belong to the abbey against the claims of the townfolk of Odense in 1257. In other words, having the relics of a saint did not save the monks from worldly quibbles as seen in a letter from 1257.

DD 2:1:241 (Table 2.11)

<sup>453</sup> DD 1:3:162 (Table 2.11)

<sup>454</sup> DD 2:3:92 (Table 2.11)

<sup>455</sup> DD 2:4:170 (Table 2.11)

<sup>456</sup> DD 2:3:144 (Table 2.11)

<sup>457</sup> DD 2:4:163 (Table 2.11)

<sup>458</sup> See the next chapter for a discussion of the connection of guilds to Knud the Holy.

In the mid-thirteenth century, the cathedral in Odense burned down. There are several measures which seem to have been taken in order to help finance the re-building of the cathedral, which was completed at the end of the thirteenth century. These measures included the aforementioned granting of indulgences by the bishop of Århus in 1284 and the bishops of Skara, Linköping and Strängnäs in 1285, as well as the removal of toll obligations for the monks within Denmark or through the Great or Little Belt. They demonstrated an awareness of the importance of supporting a fellow ecclesiastical institution located in Odense, which was also an important *locus sancti*.<sup>459</sup>

The cathedral chapter and diocese of Odense placed great importance on Knud the Holy as demonstrated by their seal. A seal inscribed, “*Sigillum Sancti Kanuti Regis et Martyris de Othense*”, from 1183 was used by St Knud’s Abbey and chapter to sign a donation and final testament diploma.<sup>460</sup> In 1296, Bishop Gisico of Odense used a seal with the text: “*Rex CANUTE DEI QUAESO ADESTO REO*”.<sup>461</sup> The use of iconography on the chapters’ seals indicates a desire to be connected with the saint in question, a sense of “ownership” of the saint, a promotion of the saint on a diocesan level and perhaps an indication of primary control of the main cult in the area. This latter phenomenon is of course especially the case for the abbey, who were first to endorse, promote and claim the cult as their own. The bishop first demonstrated a clear connection to the cult by means of his official seal in the late-thirteenth century. At this date, Knud the Holy’s cult was firmly established. Therefore, the bishop was not involved in an initiation of the cult, but rather promoted the continuation of its existence and affirmed the importance of the Odense Bishopric’s claim to be a *locus sancti*: the shrine of Knud the Holy.

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<sup>459</sup> Olav was also venerated in Odense. E.g. DD 2:3:46, Table 2.9

<sup>460</sup> DD 1:3:116 (Table 2.11) Grandjean 1948: 43, #41 and #43.

<sup>461</sup> Grandjean 1948: 43, #41 and #43.

### *Roskilde*

Moving eastward to another of the dioceses on the Florence List, the Roskilde Bishopric was probably formed in the early-eleventh century and originally had jurisdiction over the island of Sjælland and Scania until the partition of the dioceses in about 1059, after which it retained jurisdiction over Sjælland.<sup>462</sup> The division of the original diocese of Roskilde seems to have led to a conflict with Lund over the location of the archbishop's see and the primacy over Scandinavia during Eskil's period as bishop of Roskilde. This tension between the two sees has been described both in the Roskilde Chronicle and in Saxo Grammaticus' work. They agree that there was a difference of opinion as to where the archsee was to be located. Irrespective of the arguments that Eskil must have presented later, it appears that at an earlier date during Svend Estridsen's reign (1047-1076), when the first cathedral chapter was established in Roskilde, there had already been plans to establish an archbishopric there.<sup>463</sup>

Roskilde had a claim as the older, presumably more established see, whereas Lund was a newcomer. In order to strengthen their claims to be appropriate centres of episcopal power, both Lund and Roskilde should have been interested in claiming that they were *loca sanctorum*. As mentioned, one of the ways in which to achieve this end was by promoting the cult of a local holy person. However, similar to most of the other Danish bishoprics, Roskilde did not promote a cult of its first bishop, nor did a cult of a native saint arise in the diocese until Knud Lavard's murder in 1131. Subsequently, the next hundred years would see a diocese with the most prolific native saint production in the Lund province with three more cults of saints emerging there: Margarete, Erik Plovpenning and Wilhelm of Æbelholt.

Knud Lavard's cult-promotion coincided with the successful, albeit temporary, revocation of Lund's primacy in about 1133 by Pope Innocent II at the request of Archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen.<sup>464</sup> It is plausible that the promotion of this new saint served an ecclesiastical

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<sup>462</sup> In addition, Rügen was made part of the Roskilde diocese from Valdemar I's reign; however, this geographical area has not been included in the present study. Gelting 2007: 96. For a discussion on the partitioning and founding of dioceses, see Gelting 2004b: 188-190.

<sup>463</sup> Gelting 1979: vol. 1:32, Gelting 2012, Saxo Grammaticus and Christiansen 1981: 14:2:4,371. Cf. Gelting 2004a: 196-197.

<sup>464</sup> Gelting 2004b: 193. Some argue that Knud Lavard's is the only dynastic cult. Frøjmark 1998: 192-193. See also Friis-Jensen 2006: 196-197, 201. Knud Lavard's cult was supported by his brother (Erik II Emune), son (Valdemar I) and Knud VI. See below.

purpose, a new saint emerging in the area and reinforcing its suitability as an ecclesiastical province. The first evidence of cultic promotion came in the form of a *vita*. Robert of Ely wrote this *vita* prior to 1137, while a second, shorter, *vita* was written later, mostly likely for Knud Lavard's translation, which took place during the building of the abbey.<sup>465</sup>

Unfortunately, the only liturgical evidence of Knud Lavard's cult from the twelfth century is a note of his death in the *Necrologium Lundense*.<sup>466</sup> It is not until the thirteenth century that a Calendar from the Roskilde Diocese gives a clue as to the liturgical importance of his feast. Both the day of his death and *translatio* are written in red, each indicating a *festum fori/terrae*.<sup>467</sup> Similarly, his feast in the Calendar from St Peder's Abbey in Næstved has a cross next to his *passio* (death-day, January 7), a *festum fori/terrae* designation at the abbey.<sup>468</sup> Finally, the Calendar of the Sunesen Psalter features Knud Lavard's *translatio* feast in gold, also a *festum fori/terrae*.<sup>469</sup> His feast clearly enjoyed a wide observance in the Roskilde Bishopric.

The 1169 canonization letter from Pope Alexander III, addressed to Archbishop Eskil of Lund, states that it is a reply to correspondence from King Valdemar I (Knud Lavard's son) and Archbishop Stefan of Uppsala.<sup>470</sup> Archbishop Eskil still retained his primacy over the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala at this time and the fact that the reply was addressed to him, and not Archbishop Stefan or the king, indicates whom the pope thought should be a contact person in this matter. In addition, this letter indicates a clear royal interest in the canonization of Knud Lavard and an ecclesiastical interest from another province. This last point was perhaps an example of collaboration among the bishops in the North, at least between the archdioceses of Lund and Uppsala. It should be noted that this solidarity

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<sup>465</sup> DuBois and Ingwersen 2008: 161-162.

<sup>466</sup> Table 2.2

<sup>467</sup> Table 2.2

<sup>468</sup> Table 2.2. Knud Lavard can also be found in an early-fourteenth century addition to a Calendar of unknown provenance from "Denmark" (NKS 275a 4°). Arguably, considering the fact that both of Knud Lavard's feast days are present, the manuscript most likely comes from the diocese of Roskilde or Lund, although Jørgensen attributes the Calendar to Petrus of Dacia. Cf. Jørgensen 1923-26: 420. It is important to note that by the end of the Middle Ages, both feasts are celebrated in every diocese and found in the printed Breviaries. Wallin 1975: 144.

<sup>469</sup> Gold was used to indicate the important feasts in this Calendar. BL Egerton MS 2652 (Table 2.2).

<sup>470</sup> DD 1:2:190 (Table 2.12)

was a common phenomenon in native saints' cults in Scandinavia. The involvement of the archbishop also indicated that the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund was involved in promoting the saint's cult.

Further support for Roskilde's *locus sancti* come from Valdemar I. He confirmed earlier privileges granted to St Knud Lavard's church in Ringsted and instructed that annual earnings from *Knudsgilder* were to be given to the monastery and church in Ringsted dedicated to Knud Lavard.<sup>471</sup> These funds would have been used to complete the building of the monastery and support the growing cult. With the confirmation of privileges, Valdemar promoted and supported his father's cult.

According to Saxo Grammaticus, writing in the early-thirteenth century, Knud Lavard was the patron saint of the island of Sjælland, where his family, including his son Valdemar I, was based.<sup>472</sup> This statement attests to the importance of Knud Lavard to the area and the royal dynasty. At first glance, however, it is not immediately clear what the purpose of supporting his cult on an episcopal level was.

Firstly, one of the ways in which Knud Lavard's cult was important to the Church, including the abbey in Ringsted and the bishopric itself, was financial. For instance, both Bishop Absalon of Roskilde in the mid-twelfth century and Bishop Peder Sunesen (or Jakobsen) in the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century wrote letters supporting donations to St Knud's in Ringsted. Absalon issued a letter in support of a fee or tax, *Knuts scut*, being paid to St Knud's Abbey in Ringsted from all districts of Sjælland, as well as other letters instructing that the bishop's tithe and church tithe for Benløse be given to St Knud's Church in Ringsted.<sup>473</sup>

The existence of this special tax is another indication of the extreme importance of Knud Lavard's cult. *Knuts scut* also gives us an idea of the influence Ringsted monastery had in the Roskilde Bishopric, with the bishop himself reallocating his tithe to Ringsted. The bishop thus reinforced the prestige of Ringsted, rewarding the *locus sancti*.

The first wall-paintings featuring Knud Lavard appear at a relatively early date for native saints. Hardly surprisingly, the earliest extant image

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<sup>471</sup> DD 1:3:62, DD 1:3:63 (Table 2.12)

<sup>472</sup> Saxo Grammaticus 12th cent. (2005): e.g. 14,4,1, Villads Jensen 2002: 72.

<sup>473</sup> DD 1:3:68, DD 1:3:181 and 1:3:18 (Table 2.12)

was painted in Ringsted at St Bendt's Abbey Church in about 1268.<sup>474</sup> Thus, the monks confirmed their support of their abbey as an important *locus sancti* and place of pilgrimage.

Another vital aspect of the survival of a native cult in Denmark was support from the archbishop and papacy. In Knud Lavard's case, the latter's support is evidenced by the fact that Pope Celestine III placed the monastery in Ringsted under papal protection and confirmed its rights and properties, including *Knuts scut* from Sjælland and Halland, in a letter written in 1193.<sup>475</sup> In addition, this letter mentions a shrine dedicated to Knud Lavard, as well as offerings made to St Knud and St Margarete. In other words, by the end of the twelfth century, there were two active cults of local saints from the Roskilde Bishopric in Ringsted that received donations from the laity.

The second of these new cults in the Roskilde diocese was that of Margarete. Her cult emerged in the twelfth century after her murder. In previous research, it has been assumed that a canonization attempt was made by Absalon; however, there is no evidence of a formal papal canonization and, probably, no canonization in the twelfth century as there are no traces of a liturgical cult.<sup>476</sup> Papal acknowledgement exists in the form of a letter from 1182 which confirms that Pope Lucius III accepted the veneration of Margarete buried at Our Lady Abbey in Roskilde.<sup>477</sup>

Further papal acceptance of Margarete's sainthood is revealed in two papal letters written in the 1190s, one from Pope Celestine III and the other from Pope Innocent III. In these letters, the popes confirmed the rights and privileges of the Benedictine, and later Cistercian, monastery in Ringsted. These rights included the offerings given in honour of several saints, among them St Margarete: "...*et de oblatione sanctæ Margarete...*" and "...*memoriam sancte Margarete...*"<sup>478</sup>

The Cistercian abbey, where she had been translated to in 1177, was given the rights to alms collected at her chapel by the coast as confirmed by papal bull in 1257. Moreover, early donations and gifts to Sorø Abbey in

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<sup>474</sup> See Haastrup and Egevang 1989: 84. However, some argue that wall-paintings dedicated to Knud Lavard first appear in the fifteenth century. Liebgott 1982: 174.

<sup>475</sup> DD 1:3:192 (Table 2.12)

<sup>476</sup> For a discussion of Absalon's role and his promotion of canon law, see: Damsholt 1985: 215-217, Damsholt 2012.

<sup>477</sup> DD 1:3:100 (Table 2.15)

<sup>478</sup> DD 1:3:192 and DD 1:3:241 (Table 2.15)

Margarete's memory,<sup>479</sup> as well as the imposition of a special tithe in honour of Margarete bear witness to an early enthusiasm for the cult among the Danish clergy of the Roskilde diocese.<sup>480</sup>

Thus, even after Absalon's episcopate, it appears that the bishops and certain monastic houses in the Roskilde Bishopric supported Margarete's cult and the creation of a new *locus sancti*. For instance, Absalon's episcopal successors in the thirteenth century, Jakob Erlandsen and Peder Bang, also supported Margarete's cult. This support was also reflected in the apparent attempt to have Margarete papally canonized, an initiative attributed to Jakob Erlandsen in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>481</sup>

The attempt made by Archbishop Jakob Erlandsen to canonize Margarete was contemporary with the efforts made by the king, Kristoffer I, to initiate papal canonization proceedings for other, rival saints, namely Niels of Aarhus and Erik Plovpenning. Thus, all of these canonization attempts can be connected to the mid-thirteenth century royal-ecclesiastical dispute. It is interesting to note that the church officials chose a lay-woman as their saint in this particular contest of holy legitimization, although the reasons, other than purely devotional, are unclear.

Another sign of Margarete's official acceptance by the church and the importance of her cult is the fact that at least one initial step was taken to include her in new liturgical works. The Sunesen Psalter is the only extant evidence of the existence of a liturgical cult for Margarete. It provides evidence of the attempt to incorporate Margarete's cult into

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<sup>479</sup> Bendixen 1985: 187. See Table 2.15

DD 1:3:69 - Absalon – when bishop of Roskilde (in 1177 or 1178) – donated to Sorø Abbey, one-third was to Margarete's grave and in her memory (“*ad possessionem perpetuam*”).

DD 1:3:140 - Absalon, now archbishop (letter written sometime between 1186 and 1197), continues his patronage of Sorø abbey – in memory of Margarete.

DD 1:3:241. “...*et illud quod habetis in prouentibus apud memoriam sancte Margarete ecclesie sancte Marie Roskildis.*” Pope Innocent III (1198) – confirms rights and possessions of the Cistercian abbey in Sorø, including its right to income from gifts given in memory of Margarete.

<sup>480</sup> Table 2.15. DD 1:3:192. “...*schot sancte Mariæ de duabus partibus Selandiæ>... et de indulgentia aduenientum ad sepulchrum sancti Kanuti cum oblationibus et eleemosynis et de schot sancti Kanuti in Selandia et Halandia et de oblatione sancte Margarete et sancti Kanuti martyris...*”

Pope Celestine II (1193) – Benedictine monastery in Ringsted – confirms rights and properties as well as offerings to the martyrs St Margarete and Knud Lavard are free from royal control and tithes.

<sup>481</sup> Two undated papal letters are the basis for this argument. Cf. Clausen 2009, Damsholt 1985: 210-211.



official Calendars in the liturgy of the Roskilde Bishopric by the mid-thirteenth century.

The Sunesen Psalter was first in the ownership of a monk of Hamburg, Jacobus (d. 1246), who was related to several bishops of Roskilde, once again demonstrating a connection between clerics from the bishopric and the cult of Margarete.<sup>482</sup> The Sunesen Psalter Calendar includes an entry for Margarete's translation on July 19: "*Translatio sce margarete*".<sup>483</sup> The entry is written in black ink, indicating a *festum chori*.<sup>484</sup> From this limited amount of evidence, it appears that her feast was intended for observance by the clergy, however, with an unknown liturgical rank.

Despite the lack of liturgical works, other hagiographical sources reveal Margarete's close ties with and importance to Roskilde. This evidence is comprised of stories found in two hagiographical works from Roskilde and Clairvaux, respectively: *Relatio de translatione sanctae Margaretae Roskildensis* and Herbert of Clairvaux's *Liber miraculorum*.<sup>485</sup> In addition to providing further evidence of Margarete's importance for the Roskilde Bishopric, these works also give a glimpse into popular devotion and are evidence of clerical attempts to legitimize Margarete's promotion as a saint.<sup>486</sup>

*Relatio de translatione sanctae Margaretae Roskildensis* was presumably written by a cleric from Roskilde in about the 1190s, nearly twenty years after Margarete's death.<sup>487</sup> It contains a description of Margarete's *translatio* and miracles, as well as Absalon's support of her as a saint and the eventual confession of her husband, Herlogh.<sup>488</sup> As has been observed, this account of Margarete's life reveals little more than that "she was an innocent and

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<sup>482</sup> Table 2.4. No other extant liturgical material (e.g. *officium*) exists for Margarete's cult in either Roskilde or Lund. No mention of her is made in the thirteenth-century *Obitarium* from Copenhagen either. Despite this fact, Margarete's is the only new cult of a female saint that was important enough for inclusion in at least one new liturgical work in the thirteenth century, the Sunesen Psalter. See Damsholt 1985: 210.

<sup>483</sup> BL Egerton MS 2652 (Table 2.4). The Psalter seems to have been made for Danish use, based on the contents of its Calendar, prayers and litany. Jørgensen 1909a: 202, British Library.

<sup>484</sup> The important feasts in the Sunesen Psalter's Calendar were written in gold.

<sup>485</sup> *Liber miraculorum* is dated to about 1178-82 and is edited by Weibull: Weibull 1931: 285-288.. See also Sahlin 2010: 690-691, Damsholt 1985: 218-219.

<sup>486</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014c.

<sup>487</sup> See also Damsholt for a discussion on dating and the hypothesis that the work might have originally been part of a bishop's chronicle. Damsholt 1985: 209-210.

<sup>488</sup> Cf. Damsholt 1985: 214-215.



holy noblewoman who was murdered by her husband”, while it promotes the greatness of Absalon’s actions.<sup>489</sup> Thus, Margarete was used as a tool in Danish ecclesiastical politics; however, simultaneously, it was admitted that the bishop actively promoted her as a saint and honoured her sanctity. Consequently, Absalon demonstrated an ecclesiastical and political need to transform this woman into a proper saint and use her sanctity as a form of legitimization of his episcopacy.

Herbert’s *Liber miraculorum* discusses Margarete in somewhat more detail.<sup>490</sup> For instance, details are provided about Margarete’s behaviour, including her good works, which aggravated her husband and his sister, who appears as a co-conspirator in Margarete’s murder in this version of Margarete’s legend.<sup>491</sup> However, in general the description of Margarete is stereotypical and it is obvious that the intended audience was Cistercian monks or other members of the clergy. The work is clearly not a *vita* to be used in liturgical celebrations, nor does it reveal any explicit purpose on the part of Roskilde in choosing to promote Margarete’s cult. Nevertheless, Margarete is presented as an excellent example for the laity in general and women in particular.<sup>492</sup> The inclusion of Margarete in this work hints at her initial importance to the Cistercians in the Roskilde Bishopric.

Although Margarete’s cult had popular beginnings with the reports of miracles at her original grave on the beach in Køge, this initial interest in Margarete was taken over by clerics in the Roskilde Diocese, in particular the bishops and the Cistercian monks. The initial promotion of her cult and her shrine as a *locus sancti* was purely clerical; however, the lack of an extant *officium* for Margarete suggests that the official ecclesiastical interest in her cult was not wholehearted and did not last. Other later medieval evidence points to popular devotion of Margarete in Skåne, however. For instance, a piece of Margarete’s clothing was stored at Lund’s cathedral and used to help women in childbirth, while Gumlöse Church housed some of her relics.<sup>493</sup> These later examples reveal the link between Roskilde and Lund, further accentuating the fact that many archbishops of Lund had

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<sup>489</sup> Cf. Sahlin 2010: 691, Damsholt 1985: 215-215.

<sup>490</sup> Weibull 1931: 288. Damsholt and Weibull estimate that the entry about Margarete was written in about 1180. Cf. Sahlin 2010: 690-692, Damsholt 1985: 212-216, 219.

<sup>491</sup> These details are not found in the *translatio* text. Ellis Nilsson 2014c.

<sup>492</sup> Cf. Ellis Nilsson 2014c.

<sup>493</sup> For reference to the later popular use of her cult, see Sahlin 2010: 691.

previously been bishops of Roskilde.<sup>494</sup> It also reveals that Margarete's cult was not exclusively located on Sjælland within the Roskilde Bishopric. Knud Lavard and Margarete were not the only saints to appear in this saint-rich bishopric in the mid-thirteenth century. A third royal saint's cult was initiated in the bishopric, that of Knud Lavard's great-grandson. Erik Plovpenning's cult was confined to Sjælland and is usually considered to have been short-lived. However, evidence could exist for interest in his cult at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>495</sup>

The initial promotion of Erik Plovpenning's cult has been linked to his descendants, including his brother, King Kristoffer I in the thirteenth century. The emergence of Erik's cult coincided with the, often violent, conflict between Archbishop Jakob Erlandsen of Lund and the Danish kings. A new royal saint would have legitimized the royal stance in this conflict.

Erik Plovpenning's cult received some ecclesiastical acceptance. Although he does not appear in any liturgical material from the entire medieval period, not even in *Valdemars Jordebog* or the Sunesen Psalter, two early wall-paintings are extant within the Roskilde diocese, one in Tømmerup and one in St Bendt's Church in Ringsted.<sup>496</sup> The first of these paintings depicts Erik

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<sup>494</sup> Hypothetically, the chapel at the archbishop's castle, Hammershus on Bornholm, could have been dedicated to Margarete of Roskilde. The chapel has been dated to 1200, when Absalon was the archbishop of Lund. Correspondence between Jan Eskildsen and Anders Frøjmark, January 4, 2013.

<sup>495</sup> According to a diploma assumed to have been issued by Pope John XXIII (anti-pope, based in Pisa) to the bishops of Schleswig, Ribe and Viborg, a Queen Margarete was involved in a later attempt to have Erik Plovpenning canonized. It most likely that this letter was a response to an attempt made by Margarete Sambiria (queen consort of Kristoffer I from 1252-1259 and regent for their son Erik V until 1264), as mention is made of Erik's remains still being at Schleswig. For a dating of the diploma to 1258 at the latest, see also Christensen 1965-68: 21-43. However, as the letter alludes to the fact that Erik Plovpenning was a relative of Queen Margarete, the letter could have instead been written in the fifteenth century and would then refer to Margarete I Valdemarsdotter, the later union queen. In fact, DRB dates the letter to between 1410 and 1412. *DRB Supplement – Breve*, 1410. 25. maj - 1412. 28. Oktober: [http://diplomatarium.dk/drbsupplement/1410-05-25\\_1412.html](http://diplomatarium.dk/drbsupplement/1410-05-25_1412.html). See the discussion on the *Middelalder.dk* list between Ane Bysted and Anders Bøgh (March 4-8, 2010). Considering Margaret I's interest in canonizing other Scandinavian saints, for instance St Birgitta, combined with her kinship with Erik Plovpenning, it is possible that Margaret I was interested in gaining official papal approval for his cult, although, combined with other evidence, this seems unlikely. Whether or not Margaret Sambiria or Margaret I stood behind it, the canonization attempt can be seen as promotion of a new dynastic saint, related to the promotion of the cults of Knud the Holy and Knud Lavard. Cf. Clausen 2009. The only difference would be the timing and ultimate reason for promoting Erik Plovpenning's cult. See below.

<sup>496</sup> Table 2.9

Plovpenning's murder, while the latter depicts Erik as a saintly king, seated in front of a church, holding a sceptre. He was buried in the abbey church in Ringsted, along with other members of his family, including Valdemar I.<sup>497</sup> The importance of Erik Plovpenning for the Church, at least in the diocese of Roskilde, is questionable. Although hagiographical material exists, for example in the form of a miracle collection which was begun in the second-half of the thirteenth century, the lack of liturgical material demonstrates that his cult was primarily supported by other groups than diocesan and papal ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>498</sup> The creation of wall-paintings and the location of his grave were connected to the fact that he was a member of the royal family; the same family that was interested in promoting his sainthood and had the resources to commission paintings. Erik Plovpenning's burial in Ringsted and veneration by a number of royals added to the sanctity of Ringsted and its position as a *locus sancti* for the diocese.

If the archbishop had accepted Erik Plovpenning as an official saint in the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, he would have put himself at a disadvantage in relation to the king. With another saint in the family, the righteousness of the king's cause would be confirmed, but the role of dynastic saint for Denmark had arguably already been filled. On the other hand, new cults of non-royal holy men and women could still be accepted. The final saint to have emerged in the Roskilde diocese prior to 1300 fits into this group.

Abbot Wilhelm of Æbelholt lived in the twelfth and early-thirteenth century. Wilhelm presents the most obvious example of a new local cult promoted by a specific monastic house. The reasons for this promotion are self-evident; he was their abbot, a special member of their community and seemingly well-respected. Moreover, Wilhelm had had important connections to the former archbishop of Lund, Absalon.

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<sup>497</sup> See below for discussion of Erik Plovpenning's importance in secular politics, including his connection to the Swedish royals and initial creation of guilds in his honour.

<sup>498</sup> Dated to 1258-1274, see Ahnlund 1948: 312f., Lindqvist 1954: 312. Further discussion on the texts contained in Erik's legend and their dating is found in Bengtsson and Lovén. They conclude that the earliest version of Erik the Holy's legend could have been written in the twelfth century. See Bengtsson and Lovén 2012: 25ff.. In addition, Lindqvist hypothesizes that Erik the Holy's cult was initially threatened by Erik Plovpenning; they shared the same name and both had familial connections to the Birgerssons, which lead to Uppsala's renewed interest in promoting Erik the Holy's cult.

Wilhelm's initial acceptance as a saint in the Roskilde Diocese is called into question, however, when considering the extant Calendar from Næstved Church. Although this church was located within the Roskilde Diocese, Wilhelm's feast day is missing. There are several reasons for this omission, the primary one presumably being to which religious order he belonged. Wilhelm was a Canon Regular, living under the rule of St Augustine, while St Peter's Abbey in Næstved was a Benedictine house.

The Calendar from Copenhagen, also within the Roskilde diocese, contains Wilhelm's feast as a *festum fori/ terrae*.<sup>499</sup> In other words, cultic success was not simply a case of ensuring that the bishop or archbishop approved of his cult. The omission in Næstved suggests a lack of interest in creating a liturgical cult for him in other monastic houses, at least initially.

However, the significance of the Næstved omission is debatable, when taking the miracle stories into consideration. The miracles took place in various locations throughout the Roskilde Bishopric and even outside its jurisdiction. Moreover, Bishop Peter of Roskilde had connections to the abbey at Æbelholt and is mentioned in the miracle stories.<sup>500</sup> Furthermore, an abbey or monastery had a great deal of independence within a diocese and Æbelholt might have added Wilhelm's feast day to their Calendar before the bishop or archbishop approved of his cult.<sup>501</sup> In other words, it might just have been an early omission as the cult was clearly celebrated in Æbelholt abbey and, based on the miracle stories, was popular.<sup>502</sup> Additionally, as mentioned above, Wilhelm's feast day appears in Ribe's Calendar as a *festum chori*.<sup>503</sup> Eventually Wilhelm was liturgically venerated throughout the Lund province.

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<sup>499</sup> Thott 805 (Table 2.6)

<sup>500</sup> See, for example, Olrik 1893-1894: 255-257, 261, 264.

<sup>501</sup> Wilhelm's feast day was eventually accepted throughout the province, demonstrated by its inclusion in the later, printed Calendar for Copenhagen (1510). See Dr H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2 Bde, Hannover, 1891-1898. Late medieval Calendars online:

<http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/gaeste/grotefend/kalender.htm>

<sup>502</sup> One example of this popularity can be seen through the miracle stories. In many cases the pilgrims travelled great distances to Wilhelm's shrine. See, for example, Olrik 1893-1894: 262, 269-270, 278, Gertz 1908-1912: 288ff. In addition, miracle stories are related by people from all levels of society, from priests to young children. See, for example, Olrik 1893-1894: 269-270, 271, 279, 283.

<sup>503</sup> Table 2.6

The translation of a relic, in this case Wilhelm's arm, to the cathedral in Roskilde was celebrated with a feast day, which confirms episcopal acceptance of the cult.<sup>504</sup> In fact, in 1217 or 1218, Pope Honorius III put Archbishop Anders Sunesen, Bishop Peder Jakobsen of Roskilde and the Abbot of Herrisvald in charge of an investigation into Wilhelm's sanctity.<sup>505</sup> This cooperation shows the connections between Lund and Roskilde, as well as the importance of Wilhelm's cult for the Cistercians.

The official canonization letter came in 1224 and includes the names of several bishops who were involved in the canonization attempt: Anders Sunesen of Lund, Bishop Nikulas of Oslo and Bishop Bengt of Skara.<sup>506</sup> Shortly thereafter, Pope Honorius III composed the indulgence letter for pilgrimages to Wilhelm's grave on the saint's feast day and octave.<sup>507</sup> At this point, the abbey was still known as St Thomas of the Paraclete. However, by 1241, the abbey was referred to as "St Wilhelm of the Paraclete".<sup>508</sup>

At some point before 1214, as bishop of Roskilde, Anders Sunesen was also responsible for a large donation to Æbelholt Abbey, including the bishop's share of donations to Wilhelm's relics. In this case, Wilhelm was referred to as a saint, "*sancti Willelmi abbatis*", before his canonization; however, the abbey had not yet been renamed.<sup>509</sup> Around the same time, a Gunhild Bodsdatter donated property to the canons of St Wilhelm: "... *uiris religiosis canonicis sancti Willelmi de Paraclito*..."<sup>510</sup> These donations were also made before Wilhelm's official canonization and are examples of the early veneration of Wilhelm which was monetarily beneficial to his former canons.

Additional donations to the abbey came from a variety of lay people, including dukes. One of the letters of donation included the king's approval of his duke's gift to the abbey.<sup>511</sup> Most of the donations were ratified in the Roskilde diocese, except for one which was written in Halmstad, in

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<sup>504</sup> November 30. Otto S.J. 1933: 34.

<sup>505</sup> DD 1:5:141 (Table 2.18) Herrisvald was a Cistercian abbey with which Wilhelm was connected and over which he had had some influence.

<sup>506</sup> DD 1:6:5 (Table .18)

<sup>507</sup> DD 1:6:7 (Table 2.18)

<sup>508</sup> DD 1:7:73, DD 1:7:81, DD 1:7:90, DD 1:7:100, DD 1:7:278, DD 1:7:288, DD 1:7:303, DD 1:7:321, DD 2:1:18, DD 2:1:340, DD 2:1:75, DD 2:1:134, DD 2:1:232 and DD 2:2:188. See Table 2.18. Several donation letters include St Thomas together with Wilhelm: DD 2:1:159, DD 2:2:400, DD 2:2:112.

<sup>509</sup> DD 1:4:152 (Table 2.8)

<sup>510</sup> DD 1:4:91 (Table 2.8)

<sup>511</sup> Erik Plovpenning confirms Duke Vitslav of Rügen's donation. DD 1:7:100 (Table 2.18)

the Lund Archbishopric.<sup>512</sup> Many donations were made for the repose of either the donator or a family member's soul. A few donations were made for the purpose of entering the abbey or the convent.<sup>513</sup> One of the transactions regarded the sale of property to the abbey with mention of both St Thomas and St Wilhelm.<sup>514</sup>

These donations benefitted the monastery but were not specifically made to honour Wilhelm. The fact that the canons were called "...*canonicis sancti Willelmi de Paraclito*" indicated that the donors were aware of the saint and that the abbey deserved a certain respect because of its saint and its status as a *locus sancti*.<sup>515</sup> However, there is no indication of any early donations specifically made in honour of the saint.

Another interesting donation, which came from a foreign noble with the permission of the Danish king, Erik Plovpenning, was the one from Duke Otto of Brunsvig.<sup>516</sup> This donation was made in 1241, presumably while the duke was in Roskilde. Duke Otto together with Duke Vitslav of Rügen, who also gave a donation, stand out since they are the only members of the upper-aristocracy to support Wilhelm's cult before 1300.<sup>517</sup>

All of these local cults of saints legitimized Roskilde as a holy bishopric. The inclusion of so many individuals who, at least initially, were thought worthy of sainthood, transformed the diocese into a potentially attractive pilgrimage destination. The placement of numerous *loca sanctorum* within the diocese would have heightened its holy cultural capital. The concentration of these *loca sanctorum* on Sjælland supported Roskilde bishopric's continued influence and provided local pilgrimage destinations.

However, despite the plethora of native saints in the diocese, Roskilde chose Olav of Norway to grace the seal of their diocese and cathedral chapter in the late-thirteenth century indicating a desire to be connected with the saint in question and a promotion of the saint on a diocesan level.<sup>518</sup> The

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<sup>512</sup> DD 1:7:81 (Table 2.18)

<sup>513</sup> DD 2:1:159 and DD 2:2:112 (Table 2.18)

<sup>514</sup> DD 2:2:400 (Table 2.18)

<sup>515</sup> E.g. DD 1:7:90 "the canons of Saint Wilhelm of the Paraclete". (Table 2.18)

<sup>516</sup> Brunswick or Braunschweig. DD 1:7:73 (Table 2.18)

<sup>517</sup> DD 1:7:100 (See Table 2.18). The prevalence of Wilhelm's cult by 1264 is demonstrated by the use of his day to date a letter of indulgence, also for a church in the Roskilde diocese, by the Bishop of Aarhus in 1264 (DD 2:1:431). Another interesting fact is that many women were among the donors to the abbey.

<sup>518</sup> Table 2.10

reasons for the use of Olav were partly connected to the general popularity of Olav's cult and the location of Roskilde as a harbour city. Moreover, Roskilde's connections, royal and otherwise, with Norway's main saint are evidenced through the choice of Olav as a patron.<sup>519</sup>

Olav was not the only other Scandinavian saint to have been shown particular veneration in Roskilde.<sup>520</sup> Other Danish saints include Knud the Holy and Kjeld of Viborg whose feast days are found in the Næstved and Copenhagen obituary books.<sup>521</sup> Knud the Holy's feast day was also included in the Sunesen Psalter Calendar and, remarkably, only as a *festum chori*.<sup>522</sup> This lesser observance of the royal saint emphasizes the importance of the main royal saint on Sjælland, Knud Lavard.

Furthermore, donations from people living in the Roskilde diocese were made in honour of saints in other dioceses. This was especially the case with Knud the Holy, whose cult was extremely popular throughout the province.<sup>523</sup> These donations witness to cross-border relations between bishops and show how the bishop of Roskilde insisted on having continued control of land in his diocese.<sup>524</sup>

In time, Roskilde became an important diocese. A sign of its status is the fact that many of its bishops later became archbishops in Lund. However, Lund's primacy ensured that it had more influence over the Danish church than Roskilde. Thus, the emergence and promotion of numerous, and largely successful, cults of saints on the island ensured Roskilde's place as a sanctified region within the larger ecclesiastical province.

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<sup>519</sup> Several early church dedications to Olav the Holy can be found in Denmark, two of which are found on Zealand/Sjælland. Roskilde was also the site of the earliest church dedication to Olav in an urban setting. The connection of Olav to the Danes can be understood as a belief in his protection of the kingdom, according to Nyberg. Nyberg 1997: 65-71, 80. However, Olav's inclusion in the Sunesen Psalter as a *festum chori* shows that his feast was not always considered to be among the most important. See Table 2.7.

<sup>520</sup> In addition, it should be noted that St Pope Lucius, although not a native Scandinavian saint, was also accorded a special form of veneration in Roskilde – making him a contradiction: both a universal and local saint.

<sup>521</sup> Table 2.1 and Table 2.3. Cf. Wallin 1975: 142.

<sup>522</sup> Table 2.1

<sup>523</sup> In 1291, Lave Lavesen in Kalundborg donated to, among others, St Knud's in Odense. DD 2:4:3 (Table 2.11). In addition, a Prior of Knud witnessed the donation of property on Sjælland to the Knud-brothers in Odense. This transaction required a surety in the form of gold marks given to the bishop of Roskilde, Asser. DD 1:2:86 (Table 2.11).

<sup>524</sup> DD 1:2:86 (Table 2.11)



## Lund

The final diocese in the Lund province to be discussed is Lund, which later became the archbishop's see. As mentioned previously, the Roskilde Diocese had been divided into three bishoprics at some point around 1059. The bishoprics in Lund and Dalby had originally co-existed despite their close geographical proximity. This proximity was probably due to the reigning bishop in Lund who was allowed to remain at his post until his death, upon which the bishop from Dalby was then moved to Lund.<sup>525</sup> With this re-organization and movement of bishops among various geographical locations, it would be reasonable to assume that the cult of a holy bishop or similar would emerge to reinforce the *locus sancti* of what was to become the Lund archbishopric. However, that did not appear to be the case in this archdiocese.

The establishment of Lund as an archsee of the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund in about 1103 was partly due to the result of negotiations between King Erik I of Denmark and the papacy.<sup>526</sup> The liturgical sources reveal that cults of native saints from other sees within the archbishop's jurisdiction were promoted around the time of Lund's elevation to an archsee. It is possible that the promotion of these local saints, several of whom were also important politically, was an attempt to assert independence from Hamburg-Bremen and the Holy Roman Emperor. In the twelfth century, the Danish crown and the archbishops of Lund can be seen to be working together to create an area independent from, albeit influenced by, the south.

Lund's primacy meant that it also had influence over the dioceses that would later be gathered into the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala. In addition, the archbishopric was somewhat isolated from secular centres of power as it was located in a geographical area not close to royal lands or influence. Even Knud the Holy was never translated from Odense to Lund, despite his importance and popularity within the ecclesiastical province and the fact that he was described as the church's original founder.<sup>527</sup> This absence of a *locus sancti* connected to the archsee's cathedral was in direct

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<sup>525</sup> Gelting 2004b: 190-191.

<sup>526</sup> Gelting 2007: 94-95.

<sup>527</sup> See Ciardi 2010: 52, fn.44, Breengaard 1982: 140-141. The *Necrologium Lundense* (Mh6, Table 2.1) claims him as Lund's founder. See Wallin 1986: 84, Wallin 1975: 142. Knud the Holy's feast day can also be found in the *Liber daticus Lundensis* (begun in 1145 with the consecration of the cathedral by Archbishop Eskil).



contrast to the situation in the other two Scandinavian archbishoprics. Both Uppsala and Nidaros claimed control of the cults of holy kings.<sup>528</sup>

In 1171, Archbishop Eskil of Lund, by confirming the rights and privileges of St Knud's Abbey including the alms offered to St Knud the Holy, sent a message to Odense.<sup>529</sup> He underlined the fact that he, as archbishop, was in charge of managing all of the dioceses and the proceeds of donations to the cults of saints in the archiepiscopal province.

Early iconography thought to be of Knud the Holy can also be found in the Lund archbishopric. A wall-painting in Stehag Church dated to between 1150-1200 most likely depicts the saintly king and shows interest in him also at the parish level.<sup>530</sup> In the later Middle Ages, the archbishopric's interest and involvement in promoting Knud the Holy's cult grew. Both of Knud the Holy's feast days were still present in the archdiocese's printed Missal and Breviary, which also included his octave, from the early-sixteenth century.<sup>531</sup>

After Absalon's *consilium* in 1188, saints that were chosen for veneration in Lund would have also been venerated throughout the archbishopric. These saints included those found in the extant liturgical manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus, the first cults of native saints emerged in the Lund Archdiocese by the early-twelfth century. These cults are those of Thøger of Vestervig, Knud the Holy, Knud Lavard and Kjeld of Viborg.<sup>532</sup> The cult of Olav of Norway had also gained a foothold in the archbishopric by that date.<sup>533</sup>

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<sup>528</sup> Another possibility for the late-blooming interest in Knud the Holy's cult could be the Roskilde-Lund primacy conflict, discussed above in relation to Roskilde. For the later interest in Lund, see, among others, Källström 2011: 153, 161-163, 174-177.

<sup>529</sup> DD 1:3:19 (Table 2.11) See also the section on Odense.

<sup>530</sup> Liebgott 1982: 173. The image and inscription ("KANVTR") could also refer to Knud IV, king of Denmark from 1182-1202, as a donor not saint. Image found in *Medeltidens bildvärld* ID 900617M4. For the later iconography of Knud the Holy, see Kofod-Hansen 1986.

<sup>531</sup> The Missal is from 1514 and the Breviary from 1517. However, a sequence written for Knud the Holy was placed under the entry for Knud Lavard's feast. Cf. Wallin 1986: 83.

<sup>532</sup> It has been suggested that the process to obtain papal approval for Kjeld's cult was hastened by the planned *consilium*. Kjeld, who had died only thirty years before, is included in the new liturgical order from 1188. Ciardi 2010: 60. Knud Lavard's feast in *Liber daticus Lundensis* (a thirteenth-century addition) contains both feast days, but as *festum chori*. Knud Lavard can also be found as a thirteenth-century addition to the *Necrologium Lundense*. (Table 2.2)

<sup>533</sup> Table 2.7 and 2.19

The Lund Archbishopric was one of the first to endorse the cults of native saints. These new saints created *loca sanctorum* for the emerging province. The fact that bishops were promoting new, local saints supported the idea that they were fully capable of running the ecclesiastical affairs of the area. In addition, Lund's correspondence with the papacy indicates that it supported the pope's stance on papal supremacy, both in matters of canonization, or at least the authorization of it, and politics, for example in the conflict with the emperor. Finally, the canonization efforts can be seen as a step in the centralization process, a concerted effort to gain archiepiscopal control over cults of local saints that had developed throughout the new archbishopric.

This interest in controlling the cults of saints continued into the thirteenth century. Shortly after his canonization, which was approved of by the bishop of Roskilde and archbishop of Lund, Wilhelm of Æbelholt was included in a Calendar from the Lund province as a *festum chori* and the liturgical rank of *festum duplex* (fig. 7).<sup>534</sup> The interesting complication with this manuscript fragment is trying to determine its extant provenance. For instance, Erik the Holy was written in the original hand, but in red (*festum fori/terrae*), usually only found in the Uppsala Province (fig. 8). However, there are saints that could indicate other locations, such as the inclusion of St. Anastasius on May 2, which seems to only have been celebrated in Copenhagen, while St Alexander's feast was celebrated on May 4 in Trondheim and St Maurinus on June 10 only in Lund. These inclusions most likely indicate use in a diocese of the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund with strong connections to Uppsala and Trondheim.<sup>535</sup>

In addition, Wilhelm was also added to the *Liber daticus Lundensis* in about 1230 as a *depositio* on June 16.<sup>536</sup> This feast was also present in other dioceses, such as Ribe, showing the influence of Lund on the Calendar and celebration of saints throughout the province.

Although it appears that Lund was originally content to act in an endorsing and authorizing fashion for other dioceses and did not initially

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<sup>534</sup> Fr 25600 (Table 2.6) All fragment designations (Fr #) refer to the entries in the MPO-database.

<sup>535</sup> Fr 25600 (Table 2.6). Cf. Notes for Medeltida pergamentomslag database 2005-2014: Fr 25600.

<sup>536</sup> Table 2.6. This day was also referred to as his *translatio* and was also celebrated in Ribe as such.

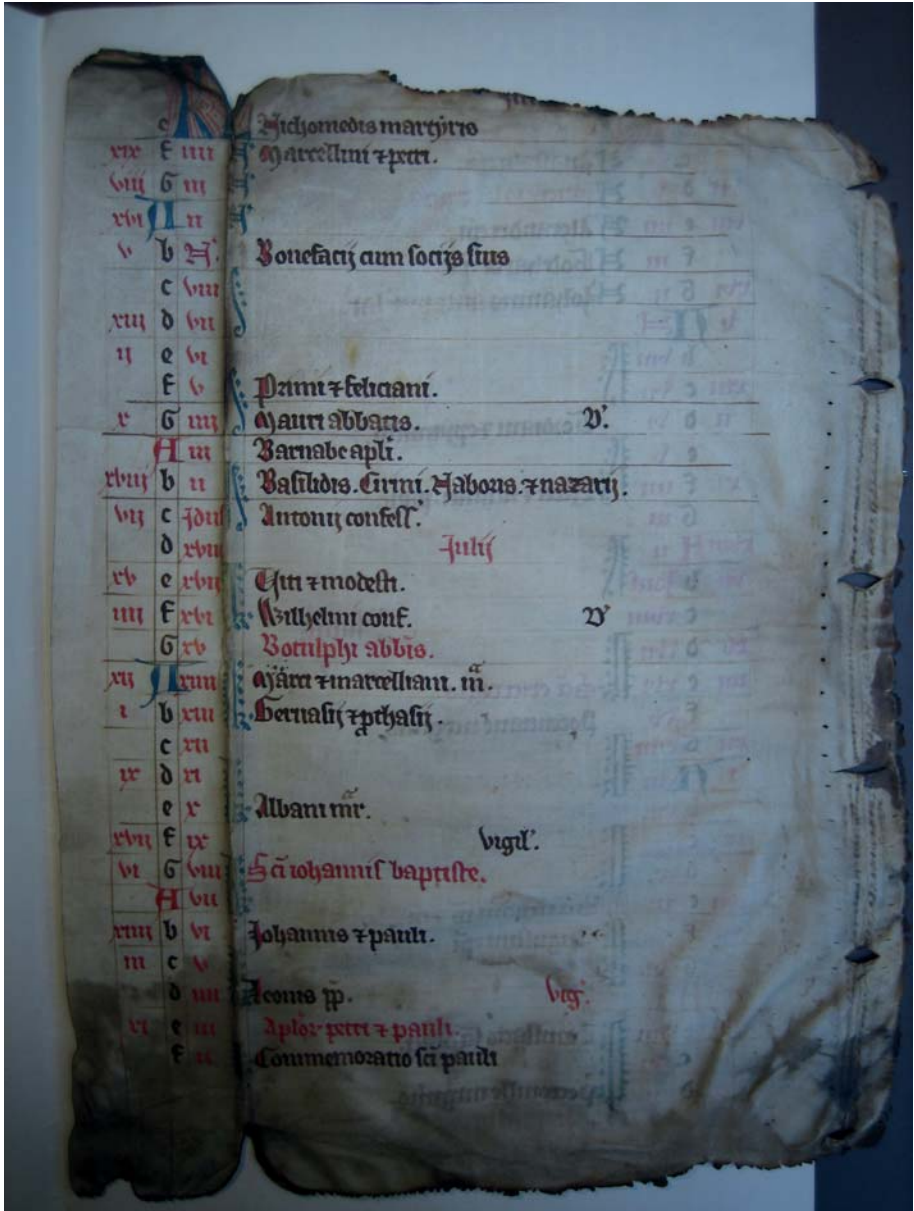


Figure 7. Calendar fragment for June with Wilhelm of Æbelholt's feast day (Fr 25600)

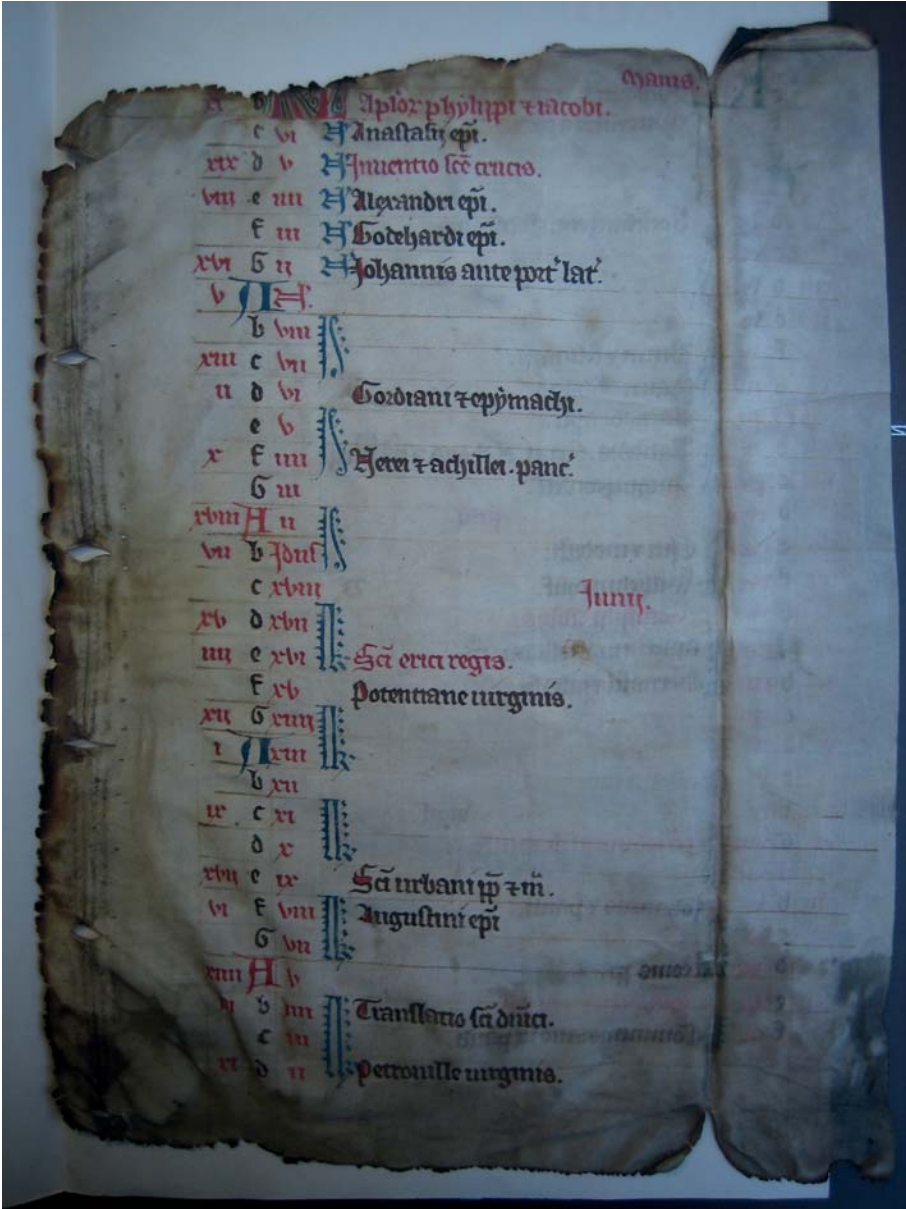


Figure 8. Calendar fragment for May with Erik the Holy's feast day (Fr 25600)

promote local cults, the veneration of one local saint did in fact emerge within the archbishopric's borders before 1300. Although the diploma evidence is of a later date, it suggests that Magnhild of Fulltofta's cult was introduced at the beginning of the thirteenth century during the archiepiscopacy of Andreas Sunesen (archbishop from 1201-1223, d. 1228), who had called Magnhild "*sancta mulier*".<sup>537</sup> Not much more is known about Magnhild's cult until 1383, when Archbishop Mangus Nielsen decided to move the saint's remains to the cathedral in Lund. It is clear that, in the thirteenth century, the canons in Lund did not find her relics nor her veneration of enough importance to promote her cult on a liturgical level.<sup>538</sup> Although Fulltofta was accepted as a *locus sancti*, few official measures were taken to develop Magnhild's cult and promote her shrine.

Lund's continued role in the cults of saints was primarily one of authorization. Although a cult of a woman, Magnhild, emerged there in the thirteenth century, Lund was more interested in promoting other cults, both of royal and of religious men. For instance, late additions to fragments from Halmstad and the Lund province show that the veneration of Erik the Holy was accepted by the thirteenth century.<sup>539</sup> It does not appear that Lund required legitimization in the form of local saints in order to promote itself as a *locus sancti*. It was enough to have been associated with Odense's saint, Knud the Holy, promote the *loca sanctorum* throughout its ecclesiastical province and keep the memory of other canonized saints alive.

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<sup>537</sup> DD 4:2:338. Moreover, Andreas Sunesen himself might later have enjoyed a local cult in the cathedral, while his grave may have been considered a sacred space in the church. See Källström 2011: 145-147, 158. However, this cult did not produce a liturgy nor was there a recorded *translatio*.

<sup>538</sup> The fact that her relics were not included in the display of relics ritual has been interpreted as indicating that her relics were not considered important enough to be contained in an expensive reliquary. See Källström 2011: 159.

<sup>539</sup> Table 2.8. The veneration of Olav the Holy was also present in Lund (Table 2.7).



## **The Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala: cultic establishment of Scandinavian saints and laying the foundations of an ecclesiastical organization**

The aforementioned Florence List contains all bishoprics known in the future Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala in the early-twelfth century. On the original list the names from the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala are as follows, “*Metropolis ciuitas Lunda/Prouincia Danorum./... Nomina ciuitatum in suethial.../Scara. Liunga. Kaupinga. Tuna. Strigines. Sigtuna. Arosa.*”<sup>540</sup> These correspond to the bishoprics in Skara, Linköping, Tuna, Strängnäs, Sigtuna and Västerås.<sup>541</sup>

However, the locations of the bishoprics were not fixed. By the time of the Skänninge Meeting in 1248, there were seven bishoprics in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala: Skara, Linköping, Strängnäs, Uppsala, Västerås, Växjö and Turku.<sup>542</sup> These were to remain until the end of the medieval period (fig. 9). The existence of bishoprics at Skara, Linköping, Strängnäs and Västerås on both lists gives a sense of continuity in these areas, while the meeting itself was the culmination of the creation of a stable administration in the Uppsala province.

In order to determine the emergence of new cults in the region, the creation of a unique liturgy for a saint is seen in this dissertation as a sign of official, ecclesiastical approval of a cult, which mirrored a firmly established cult in a particular area. In addition, legends written in support of these native cults reveal the legitimization of an ecclesiastical organization and the groups with which it was associated. Finally, the motivation for

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<sup>540</sup> Found in Codex Ashburnham 1554 in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Firenze. Bäärnhielm 1983: 450. See also Nyberg 1991: 167.

<sup>541</sup> Hallencreutz 1996b: 254. It is important to note that some scholars believe that *Liunga* and *Kaupinga* refer instead to two bishoprics, Linköping or a “Lionga” and another Köping/Kaupinga, for example the one on Öland or in Västmanland. However, other documents name an “*episcopus Lincopensis*” and do not mention *Lionga* as separate from *Kaupinga*. For arguments related to *Lionga/Liunga* as Linköping and *Kaupinga* as a Köping on Öland, see Nyberg 1991: 167ff. In addition, it has also been suggested that Arosa actually refers to Östra Aros, present-day Uppsala. Bäärnhielm 1983: 450–451, Skovgaard-Petersen 1997: 65. Nyberg is another who adheres to the thought that Aros is Östra Aros and that Sigtuna (referred to in Adam of Bremen) was later divided into three dioceses – Sigtuna, Strängnäs and Östra Aros. See Nyberg 1991: 174–179. Otherwise, it has generally been accepted that Östra Aros was first made into an archsee with the name of Uppsala in the 1270s. See also Ellis Nilsson 2014b, Blomkvist et al. 2007: 192ff.

<sup>542</sup> Nilsson 1998: 71, Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

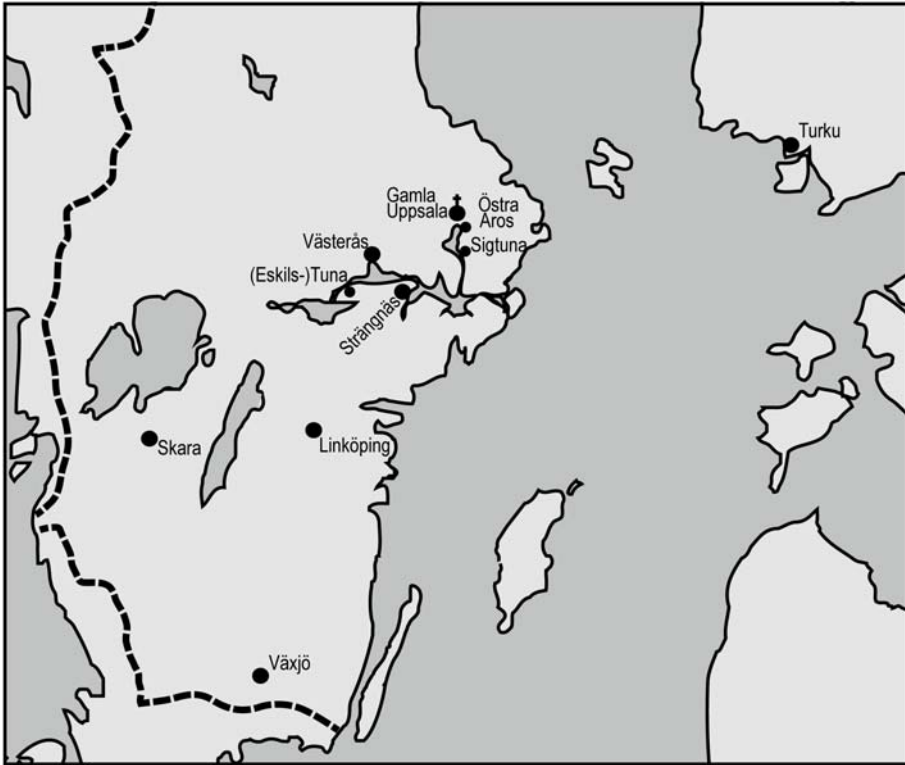


Figure 9. *Bishops' sees in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala*

the establishment of *loca sanctorum* in conjunction with the founding of religious institutions exposes the purpose of cultic creation.

Essential institutions in what would become the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala were in the process of being established until the mid-thirteenth century. For instance, with the founding of the first cathedral chapters, the application and acceptance of formalized and ecclesiastical norms were evident. Contrary to the case in Denmark, the first cathedral chapters in Sweden were not run by Benedictines. The Swedish dioceses were operated by bishops before the first chapters of secular canons were founded in the thirteenth century. However, the absence of regular chapters did not mean that the bishop was unsupported; monasteries could initially have served as a type of chapter.

Although Skara received permission to found a chapter of regular canons in 1220, it was not until 1257 that evidence of a secular chapter in Skara existed. Therefore, the first cathedral chapter in the Ecclesiastical

Province of Uppsala was founded in Linköping in 1232, followed by Uppsala in about 1247.<sup>543</sup> Turku's chapter was established in 1259 and ratified in 1276. The rest of the Swedish chapters were all founded in the latter half of the same century: Strängnäs in 1277, Växjö in 1280 and Västerås in 1288.<sup>544</sup>

Other monastic houses, separate from the cathedrals, were first established in the mid-twelfth century, although it is possible that Vreta was founded in around 1100 as a Benedictine nunnery which later reformed to a form of Cistercian rule in 1162.<sup>545</sup> Additional nunneries were founded in the twelfth century in Askeby and in the thirteenth century on Fogdö Island (Vårfruberga). Byarum/Skokloster, Riseberga and Gudhem are other early nunneries, originally founded in the twelfth century. It was not until the thirteenth century that the first nunnery, Solberga, was founded on Gotland.<sup>546</sup>

The Christianization period in the Uppsala province was clearly influenced by the Cistercians. All of the first houses of monks were Cistercian, although some of these might originally have been Benedictine. The first Cistercian abbeys were founded in Alvastra and Nydala.<sup>547</sup> Later Cistercian foundations in the twelfth century included Varnhem – one of the most important abbeys in the 1200s, Gutnalia on Gotland (Roma) and Viby near Sigtuna (later moved to Julita).<sup>548</sup> The Order of St John also founded an abbey in the late-twelfth century in Tuna/Eskilstuna. These foundations all ensured the progression of the Christianization throughout the landscape which, in turn, ensured the possibility of successful promotion of new cults.

Thus, in order for the new Church to function properly on all levels of society, a fully operational administrative system with cathedrals,

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<sup>543</sup> See Nilsson 1998: 148. Helander suggests that Viby Abbey was in fact established as a support institution or a type of cathedral chapter for the first archbishop, Stefan. Pernler concludes that the original chapter founded at Uppsala was disbanded sometime before 1224. Helander 2001: 62-68. Pernler 1999: 22.

<sup>544</sup> Some form of chapter apparently existed in Turku in 1232 but was later disbanded. Pernler 1999: 24.

<sup>545</sup> According to tradition, King Inge the Elder and Queen Helena founded Vreta Nunnery in 1100; however, the sources for this event are late and few. Nilsson 1998: 114, 117, 129. However, Nilsson has recently presented the possibility that Vreta was not in fact a nunnery, although it was some sort of religious foundation. See Nilsson 2010.

<sup>546</sup> Nilsson 1998: 129-131.

<sup>547</sup> The former was founded by Queen Ulvhild and Sverker the Elder, the latter by Bishop Gisle of Linköping. Both were located in the Linköping diocese. Nilsson 1998: 120.

<sup>548</sup> Nilsson 1998: 126-127. Cf. Helander 2001: 67-68.



monasteries and parish churches with their adherent members was required. Subsequently, the *loca sanctorum* provided by the new cults of native saints created a sacred, Christian topography. The elevation of locals as new saints answered the need for a native, holy figure who anchored the religion to a particular geographical location. Reaching this step in the establishment of Christianity in a region indicates that the religion was accepted by a majority of society. The following examines the cults of new, native saints according to their promotion within or by a bishopric.

### *Tuna (Eskilstuna)*

One of the original bishoprics on the Florence List with claims to an early history in the missionary period was called Tuna. It was situated near the far western point of Lake Mälaren in Södermanland. This erstwhile bishopric is thought to have been an early trading centre in the Viking Age. During the conversion period, according to Ælnoth, an English monk living in Denmark in the early-twelfth century, and Eskil's legend, it was also the site of missionary activity. In support of its early role in the conversion of the region are the remains of a church, which was built by the end of the eleventh century. In addition, graves from the eleventh century have been discovered nearby the medieval church.<sup>549</sup> Another late-eleventh century church was also uncovered under the town's abbey, which had been founded by monks of the Order of St John the Baptist in Tuna by 1185.<sup>550</sup>

These finds from the eleventh century, which also included a church from Tuna/Eskilstuna, provide early evidence of the Christianization in that area. It is also probable that a wooden church had originally been built on the church's site, while Fors Church was also built in the late Viking or early medieval period.<sup>551</sup> In fact, it is possible that Tuna and Fors eventually merged to form the medieval town of Eskilstuna.<sup>552</sup>

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<sup>549</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014b. See, also, Blomkvist et al. 2007: 183, Schmid 1931b: 102-103. Zachrisson 1963: 17, 26, 41ff, 50-51.

<sup>550</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014b. Traces of Viking-age habitation were also discovered during the excavations, including two "*guld-gubbar*" (gold figurines) from the eighth century. See Zachrisson 1963: 17, 26, 41ff, 50-51. See also, Damell and Ericsson 2000: 156-157.

<sup>551</sup> Damell and Ericsson 2000: 142-143, 146-147.

<sup>552</sup> Damell and Ericsson present the hypothesis that Tuna and Fors or Tunafors were originally two "*tunagårdar*" on either side of the river and served as the forerunners of the town of Eskilstuna. The dating of their churches and the finds from excavations in the area are very similar. See Damell and Ericsson 2000: 149.

The first native saint associated with the diocese was Eskil. According to Eskil's legend, his mission in the area was successful with many converts. However, an organized movement among the local populace emerged which actively opposed the missionary activity and establishment of Christianity in the area. The Christian-friendly king, Inge, was then replaced with an anti-missionary king, *Blodsvæn*, who was also responsible for Eskil's death.<sup>553</sup> Similar variants to this story are also found in Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* (ninth century), in the story of Anund in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta* (eleventh century) and the episode about "*Blotsvæn*" in *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks* from Iceland (thirteenth century).<sup>554</sup> In her discussion of the different versions of Eskil's legend, Schmid mentions one partly preserved version on a fragment from the fourteenth century (referred to there as A1036 XIII), which contains the name "*Blotsvæn*".

Although Tuna claimed to be Eskil's place of burial, Fors (modern-day Eskilstuna Fors), with its twelfth-century church, claimed to be the site of his residence and by some his see. Strängnäs (*Strengnesia*) was the location of his martyrdom.<sup>555</sup> In other words, several geographical locations in and near Tuna are tied to the cult of Eskil. In addition, a statue of a bishop in Fors Parish carved in about 1200 is one of the few extant images of Eskil.<sup>556</sup> It indicates strong support of a cult there as commissioning and carving this piece of art represents a considerable investment.

The earliest liturgical source referring to Eskil as a saint is a twelfth-century Missal fragment from the Uppsala Province, which was produced locally.<sup>557</sup> When taking into account the dating of the fragment, it appears possible that the fragment was used in the original diocese of Tuna before it was dissolved. However, this conclusion is improbable due to the inclusion in the manuscript's original hand of native saints whose veneration began after the establishment of the Uppsala province in 1164, which post-dated the Tuna Bishopric's dissolution.<sup>558</sup> Based on these native saints, it is more

<sup>553</sup> Fourth reading from Eskil's *Officiuim*. Edited in Lundén 1946a: 96. King Inge in Eskil's legend is probably not the same as King Inge the Elder.

<sup>554</sup> Schmid 1931b: 103-104, esp. fn 9, Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>555</sup> Fourth and Fifth readings from Eskil's *Officiuim*. Edited in Lundén 1946a: 96. See also Schmid 1931b: 104-105. And, 1828b.

<sup>556</sup> Historiska museet 2003: ID 930814S5.

<sup>557</sup> Fr 9635 (Table 3.7). Botvid is also found on this fragment (Table 3.3). Abukhanfusa 2004a: 36.

<sup>558</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014b. See, also, Hallencreutz 1996a: 129-130.

likely that the Missal originally belonged to the Strängnäs Bishopric; therefore, it will be discussed in more detail below.

As it was the place of Eskil's burial, Tuna was an important cultic location. The canons of the Order of St John the Baptist were interested in caring for Eskil's shrine. A letter from 1231 or 1232 written by Pope Gregory IX confirms that Eskil's Church in Tuna had been donated by the Bishop of Strängnäs to the Knights Hospitallers (Order of St John) at the end of the twelfth century.<sup>559</sup> In the letter, Eskil is described as a martyr and a Bishop of Tuna.<sup>560</sup> Other parties interested in Eskil's cult at this time were Archbishop S(tefan), King K(nut) and the patronacy holder of the donated farms, Earl B(irger).<sup>561</sup> The archbishop, king and earl confirmed that the monks would be in control of the church in Tuna and other holdings that had been donated to Eskil's church. The letter seems to have effectively removed direct control of the shrine from the Strängnäs Bishopric and placed it into the hands of the monks. However, the pope's letter also indicates that the bishopric was previously responsible for Eskil's shrine and demonstrates that Eskil was a saint of interest to both the diocese and a religious order by the end of the twelfth century.<sup>562</sup>

Despite its apparent claim of being a *locus sancti* with the burial place of a saint, this form of legitimization was not enough for Tuna to remain a bishopric. The bishopric was abolished probably by the end of the twelfth century, well before the composition of Eskil's legend in the late-thirteenth century. Tuna is not among those listed at the foundation of the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala in 1164 or at the Skänninge Meeting in 1248.<sup>563</sup> The see was incorporated into the bishopric of Strängnäs or Västerås by the end of the twelfth century, while the most likely candidate was Strängnäs. Support for the moving of the see to

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<sup>559</sup> DS 839 (Table 3.15) Based on the initials W for Wilhelm and S for Stefan

<sup>560</sup> "*Ecclesiam beati Eskilli Martyris et pontificis de Tunæ...*" DS 839

<sup>561</sup> Usually assumed to have been Birger Brosa.

<sup>562</sup> A fifteenth-century Calendar is extant for this abbey. The octave of Eskil's feast day has been entered on October 6, confirming his feast's significance for the abbey and the bishopric in the long term. Schmid 1932: 82.

<sup>563</sup> DS 49. Tuna is not present on the papal bull which refers to the bishoprics under the jurisdiction of the Uppsala province. Contrary to the conclusion that Tuna first merged with Strängnäs in 1170, Damell et al. suggest that it occurred in 1153 at the ecclesiastical meeting in Linköping. Damell and Ericsson 2000: 134.

Strängnäs would have included the fact that Eskil's martyrdom took place at Strängnäs. Strängnäs could also claim to be a *locus sancti*, further legitimizing the bishopric's placement.

### *Strängnäs*

Unlike Tuna, the Strängnäs Bishopric can be found in later sources than the Florence List, including the bull for the foundation of the Uppsala province in 1164 and the bishoprics mentioned in connection with the Skänninge Meeting in 1248. Tuna and Strängnäs are thought to have cooperated in some way which, eventually, led to the absorption of Tuna Bishopric into Strängnäs.<sup>564</sup> Strängnäs was to be the permanent bishopric in the area of Södermanland and responsible for the management of Eskil's cult. The first mention of a bishop in Strängnäs was Vilhelm in 1171 or 1172.<sup>565</sup>

According to his legend, Strängnäs was the location of Eskil's martyrdom. The bishopric claimed this saint as their own as he was an important saint in the area's missionary history.<sup>566</sup> By the late-twelfth century, it was clear that the bishop of Strängnäs had control over the cult. This control is shown by the fact that the church in Tuna was donated to the Order of St John by Bishop W(ilhelm) of Strängnäs.<sup>567</sup>

The early liturgical importance of Eskil's cult in the Strängnäs Bishopric is unfortunately unclear. There are no extant fragments which include Eskil's feast, whose provenance can be definitely attributed to this particular bishopric. However, there are two fragments, one from a Missal and one from a Calendar, which were probably used in the diocese.

The first fragment is from a twelfth-century Missal, mentioned in connection with the Tuna Bishopric above.<sup>568</sup> Eskil was written in the original scribe's hand in the Litany of the Saints. He is listed together with two other Scandinavian saints: Botvid and Olav the Holy.<sup>569</sup> They have been placed in the second column after St Laurence and Vincent as follows: Olav,

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<sup>564</sup> Hallencreutz 1996b: 260. See also, Damell and Ericsson 2000: 134.

<sup>565</sup> Papal bull of Alexander III. Bishop in Sörmland and Närke. Damell and Ericsson 2000: 189-190.

<sup>566</sup> Hallencreutz 1996b: 252-253. Cf. Antonsson 2010: 36-37.

<sup>567</sup> As mentioned, the letter was ratified by the archbishop, king and patronacy holder, Earl Birger, who also donated land to the abbey. DS 839 (Table 3.15)

<sup>568</sup> Fr 9635 (Table 3.7)

<sup>569</sup> Fr 9635 (Eskil: Table 3.7, Botvid: Table 3.3, Olav: Table 3.10)

St Thomas, Botvid (*Bothuude*) and, finally, Eskil.<sup>570</sup> The fragment does not divulge any more information as to the importance of these native saints. Their inclusion reveals a liturgical veneration and, arguably, they have been listed in order of importance. In this case, if the fragment was indeed part of a Strängnäs Missal, Botvid is of higher rank than Eskil in the liturgy.

The second fragment is a twelfth-century Calendar to which an early-thirteenth century hand added Eskil's feast. Although it was probably later used in the Linköping Bishopric, the Calendar was arguably originally used in Strängnäs, as it contains Eskil's translation feast.<sup>571</sup> In this fragment, although it was written in black, the feast of Eskil's *translatio* is clearly labelled *festum terrae* and it would have been celebrated throughout the bishopric.<sup>572</sup> Understandably, Eskil enjoyed a high status in the Strängnäs Bishopric, which claimed a special connection with his cult.

However, some inconsistencies exist in the rank and observance of Eskil's feast day in the liturgical sources from Strängnäs. Although his name is included in the List of Lessons in the original hand in a Breviary from the second-half of the thirteenth century with three lessons, Eskil's two feasts were added to the Breviary's Calendar later, in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. Moreover, Eskil's feast in June was moved from June 11 to June 12 in the early-fourteenth century, although it retained its *festum simplex* rank, which had been added in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century.<sup>573</sup>

Considering the fact that Eskil's *translatio* feast was a *festum fori/terrae* in the early-thirteenth century, it is most likely that the discrepancy in observance indicates that this Breviary was probably originally written for another bishopric, probably Uppsala, later being modified for its proper use in Strängnäs by including Eskil's two feasts: the *passio* on June 12 and the *translatio* on October 6.<sup>574</sup> As the latter of these feasts was written in

<sup>570</sup> The cult of Thomas Becket of Canterbury had spread throughout Europe by this time. See Toy 2005a: 100. For an image of the leaf, see Abukhanfusa 2004a: 36.

<sup>571</sup> Moreover, as will be discussed below, the gift of Botvid's relics given to Linköping from Strängnäs shows a strong connection between these two bishoprics. It is entirely probable, although not provable, that the liturgical book containing this Calendar was given as a gift from one bishopric to another.

<sup>572</sup> Fr 25621-25622 (Table 3.7) Botvid is also found on this fragment, see below.

<sup>573</sup> BL Add. 40146 (Table 3.7)

<sup>574</sup> The addition of Botvid and David in the same fourteenth-century hand supports this idea. Botvid is also missing from the List of Lessons. Knud the Holy and Erik the Holy were included in the Calendar in the original hand.

red, it was observed as a *festum terrae/fori*. However, the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century hand indicated that both of Eskil's feasts in June and October had the liturgical rank of *festum simplex*.<sup>575</sup>

By 1298 in the Strängnäs Bishopric, Eskil's feast day was well enough known to be used in dating diploma.<sup>576</sup> This letter also indicates that Eskil's translation feast was well-established in the Strängnäs Bishopric by the end of the thirteenth century. The issuer of the letter was the bishop of Strängnäs and the receiver was the abbot in Julita, which indicates that not only the cathedral chapter and bishops were familiar with his feast.

Eskil is also found in the *Södermannalagen* (Law of Södermanland) from the early-fourteenth century. According to this law, anyone working on Eskil's feast day within Botkyrka Parish, located in the eastern part of Strängnäs Diocese, would be punished. This entry indicates one of two things: either a special reverence for Eskil existed in that area or there was a general disregard for the *festum terrae* observance, which included a no-work ordinance for Eskil's feast day that the new law would enforce. The latter instance could indicate a conflict in cultic importance between Botvid and Eskil. According to his legend, Botvid was from this area.<sup>577</sup>

A further example of Eskil's presence in the Strängnäs Bishopric is an early example of ecclesiastical art. It takes the form of an extant statue from Länna Parish in Södermanland (fig. 10). This mid-thirteenth century likeness of Eskil connects his cult to the area and represents a significant investment on the part of the parishioners. Moreover, it is conspicuous in that most of the ecclesiastical artwork from the earlier period depicts biblical scenarios or the universal pantheon of saints, not local ones.<sup>578</sup>

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<sup>575</sup> BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.7)

<sup>576</sup> "... in crastino translacionis beatj eskilli martiris et pontificis." DS 1252 (Table 3.15)

<sup>577</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014b, Schmid 1931b: 108.

<sup>578</sup> It must also be stated that the relative few extant pieces influence the results of this study. Further support for the establishment process seems to be apparent in ecclesiastical art. The early, thirteenth-century statues of bishop-saints from the Uppsala province are all shown seated, while the later representations are often of standing bishops. A possible interpretation of this development is that the bishop's role was one of an institutional representative in the early Christian period in Scandinavia. In other words, the most important aspect of their lives was of administration and not as martyrs or triumphant saints. (Discussion with art historian Nicolas Bock at the *Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet regio* conference in Dubrovnik, Croatia, October 18-20, 2012).



Eskil was not the only saint to have originated in or near the jurisdiction of the Strängnäs Bishopric. As mentioned above, the lay-merchant, Botvid, was from Södermanland and his cult originated there. As a layperson and a former pagan, Botvid served as an example of the transition period and would have been an important figure of reference in the building of a Christian community. His cult also provided the diocese with at least one *locus sancti* within its boundaries; however, these holy places did not include the location of the see itself.

Botvid can be found on early liturgical fragments from the twelfth century which were used throughout the Uppsala province. In Strängnäs, the first definite evidence of his liturgical cult comes from a fragment of a *Breviarium cum Missale* from the thirteenth century. This fragment contains an early prose version of his *officium* with nine lessons and was used in Toresund, Södermanland.<sup>579</sup> The *officium* contains nine lessons, indicating that Botvid also enjoyed a high liturgical rank in Strängnäs.

Another liturgical fragment from Strängnäs supports the nine lessons for Botvid's feast day in Strängnäs. It was part of the aforementioned, in relation to Eskil's cult, Calendar which also contains a late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century addition of Botvid's feast. In this Calendar, the feast is listed as a *simplex* with nine lessons and written in black, a *festum chori*.<sup>580</sup> Despite the number of lessons, the feast would only have been required to be celebrated by the clergy.<sup>581</sup> An addition to another Strängnäs Calendar also lists his feast as a *festum chori*; however a late-thirteenth



Figure 10. Statue of St Eskil, Länna Parish. Photographer: Peter Tangeberg, RAA, Sö Länna kyrka, 1995.

<sup>579</sup> Fr 30838, *Liber ecclesie Torsan* (Table 3.3). Edited in Önnersfors 1969.

<sup>580</sup> Fr 25621-25622 (Table 3.3)

<sup>581</sup> See Table 3.3 and below for other bishoprics. Another twelfth-century fragment, Fr 9635 (Litany of the Saints), could also originally have been from Strängnäs (or Tuna); however, it had also been used in Turku by the end of the Middle Ages.

or early-fourteenth century hand added *festum duplex* to Botvid's feast to clarify that it was now of a high liturgical rank for the clergy.<sup>582</sup>

Taking into account the early spread of Botvid's cult and the fact that the control of his cult was clearly centred in Strängnäs, it is probable that his liturgical cult existed in Strängnäs before the thirteenth century. However, no extant sources exist for Strängnäs that are contemporary with, for example, the Vallentuna Calendar from the Uppsala Archbishopric.

In fact, details from Botvid's legend indicate the interest that two bishops had in consecrating a church to Botvid which had been built on Botvid's brother's property in the early-twelfth century.<sup>583</sup> One of these bishops was Gerder of Strängnäs.<sup>584</sup> With regard to the legend's details of the translation of Botvid's relics in the 1170s, the presence of an Archbishop from Uppsala (Stephan) and a bishop from Strängnäs (Wilhelm) is verifiable.<sup>585</sup> Clearly, Strängnäs found it important to promote their connections to Botvid's cult and support their control over it. Uppsala's connection to the cult can be interpreted as an archbishop and head of an ecclesiastical province asserting his right to control the veneration of saints within the region under his jurisdiction.

Botvid's cult provided another holy individual and a *locus sancti* for the bishopric of Strängnäs, while both Västerås and Uppsala also favoured the cult of this layman. Although neither Botvid nor the contents of his

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<sup>582</sup> BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.3) Botvid is not found in the List of Lessons which were added to the Breviary proper, although Sigfrid, Erik the Holy, Eskil, Knud the Holy and Olav the Holy are.

<sup>583</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014b. The oldest version is from the second-half of the thirteenth century and is a revised version of a twelfth-century original. It is included on a fragment from the *Liber ecclesie Torsan* in the Strängnäs Diocese (Fr 30838, Södermanland). See Lundén 1946b: 161ff., Schmid 1931b: 108. See also Blomkvist et al. 2007: 186–187 & fn 75, Önnersfors 1969, Nilsson 2005: 195. For further discussion of the legend and its dating, see Odenius 1957, Önnersfors 1969: 145, Fröjmark 1996a: 405–406. A short note about the legends of the *Liber ecclesie Torsan* – including Botvid's and Sigfrid's – is also found in Carlé and Fröjmark 1996: 517. See also Nilsson 2005: 184–187.

<sup>584</sup> The other bishop named was Henry of Uppsala; however, the Florence List does not include a bishopric at Uppsala and it was more probably that this attribution was a later addition to the legend. It is more probable that Henry was the bishop of Sigtuna, which is found on the Florence List. According to the legend, this event took place in 1129. 1828a: 382. See Schmid 1931b: 107. Blomkvist et al. 2007: 187.

<sup>585</sup> The life and activities of Bishop Wilhelm of Strängnäs (1171/2–1190) are important for the dating of Botvid's legend. He was also responsible for the donation of Eskil's church in Tuna to the monks of the Order of St John. See above and Collmar 1977: 23–24, Ellis Nilsson 2014b.



legend specifically endorsed the location of a see, the fact that a layperson performed posthumous miracles and aided in the Christianization of the populace was seen as important to Strängnäs.<sup>586</sup> It is probable that Botvid, as a non-royal member of the laity, was not a suitable candidate for motivating the placement of a bishopric. However, his cult was responsible for the placement of a parish church, Botkyrka, in which his relics were housed.<sup>587</sup> In addition, the parish was named after the church, providing evidence of Botvid's importance also on the parish level.<sup>588</sup> Other details from his legend, such as the involvement of his brother in the building of a church, also emphasize the role and importance of the laity in the Christianization.

By the late-thirteenth century, it is clear that control of Botvid's cult was firmly in the hands of the Strängnäs Bishopric. A letter from King Magnus Ladulås in 1283 confirmed that the control of St Botvid's Church was granted to Strängnäs.<sup>589</sup> The church was then free to be connected to a canonry within the cathedral.

A decade later, a letter written by Bishop Isar of Strängnäs provides evidence that the control of Botvid's relics was in the hands of his bishopric.<sup>590</sup> In the letter Isar notes that he is gifting relics of Botvid to Bishop Lars of Linköping upon the latter's request. Isar and Lars thought it was important that the veneration of Botvid was enhanced by the presence of relics in the Linköping Bishopric. In this way, Linköping reinforced its status as a *locus sancti* with the physical presence of Botvid's relics. The letter also includes a recommendation of indulgence for those who make a pilgrimage to visit Botvid's relics. Therefore, Isar's letter is evidence that the bishops were in charge of cult creation and expansion at this time. In particular, it reveals that Strängnäs had a vested interest in furthering Botvid's cult. Moreover, the letter reflects the level and nature of correspondence between bishops in the Uppsala province and the spread of local cults by the end of the thirteenth century.

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<sup>586</sup> See, also, Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>587</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014a.

<sup>588</sup> Although Botkyrka parish was unique in the Uppsala province, naming parishes after saints was common on Bornholm.

<sup>589</sup> DS 759 (Table 3.13)

<sup>590</sup> DS 1061 (Table 3.13)

Isar's letter gifting Botvid's relics to Linköping is dated "...*die beati Sigfridi confessoris.*"<sup>591</sup> The importance of Sigfrid to the bishopric of Strängnäs, as shown in the use of his feast in dating this letter, is more remarkable. The use of Sigfrid's feast has several implications. Firstly, it could indicate episcopal connections between Växjö and Strängnäs. Secondly, since Linköping emulated the saint-making activities in the other dioceses by adopting other native saints as its own, this reference to Sigfrid's feast day could also highlight Linköping's relationship with the saint. Thirdly, it could signal Strängnäs' own promotion of Sigfrid. A further letter, which uses Sigfrid's feast day for dating purposes, was written by the lawman of Närke on a letter of donation to the Riseberga convent near Örebro: "*jn die Beati sigfridi confessoris.*"<sup>592</sup> This letter was ratified by the Lady Cecilia's brothers as well as Bishop Isar of Strängnäs, all of whom presumably were very familiar with the feast day and lends credence to its prominence.

Eskil's legend reveals Sigfrid's importance in Strängnäs. It states that he came from England with Sigfrid and even was consecrated by him.<sup>593</sup> However, no mention of Eskil is made in Sigfrid's legend. In the liturgy, Sigfrid's feast day is also included in the thirteenth-century Calendar for the *Liber ecclesie Torsan* from Toresund. His feast was celebrated as a *festum fori/terrae* with nine lessons, which indicates high status and required observance for all, even the laity.<sup>594</sup> Moreover, a Breviary from the second-half of the thirteenth century, whose provenance has been determined to be the Strängnäs Bishopric, includes his *officium* with three lessons.<sup>595</sup> Unfortunately, the Calendar is missing January and February; however, it can be assumed that Sigfrid's feast day would have been included in it. This *lacuna* in the Calendar is unfortunate as it would have shed light the status of Sigfrid's feast day in the Breviary's secondary home of Strängnäs.

The inconsistency in the lessons for Sigfrid's feast day can be partly explained by identifying where the liturgical books were originally produced

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<sup>591</sup> DS 1061 (Table 3.13) See also Schmid 1931b: 108.

<sup>592</sup> DS 1304 (Table 3.19)

<sup>593</sup> "Unde ipse pietate sua ineffabili misit eis beatum Sigfridum, Quasi de caelo translatum... Deditque peregrinationis suae comitem individuum, doctorem eximum, beatum Eskillum, de Britannia oriundum, cujus ipse capellanus fuerat et consanguineous." Lesson One from Eskil's *officiium*. Edited in Lundén 1946a: 96. Schmid 1931b: 108.

<sup>594</sup> Fr 25020 (Table 3.9)

<sup>595</sup> BL Add. 40146 (Table 3.9)

and meant to be used. Toresund, which in itself lies close to Strängnäs, was within the bishopric's jurisdiction and the saints in this Breviary reflect the veneration practices in this diocese. However, the other Breviary (BL Add. 40146) was initially produced for another bishopric, presumably the Uppsala Archbishopric, as it only contains three royal saints in its original late-thirteenth century Calendar; all the other native saints are late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century additions.<sup>596</sup> Moreover, Erik the Holy's feast is a *festum terrae/fori* in this latter Calendar, which also ties it to Uppsala in the thirteenth century.<sup>597</sup> In the List of Lessons, Sigfrid's feast is shown to be of high liturgical rank with nine lessons.<sup>598</sup> Although it is unclear why this particular Breviary was produced for one diocese and then used in another, this practice was not uncommon.

It appears, therefore, that the status of Sigfrid's cult was quite high within the Strängnäs Bishopric. For instance, the desire to connect the cult of Eskil with Sigfrid is apparent in Eskil's legend. Sigfrid was regarded as an important missionary bishop from England and Strängnäs endeavoured to connect the history of the Christianization in that region to the Christianization of the other bishoprics.<sup>599</sup>

Strängnäs was also interested in the veneration of other native saints, in addition to those that were connected to its Christianization. These included Elin of Skövde, David of Munktorp and the royal saints, Erik the Holy and Knud the Holy.

Firstly, according to one of the extant Calendars from Strängnäs, Elin of Skövde was also venerated in the diocese before the end of the thirteenth century. At some point before 1300, at the same time that Botvid was added to the Calendar, Elin was added to her outside-Skara feast day of July 31. Written in black, her feast would have been celebrated as a *festum chori*.<sup>600</sup> It is one of the earliest examples of her cult outside of Skara.

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<sup>596</sup> With the exception of Birgitta's feasts which, understandably, were added in the late-fourteenth century. Olav the Holy's feast was also included in red as a *festum terrae/fori* and, added by a later hand, the liturgical rank of *totum simplex*. In the List of Lessons, he has three lessons. His *officium* was also included. BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.10)

<sup>597</sup> Table 3.6. The date of the composition of this Breviary is contemporary with the revival of Erik's cult in the thirteenth century.

<sup>598</sup> BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.9). The Calendar is missing January-February; therefore, it is impossible to determine the observance of Sigfrid's feast day.

<sup>599</sup> Part of a mythopoetic moment. See Mortensen 2006b.

<sup>600</sup> BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.5)

In addition, David of Munktorp can also be found in a late-thirteenth century Breviary used in Strängnäs to which his feast day was added in the early-fourteenth century.<sup>601</sup> This addition indicates that his feast day was celebrated here by the beginning of the fourteenth century, with a probable start by the end of the thirteenth century.

As evidenced by his addition in the thirteenth century to a Calendar used in the bishopric, Strängnäs echoed the Uppsala archbishopric's revival of the cult of Erik the Holy.<sup>602</sup> In this bishopric, Erik's feast was a *festum chori* with an unknown number of lessons. However, the Breviary and Calendar originally composed for use in Uppsala and later taken into use in Strängnäs contained a red Calendar entry for Erik the Holy's feast day indicating a *festum fori/terrae*. Further clarification was later provided by the feast's rank in the Calendar, *totum duplex*, which was not altered when the book was taken into use in the Strängnäs Diocese.<sup>603</sup>

Other evidence of Strängnäs supporting veneration of Uppsala's patron saint included an indulgence letter composed at a synod in 1297. Three bishops from Strängnäs, Växjö and Linköping signed a letter of indulgence for the benefit of pilgrims who visited the cathedral on Erik's feast day as well as on other holy days.<sup>604</sup> This letter demonstrates conformity with Uppsala on the part of these bishops and acceptance of the feast that the archbishopric was actively promoting. However, Erik himself was not tied to Strängnäs' Christianization story. Strängnäs supported the validity of a cult for Erik, but at the same time Strängnäs already had two native saints with cultic centres within its borders which provided it with two *loca sanctorum*.

Finally, prior to the formation of the Uppsala province in 1164, the veneration of Knud the Holy in Strängnäs and the other bishoprics would have been due to the influence of Lund and its primacy. By the end of the twelfth century, Knud the Holy's feast was a *duplex* in the Calendar

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<sup>601</sup> BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.4)

<sup>602</sup> Fr 25621-25622 (Table 3.6)

<sup>603</sup> However, in the List of Lessons Erik the Holy's feast originally had only three lessons. The earliest extant version of Erik the Holy's legend has been dated to the 1270s. It is also found in BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.6). For further discussion on the revival of Erik the Holy's cult, see also Oertel 2014.

<sup>604</sup> DS 1200 (Table 3.14) The bishops were Isar of Strängnäs, Magnus of Växjö and Lars of Linköping.

used in the Strängnäs Bishopric.<sup>605</sup> His feast still existed in Strängnäs in the thirteenth century as shown by a Breviary from Närke; however, it is unknown how many lessons were to be read or the rank of the feast.<sup>606</sup> It is likely that the original provenance of these liturgical books was the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, while their continued use and the fact that his feast was not removed from these books suggests that Knud the Holy was at least venerated on some level in Strängnäs.

Moreover, Knud the Holy's feast day appears in red in the first hand in the original Calendar in the thirteenth-century Breviary used in Strängnäs, indicating a *festum fori/terrae*; he is also included in the List of Lessons.<sup>607</sup> A later hand added the liturgical rank of *festum duplex*, after the Calendar was taken into use in Strängnäs. As mentioned previously, this Breviary was made for use in another diocese, presumably Uppsala, and then later taken into use in Strängnäs without altering the original ranks of feasts. Therefore, Knud the Holy's importance to Strängnäs can be seen on a similar level to Erik the Holy; he was venerated with a high-ranking feast – the *festum duplex* having been added while the Calendar was in use in Strängnäs – but did not directly contribute to the Strängnäs origin story or their promotion of *loca sanctorum* within Strängnäs. That honour was given to Eskil and Botvid.

### *Västerås*

A geographically close neighbour of Strängnäs, the diocese of Västerås is also included on the Florence List.<sup>608</sup> Although the early history of Västerås is uncertain, it is known that the diocese was formed by the early-twelfth century and that its bishops were active in decisions in the ecclesiastical province by the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>609</sup>

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<sup>605</sup> Fr 25621-25622 and BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.11)

<sup>606</sup> Fr 3150 (Table 3.11)

<sup>607</sup> A high-ranking feast of nine lessons. BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.11)

<sup>608</sup> Differing opinions have been raised as to which bishopric "Aros" refers. It is most likely that "Aros" refers to the later see of "Västerås", as it was called in 1164 when its bishop was listed as one of the suffragans of Uppsala. Moreover, a bishop of Västerås also participated in the Skänninge Meeting in 1248. Blomkvist et al. 2007: 195.

<sup>609</sup> Hallencreutz 1996b: 261.

The story which arose around its native saint, David of Munktorp, ensured the diocese's place in Christian conversion history. David was believed to have been a missionary and martyr from the conversion period. In order to tie Västerås into the conversion myth of the entire Uppsala province, Sigfrid was integrated into David's legend. In this way, David is similar to Eskil; both saints' traditions drew on their supposed connections to Sigfrid. However, Sigfrid's legend mentions neither Eskil nor David.

Unlike Eskil, however, David's cult appears to have had a late start. This difference is related to the development of the bishoprics and their promotion of local saints related to their origin myths. David's cult is a late addition to the trend of officially sanctioning certain local cults of saints by bishoprics and the creation of a sanctified history, in this case within the Västerås Bishopric.<sup>610</sup>

There are no extant diploma issued before 1300 which mentions David's cult, even from Västerås. Although David's legend claims that he lived in the eleventh century and was venerated as a holy man soon after, the first indication of a liturgical cult is in the late-thirteenth century Breviary taken into use in Strängnäs.<sup>611</sup>

With this indication of a burgeoning cult for David in Strängnäs in the thirteenth century, it would be expected that a liturgy from Västerås, who claimed David as its own, would appear in or by the end of that century. However, it is not until the late-fourteenth century that David's feast day was added as a *festum chori* with nine lessons to a Calendar from Dalarna or that his *officium* was inserted into a Missal (fig. 11).<sup>612</sup> It is important to note that this *lacuna* could be due to the paucity of sources for David's cult prior to 1300. Official inclusion in an important liturgy, such as the mass, suggests an existing, perhaps even flourishing, cult under the control of the local ecclesiastical authority.

From this evidence, the conclusion can be drawn that David's feast day would have been venerated in the Uppsala province by the end of the thirteenth century, but it is not known what rank that it enjoyed at that time. It is probable that his feast day was venerated in Västerås at the same time as it was adopted in Strängnäs, a close geographical neighbour.

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<sup>610</sup> Cf. Antonsson 2010: 35.

<sup>611</sup> BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.4)

<sup>612</sup> Fr 25624 and Fr 27032 (Table 3.4)

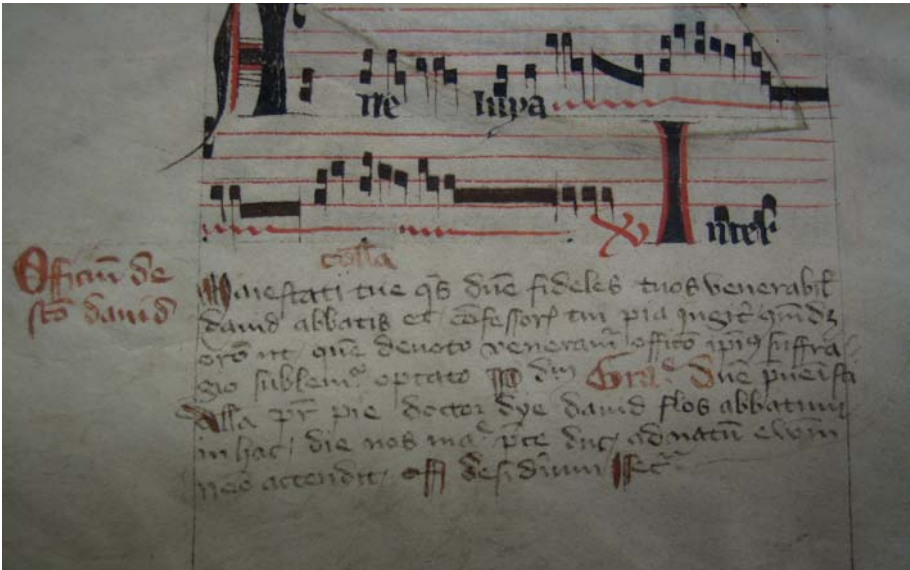


Figure 11. Fifteenth-century addition of David's officium to a Missal (1r, Fr 27032)

However, even in Västerås, it does not appear that his cult was of a high rank liturgically until the late-fifteenth century.<sup>613</sup> The origin myth, including ties to Sigfrid, that Västerås built in to David's legend were later, fifteenth-century additions outside of this dissertation's time-frame.<sup>614</sup>

Although David eventually became Västerås' most important saint, the first Scandinavian saints known to have been venerated in this diocese were Botvid and Knud the Holy in the twelfth century, with Eskil and Erik the Holy appearing in the thirteenth century and Elin sometime in the fourteenth century. Despite the bishopric's later attempts to connect David to Sigfrid, Sigfrid himself does not appear in any of the extant pre-1300 material from Västerås.

Knud the Holy's presence in the twelfth-century material is not surprising considering the primacy of Lund, as well as the wide-spread nature of Knud's cult. Knud the Holy appears in the original hand in a

<sup>613</sup> Cf. Fr 25624 which has 9 lessons but is *festum chori* and would only have required celebration by the clergy. For the later rank of David's cult, see Schmid 1931b: 110.

<sup>614</sup> Nevertheless, it would be of interest to study the reasons by which Västerås was drawn to connect their origin myth to Sigfrid and its need to promote a local saint, which began in earnest with a liturgical cult in the early-fourteenth century. It is also interesting to note Sigfrid's importance to several dioceses even before 1300 and his continued importance to a common conversion story in the Uppsala province.



Missal fragment from Västmanland.<sup>615</sup> It is unfortunately unknown what rank his cult had in Västerås in terms of lessons or observance. However, despite these *lacunae*, there is no indication that Knud the Holy was used for legitimization purposes by the Västerås Bishopric.

Closer to home, the cult of the layman, Botvid, had an early following in the Västerås Diocese. One of the first references to him in the fragmentary liturgical material can be found in a Missal from what was the Västerås Bishopric. This inclusion provides possible evidence of competing bishoprics: Strängnäs, Tuna, Västerås.<sup>616</sup> In the Calendar, Botvid's feast has been noted as a *festum fori/terrae*; however, the number of lessons has not been provided.<sup>617</sup>

In the late-thirteenth century, Botvid's feast was added to a Calendar produced earlier in the same century and designated as a *festum chori*. Elin of Skövde's feast day was added to the same fragment in the fourteenth century (fig. 12).<sup>618</sup> The liturgical rank of Botvid's feast was high in this Calendar with nine lessons, while Elin's later-added feast was celebrated with three lessons. Although Elin's addition to this Calendar was later than Botvid's and outside of the time period studied, it is important to mention. Elin's inclusion in the fourteenth century could have been part of the effort to synchronize the Calendars in the Uppsala province; however, it could also have shown influences from Skara. The importance of Botvid's feast is emphasized by the fact that the original entry for Botvid's feast day was rubbed out in order to create space to add his feast day and lessons to the Calendar (fig. 12).<sup>619</sup>

The inconsistencies in the celebration of Botvid's feast indicate that different practices existed in this bishopric for the same saint. It is possible that Botvid's feast was celebrated throughout the diocese, although it was no longer a *festum fori/terrae*. Botvid's cult seems to have been important throughout Uppsala province, albeit with varying observance: in some cases *festum chori* and in others *festum terrae*.<sup>620</sup> Although Botvid was not

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<sup>615</sup> Fr 25951 (Table 3.11)

<sup>616</sup> Fr 4549. See also Nilsson 1998: 83, Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>617</sup> Fr 4549 (Table 3.3)

<sup>618</sup> Fr 25624 (Botvid: Table 3.3, Elin: Table 3.5)

<sup>619</sup> In fact, in this particular Calendar (Fr 25624, Kal 31), many other saints have been crossed off, showing an active use of the manuscript.

<sup>620</sup> See also Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

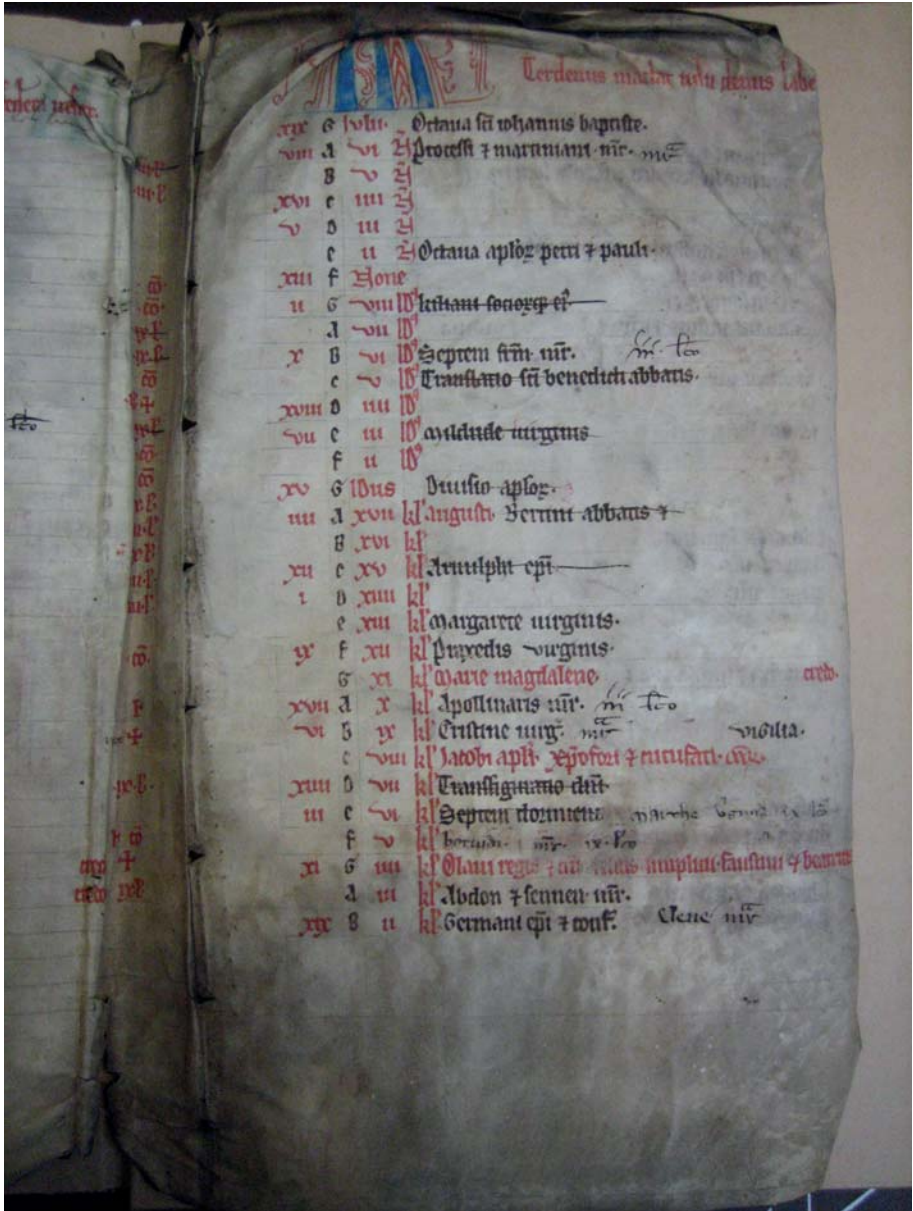


Figure 12. Botvid's feast day added to Calendar on July 28 and Elin's on July 31 (2r, Fr 25624)

connected to any specific place within the diocese of Västerås, and therefore could not contribute to the creation of specific *loca sanctorum*, he as a lay-saint would have had a certain attraction for the laity.

By the thirteenth century, Botvid's feast day was celebrated as a *festum fori/terrae* in the Västerås Diocese.<sup>621</sup> Eskil's feast day was written in the original hand in this Calendar fragment, which could indicate that the manuscript was produced for Strängnäs, although the absence of Botvid's feast in the original hand makes the provenance unclear.<sup>622</sup> Similarly to Botvid, Eskil's inclusion in the pantheon of saints in Västerås indicates a willingness to connect the diocese to others within the ecclesiastical province, especially its immediate neighbours.

### Skara

One of these neighbours, Skara, was established comparatively early in the long Christianization period in Scandinavia. It was included on the Florence List and had numerous parishes at an early date.<sup>623</sup> The cathedral in Skara was built in the 1060s and at least three parish churches were founded before the end of the thirteenth century: St Peter and St Nicholas in the twelfth century and St Laurence in 1278.<sup>624</sup> They were part of a period of extensive church-building in that century, especially evident in Västergötland.

The remains of several different churches have also been identified, including a stone church which pre-dates the crypt in Skara Cathedral with an approximate C14-dating of AD 860-1150. The burial evidence also supports the idea of a Christian settlement in Skara by the mid-eleventh century at the latest.<sup>625</sup>

Skara is often referred to as the oldest diocese in the kingdom of *Suecia*.<sup>626</sup> The *GH* and the Västgöta List of Bishops together provide a

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<sup>621</sup> Fr 25624 (Table 3.7)

<sup>622</sup> The alterations to the Calendar also suggest that it was produced for use in a diocese other than Västerås. (Fr 25624, Kal 31).

<sup>623</sup> Skara, along with Sigtuna, is mentioned in Adam of Bremen's work, so was in existence by about 1070 at the latest. For a discussion of this, see Nyberg 1991: 168-169, Adam of Bremen 11th cent. (2002).

<sup>624</sup> Pahlmblad 2006b: 201.

<sup>625</sup> Sigsjö 2006: 206.

<sup>626</sup> See, for example, Sigsjö 2006: 30, 206. However unlikely, some scholars maintain that the first see was actually placed at Husaby (a royal estate near Skara) and then transferred to Skara in the mid-eleventh century. For a discussion of this tradition, see Nilsson 1998: 72, 81.

record of bishops from 1014 to 1317, with the first bishop being Turgot. In its establishment myth, Skara claimed that King Olof Skötkonung was responsible for its foundation. In the mid-eleventh century, Bishop Adalvard the Elder is recorded as founding a church in Skara, presumably the cathedral.<sup>627</sup> However, it was not until Brynolf (I) Algotsson became bishop in the late-thirteenth century that the attachment of a local cult to the diocese took on a new importance.<sup>628</sup> The bishopric did not initially seem to require a placement legend tied to a saint to legitimize it as a *locus sancti*.

Instead, Lund's Calendar and its native saints dominated Skara's Calendar in the early period as seen in the early liturgy.<sup>629</sup> Other evidence for, at least, an awareness of Danish saints in Lödöse is found on a mid-twelfth century "Calendar stick" (*kalendersticka*). This fragment names Knud the Holy (high-ranking feast), Olav the Holy (high-ranking feast) and Thøger of Vestervig (high-ranking feast). It is an example of someone's personal veneration of the saints closely connected to the dioceses of Lund, Odense, Ribe and Børglum.<sup>630</sup> It is important to note that the "Calendar stick" could have belonged to a Danish merchant or traveller who dropped it while visiting Lödöse. Therefore, it must be concluded that it is impossible to verify whether or not there were cults in honour of these saints in the city itself; however, it is probable that Lödöse's inhabitants were aware of and would recognize these feast days if mentioned by visitors.

It was not until the thirteenth century that Skara promoted cults of local, native saints. For instance, Bishop Brynolf wrote several *officium* for native saints, including one for Skara's local saint, Elin of Skövde, as well as for Sigfrid and Eskil. The importance of these three saints for the Skara Bishopric is reflected in his literary production. Unfortunately, there are no extant liturgical fragments which illuminate the liturgical importance of Sigfrid and Eskil to the Skara Bishopric prior to 1300. In comparison, Elin is well-represented.

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<sup>627</sup> The Skara bishopric was initially responsible for Östergötland, which was included in the Linköping bishopric by the early-twelfth century. Blomkvist et al. 2007: 193. For a table containing the List of Bishops for Skara, see Sigsjö 2006: 30.

<sup>628</sup> Brynolf himself was later promoted as a saint in this bishopric in the fourteenth century.

<sup>629</sup> See Schmid 1928: 287.

<sup>630</sup> Vestervig was in the jurisdiction of Børglum. Knud Lavard is not on the *kalendersticka*. Vg 233 in Jungner and Svärdström 2013: 443. See also Svärdström 1963: 24-27, Wallin 1975: 145-146.

The earliest indication for Elin's liturgical feast in the fragment material is a thirteenth-century Missal which contains her original *officium*.<sup>631</sup> This Missal was probably in use in Vadsbo Hundred which lies in the Skara Diocese. Although it is unknown what rank Elin's feast had from the remnants of this Missal, a Breviary to which a prayer for Elin's feast was added in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century indicates that her feast would have been celebrated as a *festum fori/terrae*.<sup>632</sup> In other words, by the end of the thirteenth century, and before Brynolf wrote his *officium*, Elin's feast day was important in the bishopric. By writing a new, complete *officium* for Elin, Brynolf took an important step in legitimizing Elin as a saint by incorporating her cult into the official liturgy of the diocese.

Brynolf also claimed that Elin had been canonized; therefore, he demonstrated Skara's acceptance of the papal canonization prerogative, which was not previously adhered to by the dioceses within the Uppsala province. In previous research, 1164 has usually been claimed as her date of canonization; however, the only contemporary evidence of this event was a later mention in a letter to the Archbishop of Uppsala which included papal recognition of her holiness.<sup>633</sup> Some further clues to her importance come from the lessons for Elin's *officium* which make up her legend.

Firstly, Elin is described as a church-builder during the period of Christianization. Secondly, her legend is replete with *exempla* for the laity in how to live a good, Christian life in the newly Christianized area, for example, regular church attendance and going on a pilgrimage.<sup>634</sup> Elin is described as being an important figure in the early years of the establishment of Christianity in the area. Thus, she was added to the official conversion story for the Skara Diocese and the writing of Skara into Christian history providing the bishopric with *loca sanctorum* connected to the Christianization period.

In addition to the liturgical evidence, by 1290, Elin's cult was so important in Skara that a request was sent to Rome for a papally approved

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<sup>631</sup> Fr 26890 (Table 3.5)

<sup>632</sup> Fr 1504 (Table 3.5). The cross beside the prayer addition in the margin is interpreted to indicate this veneration practice (similar to Calendar entries). Moreover, another fragment from Skara with a late-fourteenth century addition of Elin's feast also indicates a *festum fori/terrae* feast.

<sup>633</sup> See Pernler 2007: 164-171, Ellis Nilsson 2014c.

<sup>634</sup> Piltz 2007: 198-199, 221-222.

indulgence. The subsequent response was dated 1291 and provided indirect papal approval of Elin as a saint by bestowing an indulgence. The letter grants an indulgence of one year and forty days to those who undertake a pilgrimage to Elin's shrine in Skövde on her feast day and the week leading up to her octave.<sup>635</sup>

The composition of the papal letter coincides with the increasing clerical and liturgical interest in Elin's cult in the later thirteenth century as also evidenced by Brynolf's *officium*. The letter also demonstrates further ecclesiastical acceptance of the cult. In addition, the reference to the celebration of the octave of Elin's feast confirms the high liturgical status of her cult within the bishopric.

As with the other saints discussed, Elin's cult could also be found throughout the Uppsala province by the early-sixteenth century. At this early date, however, it appears that her cult was most active within the Skara Bishopric, although evidence exists for her veneration in Strängnäs by the end of the 1200s.<sup>636</sup> Her cult was of obvious importance to Bishop Brynolf and the contents of her legend indicate the type of person the bishop wished to see in his diocese.<sup>637</sup> As a new, local saint in the Skara Bishopric, Elin served as an important example for the relatively recently Christianized local population. Furthermore, as a laywoman and a widow, she was an especially unusual saint to have been promoted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Although she was to have the most successful cult, Elin was not the only local saint to have emerged in the Skara Diocese. The priest, Nicolaus of Edsleskog, also had a cultic following before the end of the thirteenth century. The only extant information that exists for Nicolaus and his cult comes from a letter written by Pope Honorius III to Bishop Bengt (the younger) in 1220.<sup>638</sup> The letter mentions the saint and Bishop Bengt's request for a papal indulgence for those visiting Nicolaus' church in Edsleskog.<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>635</sup> SDHK 1542 (Table 3.16)

<sup>636</sup> Elin's feast was added to the Calendar in BL Add. MS 40146. By the fourteenth century, Elin's feast had spread to Västerås and Linköping, while keeping its important status as a feast day celebrated by all of the faithful in the Skara Bishopric. The following fragments have additions from the fourteenth or early-fifteenth centuries: Fr 25624 (Västerås), Fr 25981 (Skara), Fr 25599 (Linköping). (Table 3.5)

<sup>637</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014a.

<sup>638</sup> DS 193 (Table 3.18)

<sup>639</sup> Dated to November 4, 1220. DS 193 (Table 3.18) Cf. Hallencreutz 1996b: 265.



However, the pope delegated the awarding of indulgences to the bishop instead as he claimed to not have enough information on the case. Nothing is stated about a possible papal canonization, nor does the letter divulge whether or not Bengt requested it in addition to the indulgence. However, the pope's response provided indirect papal approval for an existing cult. Thus, initiating correspondence with the pope indicated that the bishop wished to have at least partial papal approval of the cult, similar to that later requested for Elin's cult.<sup>640</sup>

Thus, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, the bishops of Skara were interested in procuring indulgences to encourage pilgrims to visit a shrine in their diocese. It is interesting to note that the church in Edsleskog was also a stop on the way for pilgrims travelling to Nidaros. By procuring this indulgence for a pilgrimage church, Bishop Bengt ensured the shrine's importance on the Nidaros route, as well as marking it out as an important *locus sancti* for those unable to make the journey to Olav's shrine far to the north.

However, after 1220, no further reference is made to Nicolaus' cult. A feast day has not been found in any of the liturgical fragments studied for this dissertation, nor was a liturgy included in the later printed Breviaries. Nicolaus' cult remained a highly local one. One reason for this development might have been the emergence of a cult in the fourteenth century in honour of Bishop Brynolf Algotsson, in effect replacing one cleric with another.

Veneration of other native saints was evident in the inclusion of several additional feast days in the Skara Diocese. For example, the twelfth-century material includes Knud the Holy's liturgy in three Missals used in the Skara Bishopric.<sup>641</sup> The number of lessons for Knud's cult in the twelfth century is unknown; however, by the next century in Värmland, Knud the Holy's cult was written in red designating an observance of *festum fori/terrae*.<sup>642</sup> The final Missal from Skara indicates that his feast had a high liturgical rank with nine lessons to be read on his feast day; however, in this Calendar, his feast has been written in black ink, a *festum*

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<sup>640</sup> For Elin, see SDHK 1542 (Table 3.16) and above.

<sup>641</sup> Fr 27366, Fr 26917 and Fr 25981 (Table 3.11)

<sup>642</sup> Fr 27366, Fr 26917 (Table 3.11)



*chori*.<sup>643</sup> This inconsistency in the rank of the feast could have been due to the primary provenance of the manuscripts, presumably either the Lund province or a bishopric closely associated with it. No other indications of the importance of Knud the Holy's cult to the Skara Bishopric prior to 1300 have been discovered.

Another native saint to have been added to the veneration of saints in the Skara Bishopric before 1300 was Erik the Holy. Erik's feast was added in red as a *festum fori/terrae* to a twelfth-century Calendar at some point at the end of the thirteenth century or in the early-fourteenth century (fig. 13). By adding Erik to the Calendar, Skara was supporting the local Uppsala cult. Moreover, it is probable that the addition was made during the revival of Erik's cult following his translation to Östra Aros in the latter part of the thirteenth century. This entry also has a cross and a notation of nine lessons to support Erik's high liturgical status and feast within the diocese.<sup>644</sup> Skara was clearly in support of the cult of the holy king and followed the other bishoprics which added Erik's feast to existing liturgical books in the thirteenth century.<sup>645</sup>

In addition, Erik the Holy's cult was explicitly supported within the diocese. Bishop Erik of Skara was among those bishops who, in 1271, signed a letter of indulgence for those pilgrims who annually visited the Uppsala Cathedral on the feast day and octave of Erik the Holy.<sup>646</sup> The endorsement of this letter shows support for the policies of the archbishopric and an active interest in promoting the *loca sanctorum* within the entire ecclesiastical province to which Skara belonged. These collaborative activities are also those of a province and bishopric in a fully functioning Christian society.

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<sup>643</sup> Fr 25981 (Table 3.11) The Calendar uses red ink for feasts with general observance.

<sup>644</sup> Fr 25606 (Table 3.6)

<sup>645</sup> See Table 3.6. By the fifteenth century, Eskil's feast was also found in Skara; however, the provenance of that particular Missal fragment could also have been Västerås, Strängnäs or Linköping. See Table 3.7. Moreover, the cult of Olav was also supported by the Skara Bishopric, see Table 3.20 and 3.10.

<sup>646</sup> The other bishops were Henrik of Linköping, Finvid of Strängnäs, Karl of Västerås, Kettel of Åbo and Asker of Vaxjö. DS 553 (Table 3.14)

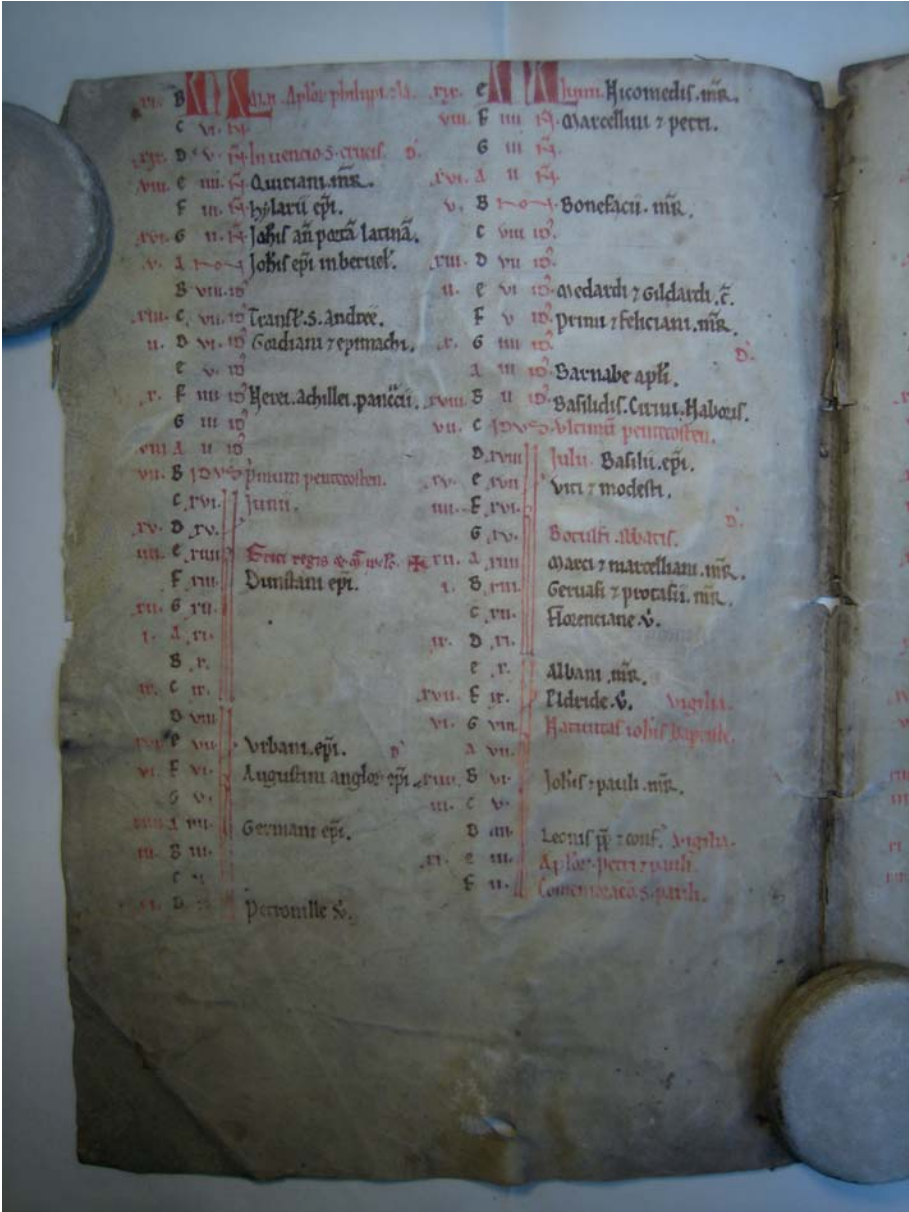


Figure 13. Calendar with addition of Erik the Holy's feast on May 18 (1v, Fr 25606)

### Växjö

Unlike the previous bishoprics discussed, Växjö was not included on the Florence List nor mentioned in connection with the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala in 1164. The bishopric was probably founded in the late-1160s and its first recorded bishop was Baldvin in 1170.<sup>647</sup> However, Växjö later constructed a claim that its foundation stretched to the mission of Sigfrid in the eleventh century. By the time of the Skänninge Meeting in 1248, Växjö had definitely been established as one of the two bishoprics in Småland.

The province of Småland had been divided between the original diocese of Linköping and Växjö. The comparatively late establishment of Växjö and the fact that Linköping appeared to want to control the diocesan life of Växjö provided further impetus for Växjö to promote itself as an important *locus sancti*. One way in which Växjö asserted its independence and ties to the conversion period was through its local saint, Sigfrid.

As has been stated, Sigfrid was a popular saint in several dioceses, where he was connected to the legends of local saints from other dioceses.<sup>648</sup> However, Växjö, in particular, demonstrated a special interest in promoting Sigfrid's cult, in part due to his active establishment of a church in Växjö according to his legend, as well as his indirect creation of a *locus sancti* through his shrine.

In previous research, the oldest version of Sigfrid's legend has been estimated to have been composed in the 1160s, coinciding with the establishment of Växjö; however, there is no surviving copy.<sup>649</sup> Extant fragments of St Sigfrid's *vita* belong to a version which was probably composed at the beginning of the 1200s and the complete version of Sigfrid's *officium* from Växjö survives intact from the fourteenth century. Evidence used to support Växjö's claims of being a legitimate, long-standing see is found in the Växjö version of his legend. The legend begins by describing his journey to "Värend" (*Waerendia*) referred to as the southernmost province of *Swecie*.<sup>650</sup> He was divinely guided to a settlement that

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<sup>647</sup> Blomkvist et al. 2007: 195.

<sup>648</sup> Cf. Hallencreutz 1996b: 266.

<sup>649</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>650</sup> Lundén 1983: 195, ll. 16-17.

“now is called Växjö.”<sup>651</sup> The Växjö version of Sigfrid’s legend claimed that, thenceforth, Växjö had remained a bishop’s see. In fact, most versions of Sigfrid’s legend explicitly state the location favoured by the saint for a bishop’s see in Varend: Växjö.<sup>652</sup>

There are other indications, including archaeological, that Växjö’s claims to have been the site of an early mission and have had an early see may have had some basis in fact. For example, the cathedral in Växjö was completed by the mid-twelfth century.<sup>653</sup> The completion of the building supports the bishopric’s later claim as to the continuity of, at least, the church’s presence in Växjö from the twelfth century.

Växjö’s assertion to have been the first see established in the kingdom of Sweden was in part successfully accepted. In support of the bishopric’s claim, a list of bishops was added to Sigfrid’s legend to prove that the see of Växjö was illegally transferred to Skara and then Linköping before being re-established in Växjö in 1170.<sup>654</sup> It is important to note that the establishing or re-establishing of the bishopric coincides with the composition of the legend, compilation of the bishop’s list and the completion of the cathedral – all acts of legitimization.

In addition, the early-thirteenth century Västgöta Law Codes (*Västgötalagen*) contain a list of bishops which includes Sigfrid and refers to the fact that his bones rest in Växjö.<sup>655</sup> In other words, several sources provide Växjö with support for the fact that the see is a *locus sancti*, containing the bones of this important regional saint. In Sigfrid’s case, which was similar to others, the saint decided where he wished his earthly remains to be buried. Although Sigfrid’s choice was made *ante mortem* and not through a miracle, Sigfrid was apparently divinely inspired and acquiesced with the placement of the future *locus sancti*.<sup>656</sup>

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<sup>651</sup> “...et in locum, qui/ nunc ab incolis dicitur Wexio, Domino ducente, peruenit.” Lundén 1983: 195, ll. 26-28.

<sup>652</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>653</sup> Larsson 1975: 7.

<sup>654</sup> See Fröjmark 1996a: 404, Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>655</sup> Larsson 1975: 7-8.

<sup>656</sup> “Buried in that place that God has pointed out for him.” The text is in *Codex Laurentii Odonis*, which was thought to have been composed in the late-fourteenth century. Edited in Lundén as follows: “*Sepultus est in/ eodem loco, in auo [sic] sibi Deo donante/ pausam elegerat.*” Lundén 1983: 209, ll. 21-23. See also Önnersfors’ edition (where “auo” is “quo”): Önnersfors 1968.

Even though other sources, such as Adam of Bremen's *GH*, do not provide corroborating evidence for Växjö's longevity, they support the story of Sigfrid's activities in Västergötland, including his baptizing of King Olof Skötkonung, which provides Sigfrid with a close link to the Skara Bishopric and not Växjö.<sup>657</sup> However interesting it is to speculate on the possible existence of several missionaries named Sigfrid in the region, it is more likely that there was only one missionary named Sigfrid who was active in both areas due to the integration of one Sigfrid into several diocesan missionary histories.

Växjö, as Sigfrid's place of burial, had a stronger claim over the control of his cult. In the long-term, proponents of the bishopric placement in Växjö successfully appropriated Sigfrid and he became primarily associated with that bishopric. It is important to note that people living in the medieval period believed in Sigfrid's connection to Växjö, which was used to promote Växjö as the rightful bishopric. Furthermore, none of the other dioceses questioned Växjö's claim to have Sigfrid's grave, which in essence supported their claim to the cult's origins.<sup>658</sup>

Sigfrid's legend provided a means of identity-building for Växjö.<sup>659</sup> If the claims were true, it would indicate that Växjö had been founded at least one hundred years before its actual foundation in approximately 1170 and lend credence to the Växjö bishop's list. Moreover, Växjö would have been elevated to the same level as Skara, a diocese with an established history leading back to the missionary period. Despite Växjö's claims, the legend must be seen as a tool of propaganda with the purpose of legitimizing the location and existence of the Växjö Bishopric.<sup>660</sup> In essence, Sigfrid's story was used to write Växjö into the province's official Christianization narrative.

The composition of Sigfrid's legend and the official establishment of Växjö in about 1170 coincide. Thus, Växjö demonstrated a need for a saintly figurehead and a form of validation at this time. Sigfrid provided a missionary story for the bishopric and a pilgrimage destination. Later, the

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<sup>657</sup> For examples, see Larsson 1975: 13-16, Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>658</sup> Fröjmark 1996a: 404.

<sup>659</sup> For another argument which supports the idea that Växjö's diocesan identity can be found in Sigfrid's legend, see Larsson 1975: 6-7. Cf. Mortensen 2006b: 260f..

<sup>660</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014b, Larsson 1975: 8-9, 14-15, 17. Larsson, using Adam of Bremen for comparison, suggests that there is no real historical connection between Sigfrid and Växjö, while that part of his legend is a fabrication. Sigfrid's historicity as a person, however, is not questioned. In fact, Larsson promotes his importance for the spread of Christianity. Larsson 1975: 8-9, 14-15, 17.

associated administrative establishments required to run a diocese would be placed in Växjö adding to the town's prestige.

Concrete evidence that Växjö actively connected Sigfrid to the bishopric as an important saint exists in the use of his image. Firstly, the extant seal of the Växjö Cathedral Chapter from 1292 contains motifs from Sigfrid's legend.<sup>661</sup> Seals such as this one can be interpreted as God-given signs which lent their authority to symbols rather than an actual person, for example a bishop. In addition, a canon from Växjö, Bo, used an image of what appears to be Sigfrid on his seal in 1280. Finally, an early-thirteenth century wooden statue from Hemmesjö Church, near Växjö, most likely depicts Sigfrid, connecting his cult to parishes in the diocese (fig. 14).<sup>662</sup> Hemmesjö was also responsible for providing for a prebendary at the cathedral and had a vested interest in the cathedral, presumably also in terms of promoting it as a *locus sancti*.

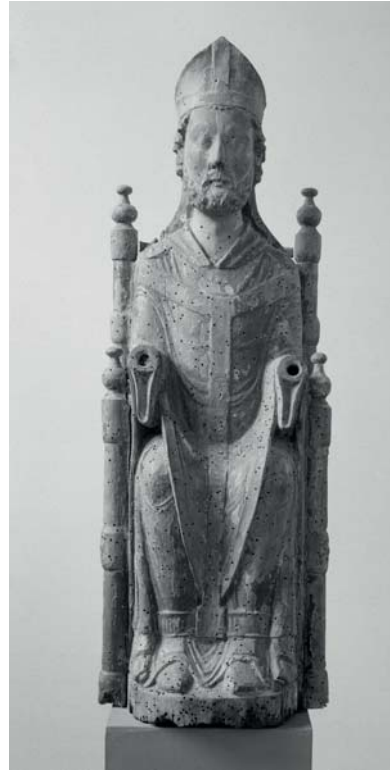


Figure 14. *Statue of Sigfrid, Hemmesjö*  
Photographer: Henrik Hultgren,  
Riksantikvarieämbetet (RAÄ), Sm.  
Hemmesjö gamla kyrka (Smålands  
museum, Växjö), 1962.

Unlike many other missionary saints, Sigfrid was not a martyr. However, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, Sigfrid's legend included three nephews who were martyred while preaching to the pagans: Unaman, Sunaman and Vinaman. The addition can possibly be dated to c. 1206, when the longer version of Sigfrid's legend was composed. The Breviary fragment, BL Add. MS 40146, contains a summary of Sigfrid's

<sup>661</sup> The hand of God raised in blessing and a banner of triumph. RAperg. 1292 20/7, DS 1075. RAperg. 1305 6/12, DS 1489. Nevéus et al. 1997: 27, 64. Moreover, a recent find from the excavations by *Karolinerhuset* in Växjö have unearthed evidence of pilgrimage in honour of Sigfrid. The pilgrim's badge that was found probably dates to the fourteenth century. See <http://karolinerhusetvaxjo.wordpress.com/2013/07/18/unikt-fynd-sankt-sigfrid-medeltida-pilgrimsmarke/>

<sup>662</sup> Larsson 1975: 8-10.



legend which includes his nephews. This fragment has been dated to the second-half of the thirteenth century; therefore, the story was added to his legend by this date.

Due to their connection to Sigfrid's cult, his nephews' place of burial near Växjö was also important in the support of a *locus sancti* for Växjö and supported the claim of Varend being a holy region.<sup>663</sup> Thus, Växjö could be seen as the natural location for the bishopric with a saintly confessor and three martyrs sanctifying the region. Sigfrid was important for the support and defence of Växjö when the decision was made as to the location of sees. The influence of Augustinian historical understanding is important in this case: if a saint supported the placement of a bishopric, it indicated that God had decided on this course of action and it was important not to question the decision.<sup>664</sup>

With regard to the liturgy and the rank of Sigfrid's cult, the contents of the liturgical fragments support the idea that Sigfrid's cult emerged at an early date in Växjö. The earliest fragments containing reference to Sigfrid and his *officium* are from the thirteenth century. One of these fragments is from the Växjö Diocese. The Växjö fragment was originally part of a Breviary. It contains part of Sigfrid's *officium* with musical notation in two columns on the *recto* and *verso* sides of half of a folio with music and antiphons for Laudes and Second Vespers, including a *Benedictus* (fig. 15).<sup>665</sup> Unfortunately, it is unknown how many lessons Sigfrid's *officium* had in this Breviary. In addition, the Calendar and *officium* title are missing so it is impossible to determine the level of observance of his feast from this source. Considering Sigfrid's eventual importance to the bishopric it is likely that his feast enjoyed the same status as in Strängnäs or in the Uppsala Archbishopric: *festum fori/terrae*.<sup>666</sup>

<sup>663</sup> The martyrs' heads were kept in Växjö cathedral, while their bodies were buried at an unknown location. Several reliquaries of various shapes (e.g. a head, arm and foot) and sizes were confiscated in the sixteenth century. See Källström 1939: 301–302. See, also, Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>664</sup> See Larsson 1975: 15–17. This hypothesis works well for Växjö.

<sup>665</sup> Fr 7015 (Table 3.9). The fragment from the Strängnäs Diocese (Fr 25013) with the *Officium Sancti Sigfridi* from Toresund and the “*Additur reliqua officii S. Sigfridi pars ex ceteris codicibus*” on the fragment from Växjö are edited in Önnarfors 1968: 64–80, 80–82. For a note on dating see also Önnarfors 1968: 57, 2006.

<sup>666</sup> In fact, by the fourteenth century the observance of Sigfrid's feast day was required for the laity as well. A fourteenth-century addition to an early-twelfth-century Calendar used in Växjö lists Sigfrid as a *festum fori/terrae* through the “+” notation, despite the use of black ink. Fr 25637 (Table 3.9)





Figure 15. Sigfrid's feast: Laudes (1r, Fr 7015 )

Although Sigfrid was important to Växjö, the diocese also observed or supported the feasts of other native saints, such as the royal saints, Erik the Holy and Knud the Holy. Firstly, Bishop Asker of Växjö was among those who issued an indulgence letter for those honouring Erik the Holy's feast and his octave in 1297.<sup>667</sup> The signing of this letter confirms Växjö's acceptance of the feast that the archbishop was actively promoting. However, any actual indication of the observance of Erik the Holy's feast in the Växjö diocese is from the fourteenth century.<sup>668</sup>

Regarding Knud the Holy, the extant material suggests that his liturgical feast was probably celebrated in some way in Växjö by the twelfth century. However, due to the fragmentary nature of the liturgical books and the uncertain episcopal provenance in the case of many of those used in Småland, it is just as likely that these Breviaries and Calendars were used in Linköping. In two Breviaries dated to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, prayers for Knud the Holy's feast indicate that it was a *festum chori*; however, the number of lessons, and thereby its liturgical rank, is unknown.<sup>669</sup>

Two Calendars from Växjö or Linköping, one dating to the thirteenth century and the other with a thirteenth-century addition of Knud's feast, reveal that his feast was possibly originally celebrated as a *festum fori/terrae*.<sup>670</sup> It is important to note that the latter Calendar was produced in England, with the additions of Olav the Holy and Knud the Holy probably being made in the Lund province before the Calendar was again moved to the Uppsala province. This third provenance is attested to by the addition of the feasts of Sigfrid and Erik the Holy in a third hand in the fourteenth century. Moreover, these later additions suggest that the Calendar was not in use in Växjö but rather in Linköping and that it might not have been used in Växjö until the fourteenth century. Therefore, the thirteenth-century Calendar is the one which shows the initial rank of Knud the Holy's feast in Växjö or Linköping and demonstrates these bishoprics' adherence to the liturgical order of the Lund province.

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<sup>667</sup> The other bishops were from Linköping, Strängnäs, Skara, Västerås and Turku. DS 1200 (Table 3.14)

<sup>668</sup> See Table 3.6 for fragments whose provenance has been linked to Växjö.

<sup>669</sup> Fr 5649 and Fr 6496 (Table 3.11)

<sup>670</sup> Fr 10060 and Fr 25637 (Table 3.11)

A further connection between Växjö and Knud the Holy has been identified in a late-thirteenth century wall-painting in Dädesjö Parish church in the Växjö Bishopric.<sup>671</sup> However, it has been suggested that this picture is simply of a donor to the church or that it is King Knud Magnusen of Denmark (1146–1157) and evidence of the start of a cult in his honour. Moreover, Knud Valdemarsen (Duke of Reval) has also been suggested as a possible candidate. Knud Valdemarsen's mother's father was Guttorm Earl who owned land in Dädesjö, which he later donated to Vreta Convent. In other words, Knud Valdemarsen was a possible patron of the church in Dädesjö. However, it is also possible that the wall-painting was of Knud the Holy (or Knud Lavard), even if it was painted at the request of a donor such as Knud Valdemarsen. It suggests a possible veneration and an awareness of the cult of one of the Knuds until at least the end of the thirteenth century in the Växjö Bishopric.

Due to their proximity, Växjö's history has been tied to that of another bishopric, Linköping. As seen in the case of Sigfrid, Växjö was eager to legitimize its claim to being a bishop's see. Moreover, Växjö was concerned with its right to jurisdiction over an area that Linköping also claimed.

### *Linköping*

The first recorded bishop of Linköping, Gisle, was mentioned as the "episcopus lyngacopensis" in 1139 in connection with Archbishop Eskil's provincial synod. The attendees included four bishops from Denmark, two from Norway and only one from the future Uppsala province.<sup>672</sup> By the 1130s, the first cathedral had been built in Linköping, reportedly on Gisle's initiative.<sup>673</sup> In 1145, Gisle is named in the dedication of the high altar in Lund's cathedral, firmly tying Linköping's early history to that of the Lund province. In about 1230, work was begun on a new, larger stone cathedral in Linköping on the initiative of Bishop Bengt.<sup>674</sup> From the outset, Linköping claimed jurisdiction over Gotland, Öland, Småland and the Baltic mission.<sup>675</sup>

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<sup>671</sup> "Canvts +". Wallin 1975: 151–152, Fröjmark 1996b. See also Oertel 2014.

<sup>672</sup> Schück 1959: 47–48, Blomkvist et al. 2007: 193.

<sup>673</sup> Blomkvist et al. 2007: 193, Schück 1959: 49, Hallencreutz 1996b: 259. Gisle was also recorded as having founded the abbey in Nydala and participated in the dedication of the high altar in Lund's cathedral in 1145.

<sup>674</sup> Källström 2011: 53. DS 1:272

<sup>675</sup> Schück 1959: 49. For further discussion, see Hallencreutz 1996b: 259–260.

Despite Linköping's apparent importance within the Lund province, it was not awarded metropolitan status at the same time as Nidaros, although it appeared that Linköping was initially a contender for a new archsee together with Skara.<sup>676</sup> By the time the ecclesiastical province was established in 1164, Linköping had lost its advantage to Uppsala. Whether or not the existence of cults of native saints were used in order to legitimize a change in Linköping's elevated status is important to consider in this case.

Previous research has claimed that Linköping did not engage in the promotion of the cults of local saints until later in the fourteenth century beginning with the promotion of Birgitta.<sup>677</sup> That is true, in part. From an early date, the diocese was, however, interested in supporting the new cults of native saints promoted by other dioceses in the Uppsala province. In a bid to prove its legitimate status and to incorporate Växjö into the Linköping Bishopric, Linköping made an initial attempt at claiming Sigfrid as its own saint.

This endeavouring to take control of Sigfrid's cult stands in contrast to the cooperative measures in the promotion of Botvid's cult in which Linköping was engaged together with the bishop of Strängnäs. Linköping's claim of being one of the earliest, established bishoprics has a foundation in a variety of sources from the Florence List to synod participation documents. In that respect, it would be reasonable to assume that the Linköping bishops viewed themselves more suitable to administer the church's affairs than Växjö and that they also had the right to be involved in the running of Sigfrid's cult.

Based on the liturgical evidence it can be determined whether or not Sigfrid enjoyed a high rank in the bishopric. The earliest liturgy from Linköping is a thirteenth-century fragment from a *Breviarium cum Missali* from Östergötland. It is unknown exactly how many lessons that Sigfrid's office had in this book, but the fragment contains a Sequence, Collect and *Secreta* (fig. 16).<sup>678</sup> In other words, a specially written Mass for Sigfrid's

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<sup>676</sup> It has been claimed that Linköping was named in connection with the visit of the papal legate Nicolaus of Albano in 1153 by Saxo. However, no direct mention of the town exists in the legate's comment on the Swedish inability to agree on a location for an archsee or on who should be archbishop. Saxo Grammaticus 12th cent. (2005): 14,11,1.

<sup>677</sup> Fröjmark 1992: 67f. Although Ingrid Elofsdotter of Skänninge died before the end of the thirteenth century, she was not promoted as a saint until later in the fifteenth century.

<sup>678</sup> Fr 25020 (Table 3.9) The Collect on 2v is similar to that edited in Lundén; however, on the fragment Sigfrid is *sanctus* and not *beatus*. Cf. Lundén 1983: 189.

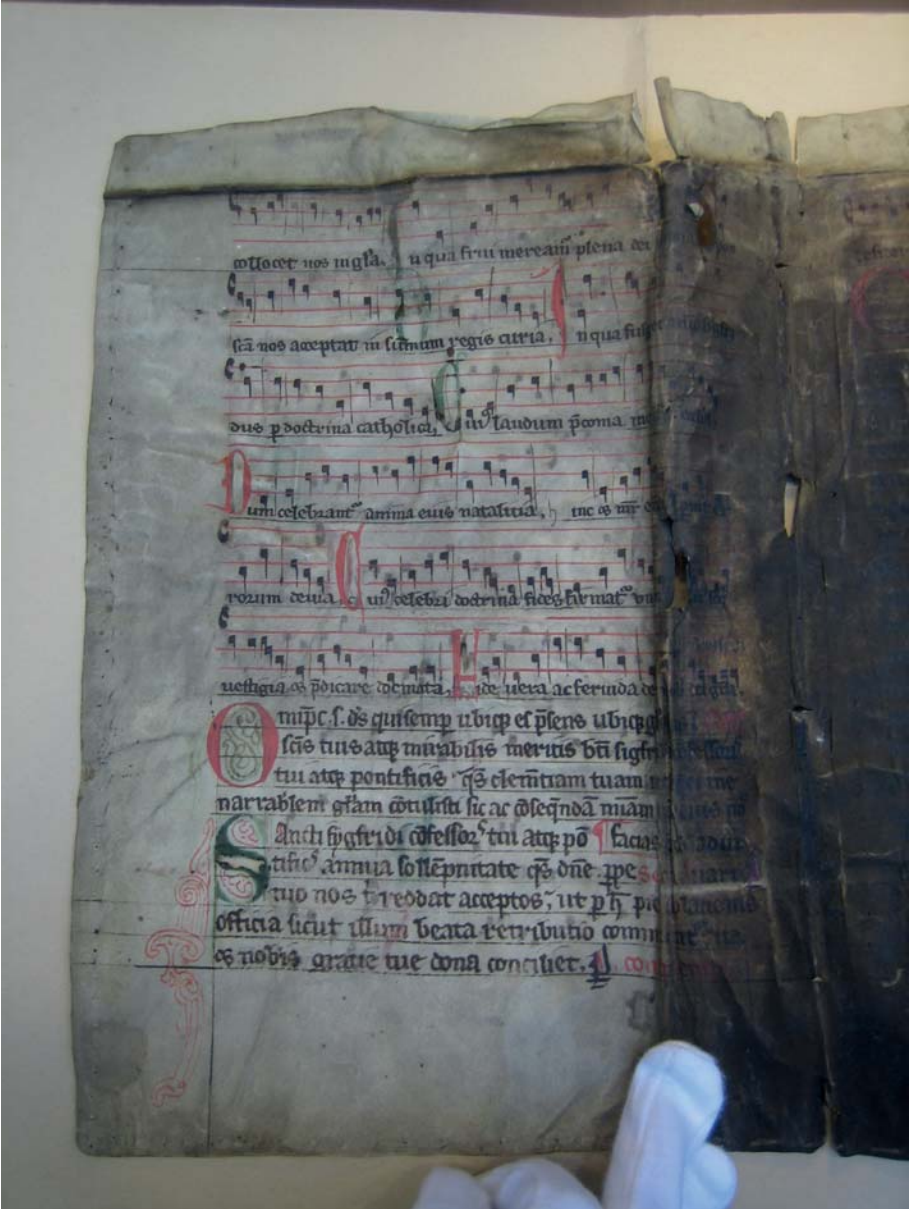


Figure 16. Thirteenth-century *Breviarium cum Missali* with Sigfrid's officium (Fr 25020)



feast day was used in the Linköping Bishopric. Moreover, by the fourteenth century, Sigfrid's feast had been added to a Calendar most likely used in the Linköping diocese with a *festum fori/terrae* observance.<sup>679</sup> Therefore, it is likely that Sigfrid's feast was already important to the Linköping Bishopric in the twelfth century, with a wide observance eventually appearing by the end of the thirteenth century.

Another native saint whose cult was encouraged by the bishops of Linköping before 1300 was Botvid. In 1292, Bishop Isar of Strängnäs responded favourably to Bishop Lars of Linköping's request for relics of Botvid. In addition, the two bishops granted an indulgence for those who came to venerate his relics. The letter was dated "...*die beati Sigfridi confessoris*", indicating that Sigfrid's feast day was common knowledge in both dioceses.<sup>680</sup>

The earliest sign of Linköping's interest in Botvid's cult comes from the Litany of the Saints in a twelfth-century *Rituale* used in Jönköping, part of the Linköping Diocese.<sup>681</sup> His name appears at the bottom of the right-hand column after saints Pancras and Pantaleon.<sup>682</sup> Other liturgical fragments also support Linköping's interest in promoting Botvid's feast at the end of the thirteenth century. A thirteenth or fourteenth-century addition to a Calendar lists Botvid in red ink with a cross notation revealing the observance of his cult to be *festum fori/terrae*. Moreover, nine lessons were prescribed indicating a high liturgical rank.<sup>683</sup> In addition to the strong connection now forged between Linköping and Strängnäs, promoting Botvid's cult indicated that Linköping endorsed the cults of native saints not in the Lund ordinance and wished to promote these feast days.

<sup>679</sup> See also above in connection with the Växjö Bishopric. Fr 25637 (Table 3.9).

<sup>680</sup> DS 1061 (Table 3.13). See above for this letter's connection to the Strängnäs Bishopric.

<sup>681</sup> Fr 28049 (Table 3.3) It is important to note that this early example of Botvid in the Litany could possibly indicate that the *Rituale* was originally produced for use in Strängnäs; however, based on the available evidence, Botvid's feast was relatively wide-spread by 1200 and it is not unlikely that it was part of Linköping's original Litany of the Saints.

<sup>682</sup> These two saints suggest an English influence on the liturgy.

<sup>683</sup> Fr 25620 (Table 3.3) However, a late-fourteenth or early-fifteenth century addition to another Calendar from the Linköping Diocese reveals his feast was a *festum chori* and *simplex*. Future investigation into the modification of Botvid's rank in Linköping in conjunction with the emergence of the bishopric's own local saints in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is required.

Although one of the liturgical fragments comes from a Calendar whose secondary provenance is Strängnäs, its tertiary provenance has been suggested as Linköping.<sup>684</sup> Considering the fact that Eskil was added to the liturgy in the early-thirteenth century in Strängnäs, the Linköping Diocese would probably not have acquired the book containing this Calendar until later. However, it is likely that liturgical veneration of Eskil was also included in the Linköping Diocese at the end of the thirteenth century. By the fourteenth or early-fifteenth century, evidence of Eskil's veneration can also be found in an addition to another Calendar fragment in use in the diocese.<sup>685</sup>

With regard to other Scandinavian saints, Linköping was no exception in its liturgical veneration of Erik the Holy and Knud the Holy. Early veneration of Knud the Holy mirrors the close ties between Linköping and Lund as shown in historiographical writing about the bishopric.<sup>686</sup>

The earliest liturgical evidence for the veneration of Erik the Holy is a Breviary from the thirteenth century.<sup>687</sup> This Breviary contained Erik's office as a *historia rhythmica*, the *Assunt Erici*. It is unknown how many lessons the *officium* originally contained; however, there were at least three as the third lesson is included on the fragment.<sup>688</sup> In addition, there is no indication of the observance of Erik's feast day.

At some later date, a Calendar whose original provenance was Stängnäs was transferred to Linköping.<sup>689</sup> Erik the Holy's feast had been added to the Calendar in the thirteenth century in Strängnäs. When the Calendar was taken into use in the Linköping Bishopric, Erik's feast day was not changed from a *festum chori*. Thus, it is possible that the thirteenth-century Breviary with Erik's *officium* was also celebrated as a *festum chori*. However, the number of lessons are not indicated and it is unclear what the liturgical rank of Erik's feast was on this Calendar.

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<sup>684</sup> MPO-database.

<sup>685</sup> Fr 25599 (Table 3.7) Elin of Skövde first appears in the liturgy of the Linköping diocese in the fourteenth or early-fifteenth century in the same Calendar fragment as Eskil. Both feasts were added by the same hand. (Table 3.5)

<sup>686</sup> Schück 1959: 46-47.

<sup>687</sup> Fr 22220 and Fr 22512 (Table 3.6)

<sup>688</sup> Fr 22512 (Table 3.6)

<sup>689</sup> Fr 25621-25622 (Table 3.6) See also above in relation to Strängnäs.



In support of the *festum chori* observance, a further Calendar fragment from the Linköping Bishopric contains a late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century addition of Erik the Holy's feast. This addition was written in black, indicating a *festum chori*. Again, no lessons are given.<sup>690</sup> Finally, by the fourteenth century, additions to Calendars from Linköping, although in black, contain a cross notation indicating a *festum fori/terrae* and a shift to a more general observance of Erik's feast.<sup>691</sup>

The bishops of Linköping demonstrated acceptance of Erik the Holy's feast that the archbishopric was actively promoting in the thirteenth century. At a bishop's synod in 1297, Bishop Lars of Linköping, together with the bishops of Strängnäs and Växjö, Lars and Magnus, composed a letter of indulgence for those from their dioceses who visited Uppsala Cathedral on a number of days, including the feast days of St Laurence and St Erik, plus their octaves: "...in festis beatorum Laurencij et Erii Martirum ac per Octo...".<sup>692</sup> This letter demonstrates conformity with Uppsala at the end of the thirteenth century and support for the renewed initiative to promote the cult of the holy king and his *locus sancti*.

A thirteenth-century Calendar fragment used in Linköping records Knud the Holy's feast as a *festum fori/terrae* in red ink and the high liturgical rank of *duplex*.<sup>693</sup> It is also possible that this fragment originated in the Lund province and Knud the Holy's feast was not celebrated as such in Linköping. No alterations to his feast were made, however, which makes it likely that his feast was observed as a *duplex*.<sup>694</sup>

By the 1290s, as evidenced by a letter from Bishop Lars of Linköping in 1294, the cult of, presumably, Knud the Holy was important enough to necessitate the creation of a law regarding behaviour on the days after the feast of Knud the Holy. Bishop Lars writes: "...proximo die post festum beati Kanuti in ecclesis suis celebrant..."<sup>695</sup> The letter included punishments if the

<sup>690</sup> Fr 25640 (Table 3.6)

<sup>691</sup> Fr 25637 (Table 3.6) A fourteenth or early-fifteenth century addition to a Calendar from Linköping contains Erik's feast in black ink with the liturgical rank of *duplex* (Fr 25599). It is possible that the feasts of Linköping's new, local saints led to this change in observance.

<sup>692</sup> DS 1200 (Table 3.14)

<sup>693</sup> Fr 25599 (Table 3.11)

<sup>694</sup> According to the later Calendar from the *Breviarium Lincopense* (1493), in the later Middle Ages his feast was a *semi-duplex*.

<sup>695</sup> DS 111 (Table 3.21)

rules were not followed, indicating the importance of Knud the Holy's feast day for the clergy, but also the fact that many probably ignored these rules.

Support for the importance of Knud the Holy's feast for the laity is found in a will, most likely from Småland, benefitting Alvastra Abbey. Kristina Fastesdotter donated property to a number of monasteries, churches and individuals. Her donation to Alvastra included an unusual, commissioned carving: an image of Knud on the tooth or tusk of a walrus.<sup>696</sup> Alvastra enjoyed a special connection with the Linköping Bishopric and evidence of the monks' special interest in acquiring an image of Knud supports the importance of this saint in the diocese. The donation could also indicate that Kristina had a special connection to the cults of royal saints in Denmark.

In other words, Knud the Holy's feast day was important, especially liturgically, at an early date in the Linköping Bishopric. The observance of his feast further supports the connection of the bishopric to the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund. However, other high-ranking feasts from the Lund province do not appear in the pre-1300 liturgical material from Linköping, for instance Vilhelm of Æbelholt and Kjeld of Viborg. The importance of Knud the Holy's feast could also be a way of, at least initially, demonstrating the bishopric's wish to be autonomous in the choice of which new feasts it celebrated.

Knud the Holy's relative and namesake, Knud Lavard, can be found in a thirteenth-century Missal from Linköping.<sup>697</sup> The number of lessons is unknown, while this feast's observance was designated *festum fori/terrae*. This designation is partly due to the acquisition of liturgical books from the Lund Province. The observance of Knud Lavard's feast day illustrates the importance of observing royal feasts from the Lund province.<sup>698</sup> This fragment is the only evidence of Knud Lavard's feast in the bishopric; however, it suggests an early observance of his cult and an attempt to establish a general observance.<sup>699</sup>

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<sup>696</sup> DS 855 (Table 3.21) "*Et ymaginem beati Kanuti de dente cetino... quam monachis de aluastro prius promisi.*"

<sup>697</sup> Fr 7989 (Table 3.12)

<sup>698</sup> The other fragment with a fourteenth-century addition of Knud Lavard's feast does not reveal the number of lessons nor the observance of the feast. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the fragment's provenance more specifically than the Uppsala province. Fr 25979 (Table 3.12)

<sup>699</sup> With regards to his cult's status in the later medieval period, Knud Lavard is not found in the Calendar attached to the *Breviarium Lincopense* from 1493 on either feast day.

Although it appeared that Linköping had early aspirations to be an archbishopric, that honour was instead awarded to a relative newcomer, Uppsala. If, at first, Linköping had looked to Lund and its promotion of native saints, it would now have been important to observe the saints that this new archbishopric promoted. It appears, however, to have taken Linköping until the late-thirteenth century to have done so.

*Uppsala (From Sigtuna to Gamla Uppsala and Östra Aros)*

One of the bishoprics found on the Florence List was Sigtuna. The last bishop of Sigtuna was expelled from Sweden, probably due to local resistance, and died in a battle at Fotevik in Skåne in 1134. He was not replaced. Beginning in 1123, Sigtuna coexisted with a new bishopric established in Gamla Uppsala. This new bishopric was apparently formed as the result of reconciliation between Archbishop Adalbero of Hamburg-Bremen and Pope Calixtus II and enabled Adalbero to ordain one of his clerics as a bishop in Sweden.<sup>700</sup>

Although Bishop Siward of Uppsala resided in Germany from 1134-1157, it is believed that the bishopric of Sigtuna was merged with Gamla Uppsala by 1140. The amalgamation of the two bishoprics was influenced by a conflict between Archbishop Ascer of Lund and Archbishop Adalbero of Hamburg-Bremen. However, a later source from the 1250s claimed that King Sverker took the initiative to found a cathedral in Gamla Uppsala.<sup>701</sup> In 1164, Gamla Uppsala became the archbishopric with jurisdiction over the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala. In the mid-thirteenth century, the archsee, retaining the name Uppsala, was transferred to Östra Aros and as a consequence the town was renamed Uppsala by 1286 at the latest. These events in the history of the archbishopric are reflected in the new cults of saints.

Initially, the connection of Sigtuna and, subsequently, Uppsala to the Lund province affected which cults of new saints the bishopric venerated, although Lund's influence was not absolute. By the end of the twelfth century, the death of Erik the Holy at Östra Aros would lead to an opportunity for a local cult in the Uppsala Archbishopric. Erik the Holy's death provided

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<sup>700</sup> Blomkvist et al. 2007: 186, Hallencreutz 1996b: 261.

<sup>701</sup> Blomkvist et al. 2007: 186, 193, Hallencreutz 1996b: 261.

the new archbishopric with the geographical legitimacy for its placement.<sup>702</sup> The relatively new bishopric in Gamla Uppsala did not have a local saint at first. Later, with the shrine of a holy king in the cathedral, Uppsala could legitimize its claims of having a superior *locus sancti*.<sup>703</sup>

The earliest evidence for Erik's liturgical cult appeared in the Vallentuna Calendar from 1198, to which the later addition of a cross and *festum* indicated a *festum fori/terra* observance by the thirteenth century; however, no liturgical rank is provided.<sup>704</sup> The late-twelfth century elevation of Erik and inclusion of his feast day in the liturgy demonstrated an interest for the cult on an ecclesiastical level. In fact, this interest highlighted an attempt by the new archdiocese to create a royal saint for itself. Thus, the newest Scandinavian archdiocese connected itself with and supported the idea of royal sainthood. However, it was not until the relocation of the archbishopric from Old Uppsala to Östra Aros in the thirteenth century that interest in the promotion of Erik's cult was renewed. The location of Erik's martyrdom in his legend was a powerful *locus sancti* and, thus, an appropriate site for the re-located cathedral and bishop's see.

With regard to his liturgical cult in Uppsala, Erik the Holy's feast had achieved a *totum duplex* status by the end of the thirteenth century. This change in liturgical rank corresponds to the reinvigoration that Erik's cult saw in the later thirteenth century. By the end of the thirteenth century, it appears that Erik's *officium* consisted of nine lessons.<sup>705</sup> Moreover, as evidenced by the same Calendar, Erik's feast was observed as a *festum fori/terrae*.

However, a later addition to a Missal suggests that by the late-thirteenth century the liturgy for Erik's feast day still had three lessons.<sup>706</sup> Conversely, a different late-thirteenth century addition to a Calendar states that his feast's liturgical rank was *totum duplex*, while the black ink implies a *festum chori*

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<sup>702</sup> Cf. Sands 2008: 210.

<sup>703</sup> Schück 1959: 49-50. It has been claimed that Linköping was mentioned in connection with the visit of the papal legate Nicolaus of Albano in 1153 by Saxo. However, no direct mention of the town exists in his comment on the Swedish inability to agree on a location for an archsee or an archbishop. Saxo Grammaticus 12th cent. (2005): 14,11,1.

<sup>704</sup> Vallentuna Calendar (Table 3.6). See, also, Helmfrid 1998, Helander 1959a, Kroon 1947: 85.

<sup>705</sup> Fr 25598 (Table 3.6)

<sup>706</sup> Fr 262333 (Table 3.6)

observance.<sup>707</sup> The difference between this fragment and the others from the Uppsala Archbishopric could indicate that the ink in this case is misleading and the feast was understood to be a *festum fori/terrae*. Another possibility is that the book was not used in the cathedral or a parish church but, instead, in a monastic setting where the *festum chori* designation was sufficient.

Further support for an original three-lesson feast with wide observance is found in a thirteenth century Breviary, apparently produced for Uppsala, which also designates Erik the Holy's feast as a *festum fori/terrae* with three lessons. Judging by the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century additions to the Calendar, the book was later used in Strängnäs. However, the original observance points to Uppsala. In addition, the earliest extant version of Erik's legend is the short one found in this same Breviary.<sup>708</sup>

Thus, the Uppsala bishopric found Erik the Holy to be worthy of a liturgical feast from the outset. Although initially a simple, *festum chori*, the archbishopric's move from Gamla Uppsala to Östra Aros/Uppsala corresponded in a renewed interest in promoting the cult of the holy king.<sup>709</sup> This interest included a rise in liturgical rank and a shift towards a general observance of Erik's feast day throughout the archbishopric and, as has been discussed, an attempt was made to encourage the other bishoprics to do the same.<sup>710</sup>

In addition to the renewed liturgical interest in Erik in the mid-thirteenth century, by 1278, Erik the Holy was selected as co-patron of the cathedral together with St Laurence. The use of Erik the Holy on the seal also coincided with the transfer of Uppsala to Östra Aros and mirrors his importance to the cathedral chapter.<sup>711</sup> Even during the re-promotion of

<sup>707</sup> Fr 25601 (Table 3.6)

<sup>708</sup> BL Add. MS 40156 (Table 3.6)

<sup>709</sup> It is important to note that potential evidence of the promotion of Erik the Holy's cult at an earlier date can be found in the late-twelfth century wall-painting in Eriksberg Church. The church was built at around the time of Erik's rule and is thought to have been located on a royal estate. However, the painting's association with Erik the Holy and his martyrdom is highly uncertain. Other evidence for an early cult of Erik in the area is absent. In addition, when Erik's feast day was added to all of the diocesan Calendars, Skara was the only diocese in which he did not enjoy the highest rank. See above and Hernfjäll 1993: 33-36, 41-42. See also the discussion in Oertel 2013: 101-103, Oertel 2014: 83, 85-86.

<sup>710</sup> By the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, Erik's feast had spread to most bishoprics, with the exception of Växjö. In many dioceses it was listed as a *duplex* by the end of the fourteenth century and had indeed become an important liturgical feast.

<sup>711</sup> The seal of Uppsala's cathedral chapter from 1278 is the next oldest extant seal from the province: RAperg. 1292 20/7, DS 1075. Nevéus et al. 1997: 18, 63. Both of the church's patron saints are featured on it: Laurence on the front and, on the back, Erik the Holy.

his cult in the thirteenth century, Erik was a multilocal or regional saint. Most of Erik's miracles (reportedly from the late-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) show that his cult was originally a multilocal one with most of the miracles having taken place in the region of Lake Mälaren, although some are connected to Jämtland. Later, in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the miracles take on a more "national character".<sup>712</sup>

The fact that Östra Aros was a port town with considerably more visitors and traffic than the old cultic site of Gamla Uppsala has been postulated as one reason for moving the bishop's see.<sup>713</sup> Erik's cult would subsequently have been used to legitimise this move in a spiritual sense. Building a new cathedral in the same location as Erik's last mass and near his place of death, as well as transferring the bishop's seat, was a way of tying the institution to a holy spot in the landscape, a *locus sancti*, which gave the move even more validity. In terms of pilgrimage, a well-trafficked location would fare better than a hard to reach cultic location. In other words, the geographical position of the locus of a cult of a saint could have had a bearing on whether or not the cult became popular.<sup>714</sup>

From the middle of the thirteenth century until about 1300, there was a flurry of activity around the cult of Erik, especially as evidenced by the diploma material. Both Pope Alexander IV and Pope Clement IV wrote letters confirming indulgences to those who visited Erik's tomb on his feast day.<sup>715</sup> These indulgences ranged from 40 to 100 days and were addressed to the Archdeacon and cathedral chapter in Uppsala.

Moreover, one of these letters, written in 1270 included an indulgence for those paying an annual visit to the cathedral on Erik the Holy's feast day and its octave. The latter celebration indicated a high status cult in the bishopric. It is important to note that these letters were written after the decision was made to move the cathedral from Gamla Uppsala to Östra

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<sup>712</sup> Sands 2008: 213. For additional analysis regarding the different ordering of miracles in different manuscripts and a feasible dating of the miracle cult around Erik to the end of the thirteenth century, see Lindqvist 1954.

<sup>713</sup> Cf. Sands 2008: 211.

<sup>714</sup> Sand suggests that a pilgrim-attracting competition between Erik and Olav existed. However, considering the relatively remote location of Olav's shrine in Nidaros and his eventual position as co-patron in Uppsala, it is apparent that other factors were important to prompt the initial promotion of Erik's cult. Sands 2008: 211-212. See also Bengtsson and Lovén 2012.

<sup>715</sup> DS 435, DS 523, DS 533 (Table 3.14)

Aros, but before the move took place in January 1273.<sup>716</sup> They are also an important indicator of the fact that Erik's cult was actively promoted by the bishopric, which even sought papal legitimization of pilgrimage activity there. Moreover, although the decision to move the cathedral also had other underlying reasons, the renewed interest in Erik's cult could have been directly related to the coming decision to move the cathedral to his place of martyrdom – a *locus sancti* – providing a sanctified legitimization of the move and the new placement of the cathedral.

At a synod in 1271, bishops from Linköping, Strängnäs, Skara, Västerås, Turku and Växjö all ratified a letter of indulgence for those who annually visited the cathedral on Erik's feast day, as well as his octave.<sup>717</sup> This letter was written and issued in connection with the moving of the cathedral to Östra Aros. Further letters from the papacy referring to Erik the Holy's cult include letters of indulgence written relatively recently after the transfer of Erik's relics to their new shrine in the 1270s and worth a year and forty days of indulgence.<sup>718</sup>

Letters of donation from the 1270s written by the Dean of the cathedral and a canon contain details of donations to the cathedral and plans to create a prebendary in honour of the cathedral's patrons, Erik and Laurence.<sup>719</sup> By these letters of indulgence and donations, the Uppsala clerics were involved in the promotion of Erik's cult by explicitly supporting its renewal.

By the 1280s, Erik the Holy's name was used by the archbishops to legitimize their authority in letters of indulgence for those who aided the mendicants in establishing their presence in the Uppsala Archbishopric.<sup>720</sup> These letters show support for the mendicants and reinforce the fact that the statements of the archbishops are justified through the authority of God, St Laurence and St Erik. In addition, Erik the Holy was explicitly invoked as a protector by bishop-elects.

The authority of Erik the Holy was also referred to in the 1290s by

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<sup>716</sup> DS 546. The letter was issued by King Valdemar Birgersson in 1270 together with other churchmen and nobles. A bull from Alexander IV (SDHK 769) written in the 1250s provided permission for the move. For further discussion on the process, see, among others, Pernler 1999: 29-31.

<sup>717</sup> DS 553 (Table 3.14)

<sup>718</sup> DS 1145 (Table 3.14)

<sup>719</sup> DS 876, DS 1036 (Table 3.14) For further analysis of these letters, see Dahlbäck 1977.

<sup>720</sup> DS 731, DS 734, DS 1025 (Table 3.14)



archbishops in connection with issuing indulgence letters for various purposes, as well as when the archbishop issued letters of protection.<sup>721</sup> Bishops from Linköping, Strängnäs and Växjö issued an indulgence letter for pilgrims to Erik the Holy's shrine in 1297 at a bishop's synod.<sup>722</sup> This letter demonstrates inter-diocesan solidarity with Uppsala. In addition, the letters demonstrate acceptance of the feast by the other bishops, supporting a cult that the archbishopric was actively promoting and encouraging members of their own dioceses to actively participate in the cults of other native saints.<sup>723</sup>

Further examples of administration concerning the cult of Erik the Holy include synodal statutes for the Uppsala Archbishopric with rules for fasting and working on certain feast days. Erik's feast day was one in which work had to have been finished before the main meal.<sup>724</sup> By 1300, the archbishop needed to modify earlier provincial rules regarding the masses to be celebrated for certain saints each year, including Erik the Holy.<sup>725</sup> These important liturgical specifications included at what liturgical hours they were to be celebrated, for example at Terce, prayers at the third hour, for Erik.

By 1291, Erik's feast day was used in dating letters within the Uppsala Archbishopric, as shown in a donation letter to Sko Nunnery by one Magnus Johansson of Sigtuna. The use of his feast in dating indicates a general knowledge about the day in the area and, as the donator was a layperson, suggests evidence of the feast day's celebration by the laity.<sup>726</sup> Moreover, this use of Erik's feast day shows the importance of the cult in the Uppsala Archbishopric. The feast day can also be found in a letter from 1290 which contains a reference to the date a will was created ("*... ante festum beati Erici regis et martyris...*").<sup>727</sup> Further examples of dating

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<sup>721</sup> Indulgences: DS 1298, DS 1230, DS 1241, DS 1331. It is interesting to note the relatively large number of indulgence letters benefitting Sko Monastery which were issued by the archbishops. Protection: DS 1189 (Table 3.14)

<sup>722</sup> DS 1200 (Table 3.14)

<sup>723</sup> This is in accordance with André's preliminary study on medieval letters of indulgence in the Uppsala province. André 1992: 89, 93, 104, André 1975: 220-21.

<sup>724</sup> DS 1187 from 1297 (Table 3.14)

<sup>725</sup> DS 1746 (Table 3.14)

<sup>726</sup> DS 1049 (Table 3.14) Cf. Oertel's view that veneration of the laity is shown through commissioning of artwork rather than by the common-knowledge of feast days; however, in this early period, artwork of local saints was rarely commissioned or is no longer extant. Oertel 2014: 244ff.

<sup>727</sup> DS 1015 (Table 3.14)

are all made by archbishops or those connected to the Uppsala Cathedral Chapter.<sup>728</sup>

Despite all of this focus on Erik the Holy, the Uppsala archbishopric also venerated other cults of native saints, at least liturgically. Firstly, Knud the Holy is found in the Vallentuna Calendar.<sup>729</sup> His feast was a *festum chori* with an unknown number of lessons. By the thirteenth century, Knud the Holy's Mass was still found in Missals; however, the number of lessons and degree of observance of his feast are unknown. By the second-half of the thirteenth century, a Breviary originally used in Uppsala lists his feast as a *festum fori/terrae* with nine lessons.<sup>730</sup> Shortly thereafter in the early-fourteenth century, the observance of his feast was only required as a *festum chori*.<sup>731</sup> It is possible that the observance of Knud the Holy's feast day was diminished, at least initially before the Kalmar Union, due to Uppsala's focus on its own native saint, Erik the Holy, as well as the increased importance of celebrating numerous other feasts of Swedish saints in July.

The only other fragment containing the feast of another royal saint, Knud Lavard, other than the one used in Linköping, includes a fourteenth-century addition of his *officium*. This Missal was used at an unknown location within the Uppsala province.<sup>732</sup> Presumably, considering its date, this addition was approved of by the archbishopric. However, without knowledge of the number of lessons or the extent of the observance of the feast, it is difficult to determine Knud Lavard's status within the archbishopric. Presumably the observance of his cult had made way for other native saints by this time.<sup>733</sup>

These other native saints included Botvid, Eskil and Sigfrid. Eskil appears in the Vallentuna Calendar as a *festum fori/terrae* with nine lessons.<sup>734</sup> By the thirteenth century, a Calendar from Uppland lists Eskil's feast as a

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<sup>728</sup> DS 1071, DS 1743 (Table 3.14)

<sup>729</sup> Table 3.11

<sup>730</sup> BL Add. MS 40146 (Table 3.11). Olav the Holy was also included in the original Breviary and Calendar, as a *festum fori/terrae* but with three lessons.

<sup>731</sup> Fr 25601 with an addition in about 1300 and Fr 25601 with an early-fourteenth century addition. Both additions are in black with no information about the number of lessons. (Table 3.11)

<sup>732</sup> Fr 25979 (Table 3.12)

<sup>733</sup> See the discussion on guilds in Chapter Four.

<sup>734</sup> Table 3.7

*festum chori* in black ink with nine lessons.<sup>735</sup> Thus, Eskil's feast was still important liturgically by the end of the thirteenth century. A Missal from the archbishopric includes his Mass with a possible *festum fori/terrae* designation. However, this conclusion is uncertain as all of the titles in the Missal could have been written in red, not just *festum fori/terrae*.<sup>736</sup> Unfortunately the Calendar for this Missal is lost which prevents a comparison. Nonetheless, by the fourteenth century, the liturgical fragments reveal that Eskil's feast day was a *festum chori* in Uppsala, usually with nine lessons, thus, a liturgically important feast for the clergy but not the laypeople.

On the other hand, the feast of Botvid retained its general observance from the initial inclusion of a liturgical feast in his honour until, at least, 1300. Botvid's name was included in the Vallentuna Calendar from 1198 with a cross, symbolizing a *festum fori/terrae* observance at this early date.<sup>737</sup>

In addition, Botvid's name was included in a thirteenth-century Calendar used in Uppsala, also with *festum fori/terrae* observance and nine lessons.<sup>738</sup> Finally in about 1300, Botvid's name was added to a Calendar with nine lessons, indicating that his liturgical rank had been maintained.<sup>739</sup> The Breviary produced for Uppsala, but later used in Strängnäs, does not include Botvid in the original list of lessons; however, his feast was later added to the Calendar in the fourteenth century, probably in Strängnäs.<sup>740</sup> It is apparent that Botvid's feast was important from the outset in the Uppsala Archbishopric and that it maintained its liturgical importance through to 1300.

Finally, Sigfrid's feast was also celebrated in the Uppsala Archbishopric as evidenced by his inclusion in a thirteenth-century Antiphony.<sup>741</sup> Although the title for the Collect for Sigfrid's feast is in red, this choice of ink does not indicate the observance for his feast. The Collect is evidence of a longer office for Sigfrid's feast which was celebrated in Uppsala and would have been sung.<sup>742</sup>

<sup>735</sup> Fr 25598 (Table 3.7) Brunius suggests that the Calendar was used in Stockholm. Discussion with Jan Brunius September 2006.

<sup>736</sup> LUB Fragment 117 (Table 3.7)

<sup>737</sup> Table 3.3

<sup>738</sup> Fr 25598 (Table 3.3)

<sup>739</sup> As mentioned in conjunction with other saints, the black ink used to write in Botvid's name could have indicated a *festum chori*; however, it is uncertain. Fr 25601 (Table 3.3)

<sup>740</sup> BL Add. 40146 (Table 3.3) It is also possible, considering the lack of native saints on the original Calendar besides the royal kings, that the Calendar was not completed before it was delivered to Strängnäs.

<sup>741</sup> Fr 20315 (Table 3.9)

<sup>742</sup> Lined musical notation follows the title. Fr 20315 (Table 3.9).

It is not known what liturgical rank the feast had or its observance in this case.<sup>743</sup>

Although the following does not indicate a *festum terrae/fori*, Sigfrid's feast was certainly well-known in the Uppsala archbishopric by the 1290s. Evidence of this comes in the form of a letter from the Archbishop of Uppsala to Ragunda church. In addition to the previously mentioned reference to Erik the Holy, the archbishop uses Sigfrid's feast day to date the letter: "*Die beati Sigfridi confessoris.*"<sup>744</sup> This letter-dating indicates that Sigfrid was also venerated in this bishopric to such an extent that his feast day was common knowledge for, at the very least, the clergy and, by extension, most likely also the laity.<sup>745</sup>

Due to the intertwining legends of their eventual patron saints, Uppsala and the following bishopric were often linked. The stories surrounding Erik the Holy and Henrik of Finland described them as having gone on a crusade to Finland, which was already settled by Christians. The military endeavour was undertaken partly to ensure a successful mission for which Henrik was responsible.

### *Turku*

The diocese of Turku was most likely established in the 1220s. It is thought that the first Finnish see was placed at Nousis or Rântämäki, north of Turku, and run by a missionary bishop. Later, in about 1220, the bishopric was moved to Korois. Finally, at the end of the thirteenth century, the bishop's residence was moved to Unikankare, in present-day Turku, and construction was begun on the cathedral.<sup>746</sup>

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<sup>743</sup> Sigfrid and Eskil's inclusion in the later-added List of Lessons in BL Add. MS 40146 most probably indicates their liturgical observance in Strängnäs and coincides with the book's transfer from Uppsala.

<sup>744</sup> DS 1189 (Table 3.19)

<sup>745</sup> By 1300, the observance of Sigfrid's feast day was wide-spread in the Uppsala province and he was venerated in many locations such as Ragunda, Närke, Örebro and Riseberga. See DS 1292, DS 1189 and DS 1304 (Table 3.19)

<sup>746</sup> See Skovgaard-Petersen 1997: 65. Regarding the debate of when Turku became a bishopric, and the fact that in 1232 Nousis was no longer a bishop's church, see also Gallén 1978: esp. 319ff. Lehtonen dates the move to 1229. Lehtonen 2007: 16. Blomkvist et al. 2007: 195.

By this date, the ecclesiastical administration can be seen to have stabilized in Finland with the establishment of a permanent see, replacing the system of a missionary bishop in charge of the territory. However, it is also possible that the cathedral was not consecrated until the 1290s.<sup>747</sup>

Henrik's translation from his original resting place into the new cathedral marks the beginning of the official, active promotion of his cult.<sup>748</sup> The promotion of the cult of this new saint was also used in the legitimization of the relocation or location of a bishopric. In this case, the burial place of the saint was considered the important *locus sancti* and, in a similar move to that employed in Uppsala with the translation of Erik the Holy, Henrik's body and shrine were moved to the new cathedral. By the end of the fifteenth century, Henrik's importance was confirmed as he was made the patron saint of the Turku Diocese.

An interest in Henrik's cult was beneficial to his own diocese of Turku, which was in the process of establishing more secure foundations in the area including the transfer of the bishopric to Turku and the building of a new cathedral. Henrik's part in legitimizing these events was an early-thirteenth century application of his sanctity.<sup>749</sup>

Henrik's early liturgy can be found on a thirteenth-century Breviary fragment held in Lund's University Library. The liturgical rank of Henrik's feast is unfortunately impossible to determine as only two lessons have been

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<sup>747</sup> Gallén 1978: 321-323.

<sup>748</sup> An active promotion of Henrik's cult is most prominent from the mid-1300s, while the first known mention of his sharing the honour of being one of the cathedral's patron saints with the Virgin Mary is from 1320. Gallén 1978: 323-324. Lehtonen also supports the translation as occurring in about 1300 at about the time of the dedication of the new cathedral in Turku. Furthermore, an analysis of the Latin legends and the *Kvädet om bishop Henriks bane* demonstrate the use of Henrik's cult in promoting canon law and justice, as well as the importance of a strong, pious king and ecclesiastical rights. This use of Henrik's cult for didactic and ecclesiastical promotional purposes continued throughout the Middle Ages. It began in the thirteenth century with the establishment of the see in Turku. Presumably Henrik's legend was originally composed in about 1280-1290. See Lehtonen 2007: 16, Heikkilä 2009: 229-235. For an overview of different stages in the cult of Henrik (and Sunniva), see DuBois 2008.

<sup>749</sup> For a discussion of how the cults of saints were used to create the past in relation to Henrik of Finland's cult, see Lehtonen 2007: esp. 18-20. See also Heikkilä 2009.

preserved.<sup>750</sup> It is also possible that these lessons were for a *memoria*, although the title is given as “*officium S. Henrici*”. The fragment’s provenance within the Uppsala province cannot be determined more specifically, although it was most likely used in the Turku Bishopric, based on the inclusion of this particular saint’s office. The fragment’s date, however, shows that Henrik’s cult was important enough to have been granted a liturgy at around the same time as the resurgence of interest in his royal counterpart, Erik the Holy, in the Uppsala Province. Furthermore, this fragment supports the theory that his cult was established on an official, textual level sometime during the thirteenth century.<sup>751</sup>

According to later sources, Henrik expressly requested upon his death that a church be built nearby.<sup>752</sup> It was believed that the saint had directly instructed his followers to found a church and perhaps even establish a cult in his honour. However, this story is not found in the lessons for Henrik’s feast day and was most likely a later fabrication to justify the creation of a cult and *loca sanctorum* for the diocese. By about 1300, the archbishop began to clarify the liturgical procedures for certain feast days. Among the saints affected was Henrik, presumably due to his interconnectivity with Erik the Holy whose feast also received regulations at the same time. The archbishop of Uppsala issued provincial guidelines for which masses and at which liturgical hour Henrik’s cult should be celebrated. As with Erik the Holy, Henrik’s prayers were to be said at Terce on his feast day. Moreover, Henrik is described as a bishop and saint of Finland.<sup>753</sup>

In the Turku Bishopric, another foundation, independent of the bishop, was established that also influenced which saints were venerated. In particular, the Dominicans, whose first convent was founded in Turku in 1249, were important to the organization of the bishopric. Bishop Thomas was also a Dominican. His work in organizing the diocese during the

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<sup>750</sup> LUB fragment 106 (Table 3.8) Heikkilä suggests that the manuscript was produced in the early-fourteenth century and that the *officium* had six lessons; however, the paleographical basis for this dating could also place it in the late-thirteenth century. Heikkilä 2009: 211-212.

<sup>751</sup> Textual evidence, dateable to about the 1280s, exists for both Henrik and Erik the Holy. This version of his office probably dates to around that time. See DuBois 2008: 72, Heikkilä 2009: 55-56.

<sup>752</sup> DuBois 2008: 80.

<sup>753</sup> DS 1746 (Table 3.17)

first-half of the thirteenth century set the stage for the following period.<sup>754</sup>

Among those saints found in the Dominican material in the Turku bishopric are Erik the Holy, Elin of Skövde and Eskil of Tuna, whose feasts are included in a Dominican Missal used in Turku. Erik the Holy's feast day was written in red in the original, thirteenth-century hand in the Calendar, indicating a *festum fori/terrae*.<sup>755</sup> The liturgical rank of his feast is given as *simplex*, indicating a normal rank for the cult.

Elin's feast was added in the late-thirteenth century in black (*festum chori*); however, the fragment has been cut where information about the liturgical rank of her feast might have been found. The fact that Elin's feast day was entered on July 31 indicates that the addition of her feast was not connected to the Skara Bishopric, but instead from the Uppsala Archbishopric or elsewhere in the province.<sup>756</sup> Finally, Eskil's feast was added in the fourteenth century in black (*festum chori*) as a *simplex*.<sup>757</sup>

From this evidence, it is clear that the Dominicans accepted and assisted in the spread of the cults of native saints within the Uppsala province. These saints were promoted in addition to the saints usually associated with their order. Although not directly under the jurisdiction of the bishop, in this particular diocese the Dominicans were influential and it is possible that they were partially responsible for the importation of cults of saints from other areas of the Uppsala province to this region.

Erik the Holy can also be found in a Litany of the Saints from Turku, not associated with the Dominican Order. His name is at the top of the second page, before Olav the Holy – a possible indication of the greater reverence shown him than Olav.<sup>758</sup> Moreover, fragments of other Missals and Breviaries from Turku, probably from the fourteenth century, also contain reference to Erik's feast.<sup>759</sup> Unfortunately the liturgical rank of his feast is unknown in these examples.

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<sup>754</sup> Lindkvist 1996: 233. Within the Uppsala province, this Dominican influence is unique to Turku, as early foundations in the rest of the province were mostly Cistercian. It is interesting to note that Turku has parallels in the Tallinn (Reval) diocese, where the Dominican liturgy was also used.

<sup>755</sup> F.m.I. 115 (Table 3.6)

<sup>756</sup> F.m.I. 115 (Table 3.5) Elin's feast was celebrated on July 30 in the Skara Bishopric and July 31 in all other bishoprics.

<sup>757</sup> F.m.I. 115 (Table 3.7)

<sup>758</sup> F.m.I. 120 (Table 3.6)

<sup>759</sup> F.m.I. 65, F.m.I. 68 and Fr 22267 (Table 3.6)



The other Scandinavian holy king, Knud the Holy, appears first in a thirteenth or fourteenth century liturgical book from the Turku Bishopric.<sup>760</sup> It is most likely that this Missal was originally produced for use in the Lund Province as it contains Knud the Holy's mass. The rank of Knud the Holy's feast day and its observance are unclear from this fragment. Nevertheless, it appears that some sort of cult in honour of Knud the Holy persisted in Turku, due to a fourteenth-century addition to a Breviary in use in Turku.<sup>761</sup> As with the Missal, the Breviary unfortunately does not reveal the feast's liturgical rank or level of observance.

Thus, similar to other bishoprics in the Uppsala province, the Turku Bishopric was interested in promoting a new cult of a native saint, at about the same time as its see was established and the cathedral was constructed. However, the interest in cultivating its own *locus sancti* did not preclude an interest in other saints from the province. Of particular interest in this diocese is the involvement of the Dominicans and their adoption of several native saints.

### **Summary and conclusions: liturgy and native saints in the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala**

In this chapter, the saints whose cults appeared before 1300 in the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala have been presented in the bishoprics in which they were venerated. The starting point for identifying the relevant dioceses has been the Florence List which was composed in about 1120. All of the dioceses included on the list, as well as those which emerged later in conjunction with the establishment of the new Uppsala province, have been included in this analysis. The bishoprics' relevance to the creation and legitimization of *loca sanctorum* has been discussed. Special attention has been paid to the liturgical presence or absence of these saints as well as the prescribed observance and the liturgical rank of their feast days.

Before the Reformation, the official printed Calendars from the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund show the result of centuries of cultic

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<sup>760</sup> F.m.I. 51 (Table 3.11)

<sup>761</sup> F.m.I. 61 (Table 3.11)

development.<sup>762</sup> The saints whose feast days were included in these Calendars all enjoyed some form of veneration by the end of the Middle Ages; however, the mere inclusion in these Calendars does not indicate when that veneration began. The cult of saints is a phenomenon that experiences constant alteration and modification. It is necessary to identify the cults and their importance at the exact, or as close as possible, moment of their inception and, again where possible, follow their development in relation to other phenomena.

During the missionary period in the Lund province, it has been demonstrated that, if early local cults were at all initiated, they did not last. Later attempts to connect to past founders and holy bishops were not consistent across all dioceses, with only Vendsyssel/Børglum and Ribe initiating cults of missionaries: Thøger and Liufdag. Of those two saints, only Thøger seems to have had a lasting cult. However, other saints were used as a focus for building *loca sanctorum* by bishops and religious communities.

It appears to have been in the establishment phase of the Christianization of Denmark that the cults of native saints became important. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a number of cults emerge; however, not all of them were successful in the long term. This conclusion is based on the presence or absence of liturgy for a particular saint. Although not much is known about early Danish liturgy due to *lacunae*, it also reveals English and French influences. These influences could partly be an attempt to counteract German influence; however, they are also a natural development due to the strong ties that the Danish crown had with England.

In fact, there are a number of saints whose cults were subjected to renewed official interest in the twelfth century, among these are Thøger of Vestervig and Liufdag of Ribe. This official interest in cult promotion is related to what Antonsson has termed a “general trend” in the promotion of the cults of local saints, with the twelfth-century promoters being contemporary or near-contemporary with their promoters.<sup>763</sup> However, as has been demonstrated, the interest in promoting native saints was not confined to the twelfth century.

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<sup>762</sup> See Dr H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2 Bde, Hannover, 1891-1898. Late medieval Calendars online: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/gaeste/grotefend/kalender.htm>

<sup>763</sup> Antonsson 2010: 28f., Antonsson 2005: 67-77.

From the twelfth and continuing into the thirteenth century, the Roskilde diocese was the most productive saint-producer in the Lund province. There are several explanations for this interest. The first is political and related to the growing importance of claiming connection to a holy ancestor. Knud Lavard and Erik Plovpenning's cults were directly promoted by the king. Roskilde's interest, at least in the case of the former, showed support for the monarch and his dynasty. The fact that the cults were centred in Ringsted was related to the connection of the monarchs to the abbey. On the other hand, the cults of Margarete and Wilhelm were supported by clerics. While the initial support for Margarete's cult was from the bishop and archbishop, Wilhelm's was monastic, endorsed by his own order. The fact that the Roskilde bishopric also supported Wilhelm's cult was further evidence of the relationship between Æbelholt abbey and the bishop.

The appearance of cults of saints was not merely an ecclesiastical or liturgical phenomenon. Those involved in secular and ecclesiastical politics found patron saints to be useful in the legitimization of status and in protection, even in a religious sense. This aspect will be further explored by comparing the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala in Chapter Four.

The liturgical sources from the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, in particular the fragment material, show that native cults had emerged in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala by the twelfth century. The first of these were Botvid and Eskil, together with the Nordic saints Knud the Holy and Olav the Holy. In the thirteenth century, liturgical cults for Sigfrid, Elin, Erik the Holy and Henrik of Finland appeared in the fragment material. Moreover, it can be seen that the Bishoprics of Uppsala, Västerås and Linköping were the first to endorse the cults of local saints.

The Västerås Bishopric (specifically in the province of Västmanland), the Skara Bishopric (in particular the province of Västergötland) and the Linköping Bishopric were influenced by the Lund Archbishopric, with the cult of Knud the Holy evident in these areas. It should be kept in mind that Uppsala was not made the seat of its own ecclesiastical province until 1164 and, until then, all of the twelfth-century Swedish dioceses were under the control of Lund. In addition, Lund had continued primacy over Uppsala throughout this study's period. It is perhaps part of the reason why the churches in Uppsala and its adjacent dioceses wished to support cults of local saints.

The emergence of several more cults of native saints in the twelfth century could be either an indication of Uppsala strengthening its position as a legitimate medieval ecclesiastical province in the western Church – increasing its status through the promotion of native cults – or of the individual bishoprics asserting their importance within the new ecclesiastical province. From the fragment material, it appears that certain saints, such as Elin of Skövde in the thirteenth century or David of Munktorp from the early-fourteenth century, were prominent in only one or two dioceses.

Several of the new saints in the *Suecia* region were tied to the formation of certain dioceses. Sigfrid was a prime example of a successful saintly campaign in Väckjö, while, conversely, Eskil's connections to Tuna did not hinder its dissolution and eventual amalgamation with Strängnäs. A further connection between a saint and a particular diocese can be found between David of Munktorp and Västerås; however, David's liturgical cult did not emerge, at least not on a diocesan level, until the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>764</sup> His cult is a late-comer in this situation, at a time when Västerås was a firmly established bishopric. It would be necessary to investigate the Västerås Diocese and the cult of David in the fourteenth century in more detail in order to see why Västerås chose to promote David and if there was any change in circumstances that called for further legitimization of the bishopric and an established *locus sancti*. Finally, the cults of Erik the Holy and Henrik of Finland were also important in the transfer of archbishoprics or bishoprics to new locations in the thirteenth century.

In this analysis, a top-down attempt to control the new cults of saints is apparent. The cults were included in Calendars and legends were written at the time they were most needed to legitimize the official church during its establishment. Native saints provided concrete *loca sanctorum* for the bishopric with which they were associated.

The emphasis on ties to a period of missionary activity in the cult of saints, as seen in the *historia* of Eskil, Sigfrid and David, contributed to the building of an ecclesiastical origin myth for the Church in the Swedish kingdom. This region could not, of course, claim a direct connection to the

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<sup>764</sup> Cf. Fröjmark's discussion that David was venerated from an earlier date. This hypothesis is based on the interpretation that some form of monastic community, with the grave of a monk, had probably been established in Munktorp in the missionary period. Fröjmark 1996a: 399-400.

early Church. Instead, the veneration of missionaries as saints created a sanctified past and inclusion in the history of the Church. The formation of a common identity was linked to the creation of *loca sanctorum* and the promotion of new cults of saints.

Unlike the situation in the Lund province, where most native saints emerged before the end of the thirteenth century with emphasis on the twelfth century, the promotion of local saints was spread throughout the medieval period in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala. The liturgical cults of new, native saints analyzed in this chapter provide the basis for the identification of where the official cults of new, native saints arose. The importance of native saints to the clergy can be determined by identifying the liturgical rank of the cult, while a saint's significance to society as a whole, in these cases newly Christianized regions, is reflected in the observance of feast days. Cooperation between dioceses can also be identified.

The cults of saints were used in various ways to legitimize or facilitate the work of the church. For instance, the geographical placement of saints' shrines enabled the creation of *loca sanctorum*. In some cases, these new holy sites and their saints became part of the establishment of a permanent, formalized, ecclesiastical organization in the region. In other cases, the creation of pilgrimage sites in a particular bishopric was the main priority. The reasons or need for promoting native saints differed. In the following chapter, the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala will be compared in order to illuminate similarities and differences in the promotion of new cults of native saints in these peripheral Micro-Christendoms. In addition, the secular political implications of the spread of these cults and an analysis of the occurrence of female saints in the two provinces will be presented, combining the results from the Lund and Uppsala provinces.



## Chapter Four

### New Cults of Native Saints and the Christianization: a Comparative View

#### **The emergence of native saints and the final phase of the Christianization**

The conversion and Christianization of the northern periphery had a decisive effect on societal development. As the new religion became more firmly accepted and established, it created the right conditions for, among other things, the promotion of new cults of native saints. The intertwined nature of the two ecclesiastical provinces studied in this dissertation suggests that there should also be many similarities in the liturgy and nature of the cults of saints; however, there were diocesan and regional variations.

A contemporary twelfth-century parallel to the separation of the Uppsala province from Lund can be found in the legend of St Kentigern, or Mungo, from the medieval diocese of Glasgow. The author of one of Kentigern's *vitae* included information and referred to sources that supported the independence of the Scottish dioceses vis-à-vis the metropolitan sees of York and Canterbury. This primacy disagreement was ongoing at the time of the composition of the *vita*.<sup>765</sup>

Similarly straightforward evidence of a dispute between the two Scandinavian provinces is definitely absent. Nevertheless, the areas are clearly separated in the locally produced conversion stories whose composition accompanied the rise of the cults of native saints. When considering hagiography, which also includes some parts of the liturgy, the contemporary interests of the authors who wrote the hagiographic material is revealed. While the contents of these sources cannot always be seen as historical fact, they can reveal how contemporary society viewed the Christianization of certain areas.<sup>766</sup>

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<sup>765</sup> See McArthur Irvin 2010.

<sup>766</sup> Cf. Helander 1996: 171-174.



Many of the differences between the two provinces in the North were due in part to the time-frame in which the cults of the first native saints were promoted. For instance, the Christianization process, as seen by the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions and development of record-keeping, was further advanced by the beginning of the twelfth century in the area of the future Lund province. Thus, the Lund province was able to create official, ecclesiastically sanctioned cults of new saints at an earlier date than the Uppsala province, with the first cult emerging by the turn of the twelfth century.

This chapter compares and contrasts the cults of native saints that arose in the early medieval Lund and Uppsala provinces, themselves newly emerging Micro-Christendoms undergoing a process of Christianization. One of the most important similarities between the provinces was the adherence to the idea of saints creating and legitimizing *loca sanctorum*. The acceptance of this aspect of the cult of saints in itself is not surprising; however, the way in which the various bishoprics or monastic houses used this concept for the purposes of legitimization varied and was not dependent on provincial affiliation. Furthermore, in the medieval period, the separation of ecclesiastical and secular politics was not absolute. Thus, the promotion of some cults of native saints could be influenced on a political level and not merely due to theological concerns. Finally, a discussion concerning observations made about the promotion of female native saints prior to 1300 is presented.

### **Saints for whom? Micro-Christendoms, *loca sanctorum* and legitimization**

The spread of a saint's liturgy across diocesan boundaries, or even the production of a new *officium*, demonstrated the importance and appeal of a saint on an official ecclesiastical level. In general, and in the Lund and Uppsala provinces, cults of saints provided social groups with cohesion. The promotion of saints was important in the control of devotional and socially acceptable behaviour, whether the behaviour of the saint's contemporaries or of a later society that appropriated and developed the cult. The official church promoted saints and used local cults to help steer popular devotion.

As can be seen in the difference when the promotion of local saints in Lund and Uppsala provinces began, the requirements of different societies

varied in terms of what stage they were in the Christianization process. The cults of saints could be adapted to fit these purposes by means of shaping the contents of their legends or, indeed, by choosing which characteristic of a particular saint was worthy of promotion in works of art. Part of the variation in which saints were promoted was due to when cultic promotion began.

*Micro-Christendoms: the creation of a history for early Christian centres on the periphery*

Often, the cults of saints were used in the transformation of peripheral areas into new Christian centres. Although in some cases the establishment of new cultic centres was most likely part of a conscious decision to replace pagan sites on the part of the church, many new cultic centres were tied to geographical places mentioned in hagiography and particularly associated with a saint. In historical sources, Scandinavia was seen to be, geographically, on the periphery in comparison to the Western Christian centre of Rome; however, by creating cults of saints, each area became ideologically a centre of sanctity.<sup>767</sup> This transition from periphery to centre required the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions, as well as the cults of local saints, in order to function. Thus, each diocese with its own saint's cult became a "Micro-Christendom" similar to the newly formed Christian centres in the early Christian period; each new Christian location formed its own miniature centre as one of a group of centres. Elsewhere in medieval Europe, a comparable situation has also been identified. In Merovingian Gaul, the local cults of each diocese developed a distinct character and can be seen to have served varying local purposes.<sup>768</sup>

The geographical areas encompassed by the bishoprics of the Lund and Uppsala provinces had been subject to missions at around the same time; however, their establishment and development often differed, thus leading to the creation of Micro-Christendoms. One of these differences was in the diocesan-based heterogeneity of their saints. Thus, the use of new saints as creators of *loca sanctorum* or in the legitimization of bishoprics reveals differences and the new cults of native saints served disparate local purposes.

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<sup>767</sup> Cf. Geary 2006.

<sup>768</sup> Cf. Wood 2002.

The creation of cults of local, native saints was also a conscious act that also contributed to the region's integration into western Christendom. The new saints in Scandinavia offered a means of telling the story of the Christianization of the region and the area's entrance into a grand Christian narrative. A parallel can be found in a study based on the hagiographies of three obscure saints from Normandy, in which Samantha Herrick has shown that saints could be used to construct an understanding of the past. In this case specifically, the construction and legitimization of a conversion history, which also foreshadows a region's future and the legitimate actions of the ruling class, is achieved through the composition of the lives of saints.<sup>769</sup> *Vitae* of the saints, although written at a time distant to the actual events they described, formed and shaped the understanding of a new region's integration into Western Christendom, irrespective of whether the centre of composition was monastic or diocesan, providing important details for further Christianization of the area.

Many of the saints were created and their cults established by composing hagiography. In fact, the liturgy was a prerequisite for the firm establishment of cults in the pre-1300 period, especially in Denmark. However, in the case of the promotion of origin myths, although versions existed in all regions, the bishoprics and royal dynasties used the cults of native saints in differing ways.<sup>770</sup>

Several of the legends composed for these new, native saints in the Lund and Uppsala provinces wrote the regions into this wider conversion or Christianization narrative. This phenomenon was not unique to one area, rather several bishoprics in both provinces engaged in this activity, albeit in differing ways. All of the saints included in this effort were associated with the conversion period, or when the Church was in the process of being established in the region. The saints who died in the thirteenth century were not subject to the same treatment.

The legends associated with Liufdag of Ribe, Thøger of Vestervig, Eskil of Tuna, Botvid, Sigfrid of Växjö and Elin of Skövde, and later David, all contain this mythopoetic feature.<sup>771</sup> Details in their legends describe the

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<sup>769</sup> See, especially, Herrick 2007: 113ff.

<sup>770</sup> Cf. Anglo-Saxon England and a discussion of the concept of origin myths: Cubitt 2002: 447.

<sup>771</sup> Contrary to Antonsson's claim that the mythopoetic connection to an invented saint is unique to Liufdag. Antonsson 2010: 29. Cf. Schmid 1934.

way in which a particular area was converted, as well as the role the saint played in that area, sometimes suffering martyrdom. For example, Botvid's legend was one of those that provided an official version of a conversion story for the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala. In this story, Botvid, as a convert in England, connected the province with that country and its missionary movement in a similar way to Eskil and Sigfrid, although he was not himself a missionary.

In fact, the number of early native saints with claims to an English connection in, especially, the Uppsala province is significant.<sup>772</sup> In addition to Botvid, these include Eskil, Sigfrid and Henrik, and later also David, who were all said to have come from there as missionaries. Speculatively, this phenomenon could be related to three things: an attempt on the part of the province to distance themselves from the influence of Hamburg-Bremen, evidence of actual English missions or a show of solidarity with the Danish and their tradition of connections to England.

Despite the focus on Växjö and Varend, Sigfrid was not only important in the one area.<sup>773</sup> For instance, his legend claimed that he was responsible for baptizing one king Olof (presumably Skötkonung) and his men in Sweden.<sup>774</sup> This addition to the story gave the area under the jurisdiction of the Uppsala province its own version of an early narrative of royal conversion, such as those found in Denmark (Harald Bluetooth) and Norway (Olav Tryggvason and, to some extent, Olav "the Holy" Haraldsson). Moreover, it strengthens the idea of the ruling class buying into the new Christian faith and supporting it, creating a regional identity through a conversion legend. In fact, Sigfrid would eventually become one of the patron saints of the Swedish kingdom (mid-1300s). Despite Sigfrid's importance to the conversion story in general and the future kingdom, the primary focus was, however, on Växjö.<sup>775</sup>

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<sup>772</sup> For the importance of specifically British saints in the Uppsala province, see Toy 2005a, Toy 2005b, Toy 2009.

<sup>773</sup> See Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>774</sup> The earliest extant versions of this lesson are found in BL Add. MS 40146 and the *Liber ecclesie Torsan* (Fr 25013, Table 3.9). For example, BL Add. MS 40146, f. 231r: "... erat quidam in Suecia Olauus nomine...". Jørgensen 1933a: 191, Önnarfors 1968: 74. The later, fourteenth century legend indicates that the meeting between Olof and Sigfrid took place in Västergötland: antiphon for the Third Nocturne in the *Codex Laurentii Odonis*: Önnarfors 1968: 83, Lundén 1983: 203, ll. 22-25.

<sup>775</sup> See also Ellis Nilsson 2014a: 298-302, Ellis Nilsson 2014b, Larsson 1975: 8-9, 14-15, 17.

The invention, or supposed invention, of a saint was not necessary for history or myth-creation. Other, early and verifiably real people who later became saints, such as Knud the Holy, Botvid and Liufdag, also provided an opportunity to write the region into the wider history of Christendom. In the case of Knud the Holy, his martyrdom provided the monks in Odense with the means to include the kingdom of Denmark in a wider conversion and Christianization history.

### *Loca sanctorum – the legitimization of bishoprics*

In addition to ideological centres, another one of the necessities for the newly established Church during the early middle ages in Scandinavia was the founding of ecclesiastical institutions. A significant number of converts necessitated a more formal organization in the area, including dioceses and parishes. This topographical aspect of the new religion helped to create a Christian landscape and the cults of saints were instrumental in sanctifying the landscape. In many cases, such as Erik, Sigfrid and Botvid, saints were used to legitimize the placement of cathedrals or churches. However, not all new local saints served this particular purpose.

A parallel to Scandinavia can be seen in Edina Bozoky's study on Normandy and Germany from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. The need for new relics and new patron saints in foundations could lead to a production of hagiography and an anchoring of new saintly traditions. Bozoky maintains that the discovery of relics and the "fabrication" of hagiographies was a parallel development.<sup>776</sup> This argument follows Delooz's reasoning in that hagiography and the cults of saints are a product of the society that made them and are, at least in part, unrelated to the "real" life of the saint herself.<sup>777</sup> In the case of Swedish saints, the placement or legitimization of bishoprics and the inclusion of new saints in the local hagiographical repertoire is often intertwined, for example, Sigfrid in Växjö.

The Lund and Uppsala ecclesiastical provinces displayed some similarities in the promotion of saints. For example, justifying the placement of a see with the creation of *loca sanctorum*, by means of a shrine or origin stories can be seen in many of the dioceses.

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<sup>776</sup> Bozoky 2009: 20-21. Bozoky's study does not include women and children, but she notes that the hagiography of these should also be studied in a similar manner.

<sup>777</sup> See Delooz 1983.

Despite the fact that it is difficult to determine in some cases how or why the formal establishments of bishoprics occurred in this region of Scandinavia, evidence of their need for legitimization can be seen in the cults of saints, especially their hagiography.<sup>778</sup> For example, saintly support for the creation or relocation of bishop's sees can be seen in many of the cults.

The legends of some of the saints explicitly state, and thereby promote, the saint belonging to just one particular diocese. For example, Sigfrid was venerated in many dioceses by the end of the thirteenth century; however, in his legend his importance to the Växjö diocese was revealed. Another example of this is Thøger, who was venerated throughout the Lund province but was particularly tied to the Børglum Diocese, although some argue that a see did exist in Vestervig for a short while.<sup>779</sup> A further example is Liufdag of Ribe, whose cult was actively promoted by Ribe, due to his role in the area's conversion story and the establishment of the bishopric. Finally, according to his legend, Henrik of Finland wished a church to be built at or near his place of death.<sup>780</sup> It was believed that the saint had directly instructed his followers to found a church and perhaps even establish a cult in his honour. The *locus sancti* thus produced by the *translatio* of Henrik's body to the cathedral in Turku was a valuable addition to the Turku Bishopric.

In the case of Eskil, his see, Tuna, was later moved to Strängnäs (or Västerås). If the idea of the see in Vestervig being later moved to Børglum is accurate, Thøger and Eskil provide an noteworthy parallel. In addition, both cults were later promoted by monks who established abbeys by their places of death and controlled the shrine and whose geographical place of cult was somehow in conjunction with the local bishopric.

With Växjö, it has been seen that Sigfrid's cult was used in the legitimization of the placement of the see.<sup>781</sup> Sigfrid's *vita* contains references to his early missionary work in what was to become the

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<sup>778</sup> Hellström 1971: 83-86.

<sup>779</sup> Svend Clausen, presentation at the *Ora Pro Nobis* conference (Copenhagen, April 3-4, 2014).

<sup>780</sup> DuBois 2008: 80.

<sup>781</sup> See also Hellström 1992: 14, Larsson 1975: esp. 16. Hallencreutz suggests that royal support by Knut Eriksson of the see in Växjö helped its position, see Hallencreutz 1996b: 263.

Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala. In his work, he was divinely guided to a settlement identified as Växjö, where he built a church and where he wished to be buried.<sup>782</sup> The Växjö version of Sigfrid's legend claimed that Växjö had been a bishopric from the time of Sigfrid's mission using his story to support the location of the see.

Sigfrid was important for the support and defence of Växjö as a *locus sancti* when the decision was made to keep the bishopric in the town. In this instance, the influence of Augustinian historical understanding was important; God's will was seen to be supreme. Therefore, if a saint supported the placement of a bishopric, God had decided that this location was best and an appropriate *locus sancti*. It was important not to question God's work.<sup>783</sup> This hypothesis of God choosing a bishopric through a saint works well for Växjö; however, other sees with local saints, for example Tuna, were moved from their original sites and the support of a local saint seems to instead have been instrumental in supporting the move to a new location. These saints and bishoprics include Eskil and Strängnäs, as well as Erik the Holy and Östra Aros.

With regard to the other saints, although Botvid enjoyed a popular cultic following throughout the Uppsala province by the end of the thirteenth century, it is hard to see that he, or Eskil, played any large part in actually validating the initial establishment of a diocese. Instead, Botvid's cult was endorsed by a number of dioceses. Some of these seem to have laid claim to the cult with the intention of promoting the importance of one diocese over another, as in the case of Västerås versus Strängnäs when the Tuna Bishopric was to be dissolved and the administration moved to one of these two sees. Strängnäs was, of course, specifically chosen for reasons other than being the supposed place of Eskil's martyrdom; however, the connection with a saint would have been significant and legitimizing. It should also be noted that Tuna was an early, stable centre of Christianity, while Strängnäs seems to have been important in terms of secular rule (location of the 'Thing') albeit with a strong pagan presence. A bishopric

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<sup>782</sup> "...et in locum, qui/ nunc ab incolis dicitur Wexio, Domino ducente, peruenit." Lundén 1983: 195, ll. 26-28.

<sup>783</sup> See Larsson 1975: 15-17.



needed to have close connections with the local Tíng in the early period.<sup>784</sup> Furthermore, Eskil's position as a bishop and early missionary would have made him more attractive as a saint to the official church, especially the bishops.<sup>785</sup>

In order to create, or concretize, the past, it was important for historiographers to link events to a general sacred history. The lives of saints, as pertaining more directly to that history, were seen to be of more importance than secular events. Even secular events were connected to salvation history and seen in a larger more international picture.<sup>786</sup> Bishop Thomas (c. 1225-1245), as a promoter of Henrik's cult, was involved in the creation of an early diocesan history. Henrik's presence sanctified the history of the diocese and the episcopate itself. Parallels to this sanctification are found in the cults of Sigfrid and Eskil, who created *loca sanctorum* for Växjö and Strängnäs. The saintly endorsement of a local bishop enhanced episcopal authority.<sup>787</sup>

Another aspect that the promotion of the new cults of saints had was the creation of *loca sanctorum* for places of pilgrimage. This promotion of at least the local pilgrimage centre was evident in all dioceses, excepting Slesvig. It has been suggested that the promotion of Erik the Holy's cult was a response to the growth of Olav the Holy's cult and an attempt to attract pilgrims, possibly away from a rival saint, Olav the Holy in Nidaros.<sup>788</sup> This conclusion is based on the fact that Erik the Holy became the patron saint of the archbishopric and he was clearly promoted as the basis of a *locus sancti*. However, Olav the Holy was also important to the Uppsala Archbishopric throughout the Middle Ages to the extent that he was made a co-patron of the cathedral. It is uncertain when Olav the Holy was made a patron; however, it is probable that it was in conjunction with the dedication of the new cathedral, which contained an altar dedicated to him, or, at least, by the beginning of the fourteenth century. Olav the Holy's inclusion as one of the patron saints was probably a show of solidarity with Nidaros and added to the sanctity of the cathedral.

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<sup>784</sup> Another possible reason for the relocation and amalgamation is that Tuna and Strängnäs were founded by two different missionary groups – one English and one German. See Hellström 1971: 86f.

<sup>785</sup> Ellis Nilsson 2014b.

<sup>786</sup> On this theme, see also Lehtonen 2007: 18-20.

<sup>787</sup> Cf. DuBois 2008: 80, 87.

<sup>788</sup> Sands 2008: 209.

In other words, Erik the Holy's cult was not a direct response to the promotion and growth of Olav the Holy's cult.<sup>789</sup> There were also other factors involved. One of these was the fact that Erik the Holy legitimized Uppsala and Östra Aros as *loca sanctorum*. The archbishopric renewed its interest the cult of Erik in the mid-1200s to help promote the transfer of the archbishopric and cathedral from Uppsala to Östra Aros. The fact that, as will be discussed below, the ruling family at the time also showed an interest in supporting Erik's cult aided the archbishopric's cause. The composition of Erik the Holy's *officium* coincided with specific political events, both ecclesiastical and secular.<sup>790</sup> At the time of the renewed interest in Erik's cult, the archbishopric was moved from Old Uppsala to Östra Aros (present-day Uppsala) and his relics were translated into the new cathedral; the new cathedral was reported, through Erik's *officium*, to be located on the exact spot of his martyrdom. Erik the Holy was most likely martyred outside of the original church after hearing mass outdoors.<sup>791</sup>

However, not all attempts by clerics to promote cults of saints and their *loca sanctorum* by including them in the liturgy were successful in the long run. The attempt made by Roskilde and Lund through the initiative of Archbishop Absalon to promote the cult of Margarete of Roskilde without the support of the ruling royal family limited the spread and thereby success of her cult. She was never added to the liturgy of the Lund province, although her feast day can be found in the Sunesen Psalter from Roskilde and evidence of some degree of popular veneration can be seen through the use of one of her relics in Lund; the latter also indicates that the archbishopric allowed her cult. Although a diocese had the power to include a specific saint in the liturgy, without the approval of the pope, it was a rare occurrence in this province. In the case of Margarete, it appears that the bishops after Absalon were not interested in the promotion of her cult, satisfied for it to remain a popular cult. Another factor was the lack of political interest in her cult.

Prior to 1300, this lack of success in promoting a cult seems to be more prevalent in the Lund province. None of the native saints whose cults arose in the Uppsala province before 1300 waned in popularity. An

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<sup>789</sup> Cf. Hallencreutz 1996b: 266.

<sup>790</sup> Lehtonen 2007: 9, 11.

<sup>791</sup> See the analysis of church murals in Bengtsson and Lovén 2012: 29-30.

important question here is how politics, especially Danish politics, played into the success of a cult. This secular aspect of the cults of saints will be discussed below.

### *Loca sanctorum – monastic interests*

Despite the fact that monastic communities may have had little to do with the actual conversion of the region, they eventually played a role in the creation, maintenance and spread of the cults of saints.<sup>792</sup> In addition, various monastic orders were in charge of the majority of the early *loca sanctorum* discussed in this dissertation in both ecclesiastical provinces.

Firstly, Knud the Holy's cult was initiated by the Benedictines of St Alban's in Odense at the turn of the twelfth century. The interest of the monastic community at this early date was partly political and partly related to the Anglo-Saxon interest in saintly kings. Knud the Holy had been killed in their church and as a martyr created a *locus sancti* that would benefit them as a pilgrimage destination. The interest the monks showed in promoting him as a holy ancestor, as well as a saint for the kingdom, provided a foundation on which the cult could grow.

In the twelfth century, the Cistercians demonstrated an initial interest in Margarete's cult. Her shrine was in their care and two members of their order recorded her biography, although no attempt to compose a unique liturgy is extant. The interest this monastic order had in Margarete's cult seems to have been primarily due to the attraction of her *locus sancti* to pilgrims and her potential as an *exemplum*. The initial, order-wide Cistercian interest in Margarete waned, however.

The Augustinians in Vestervig and the Order of St John in Tuna also had a vested interest in the cults of two native saints, Thøger and Eskil, respectively. In both of these cases, the monastic order had made a conscious choice to assume responsibility for the church and shrine which held a native saint. Subsequently, these orders controlled their own *locus sancti* and were responsible for the maintenance of the cults' geographical centre. In Eskil's case, especially, this control was in cooperation with the Strängnäs Bishopric.

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<sup>792</sup> Cf. Antonsson 2010: 31.

The early Dominican liturgical material from the Turku diocese provides evidence of the promotion of native saints by a religious order and the creation of multilocal cults by facilitating their spread. These include Erik the Holy, Elin of Skövde and Eskil of Tuna. Erik's feast was observed as a *festum fori/terrae* from the thirteenth century. The observance of his cult in Turku was directly connected to the renewal of the cult in the Uppsala Archbishopric. The feasts of Elin and Eskil, on the other hand, were only observed as *festum chori* in Turku by the late-thirteenth century.

Finally, Wilhelm of Æbelholt had himself been a member of the Augustinian community which later contained his shrine. The support and promotion of his cult by this community was understandable in that he was a saint from the same community. Despite their original disagreements when Wilhelm had arrived in Denmark in the late-twelfth century, by his death in the early-thirteenth century, the benefits of promoting their former abbot and controlling a *locus sancti* were clear to the Æbelholt canons, encouraging them to reconsider their earlier animosity towards Wilhelm.

### *Native saints, loca sanctorum and the observation of feasts*

The importance of the cults of native saints to the dioceses and provinces that they emerged in can in part be determined by the rank of the liturgical cults, *simplex* or *duplex* (or number of lessons) and their observance: *festum fori/terrae* or *festum chori*. In the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, early liturgical sources are somewhat sparse; however, an indication of the change in importance of some saints is identifiable.<sup>793</sup>

The Lund Archbishopric celebrated the feasts of all saints with multilocal cults – such as Kjeld, Knud the Holy, Knud Lavard and Wilhelm – from the province as *festum chori* in the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries, with a *duplex* rank for Wilhelm's. The archbishopric did not sanction a feast for Thøger; however, there was an awareness of the dedication of the abbey and, therefore, also of the existence of his cult. Moreover, a native saint with a wide-spread multilocal cult, Erik the Holy was celebrated as a *festum fori/terrae* in one of the dioceses of the Lund province, possibly

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<sup>793</sup> Although his cult is not discussed in detail in this dissertation, it is important to note that Olav the Holy was a *festum fori/terrae* throughout the Lund province except initially in Lund and in Ribe where his feast was a *festum chori*.

the archbishopric, by the end of the thirteenth century. It is important to note that this observance was implemented shortly after the renewal of interest in the cult of Erik the Holy in Uppsala and the *translatio* to the new cathedral and was possibly related. However, other sources from the province show that by the early-fourteenth century, Erik the Holy's feast was celebrated as a *festum chori* in, most likely, Halmstad. This reduction in observance is either specific to that area or indicates that the observance of Erik the Holy's feast had been relaxed. Following Absalon's work in the late-twelfth century in ensuring the archbishop was the authorizer of liturgical matters throughout the province, it can be assumed that that particular observance of Erik the Holy's feast was the one intended for use throughout the province. The addition of Erik the Holy's feast was also possibly a sign of Lund demonstrating its primacy over the Uppsala province.

In Ribe, the cults of native saints with multilocal cults, such as Knud the Holy, Knud Lavard, Kjeld of Viborg, Thøger of Vestervig and Wilhelm of Æbelholt were all observed as *festum chori* by the thirteenth century. Ribe's own local saint, Liufdag, provided Ribe with a *locus sancti*; however, despite the episcopal canonization of Liufdag in the twelfth century, his cult was not a success. Unlike Thøger, a later claim of papal canonization was never inserted into stories about Liufdag. Considering the importance of papal canonization in the Lund province from the twelfth century, it is probable that Ribe's association with the anti-pope and disregard for the guidelines established by the archbishop of Lund contributed to the cult's lack of widespread success.

Unfortunately, there is a *lacuna* in the liturgical material for the Lund province which makes studying the spread of Knud the Holy's cult difficult. Although no liturgy from before 1300 is extant from the Odense Bishopric, hagiographical material exists which clearly ties Knud the Holy with the diocese. In addition, connections between Odense and Skara, Linköping and Strängnäs in the Uppsala province in the support of *loca sanctorum* are evident in the writing of indulgences for pilgrimage to Knud the Holy's shrine.

Further *lacunae* in the liturgical material exist for the dioceses of Viborg, Børglum, Aarhus and Slesvig. For example, no native saints with unilocal or multilocal cults seem to have been promoted in the Slesvig

Bishopric. This conclusion could of course be due to the *lacuna* in the early liturgical and hagiographical sources. By comparison, Kjeld's importance to Viborg was clear and he enjoyed a successful cult as shown by its spread throughout the province and appearance in the liturgy for Lund. Although no early liturgy exists for Børglum, dedications to Thøger were evident and his cult spread on Jutland as evidenced by the observance noted in Ribe. The *locus sancti* for the diocese was in Vestervig, not Børglum; however, the bishopric seemed to have had an interest in promoting the cult.

The Aarhus Bishopric was interested in promoting the cult of a royal saint, much like Odense and Roskilde. Niels was never canonized and, despite miracles and a chapel dedication, the attempt to establish a liturgical cult eventually failed – the result of secular and papal politics. At least initially, and similarly to Erik Plovpenning, Niels' cult was active on a level other than the liturgical. Unfortunately, it is unknown to what extent the feasts of other native saints were observed in this diocese.

Roskilde was most interested in the promotion of the cults of its local saints in the thirteenth century. Knud Lavard's importance to Roskilde can be seen in the observance of his feast as a *festum fori/terrae* in both Næstved and Copenhagen. Knud the Holy was also granted a similar observance, while the relatively new cult of Wilhelm of Æbelholt was granted a *festum chori* observance showing his importance to the clergy, but as yet his was not set to one of common observance. Moreover, despite the interest in promoting local saints, Margarete is only found in a private psalter in which the *festum* designation has unfortunately been cut away.

With regard to the bishoprics of the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, the sources are somewhat more illuminating in terms of feast observance and rank. In Strängnäs, the feasts of Eskil, who played a part in the diocese's origin story, and Sigfrid were *festum fori/terrae* by the thirteenth century. Erik the Holy's feast was also venerated as a *festum fori/terrae* in the diocese, although he was not part of the bishopric's origin story. This level of observance shows an adherence to part of the liturgical order of the Uppsala Archbishopric. The fact that these feasts were to be celebrated throughout the diocese in all parishes, and not just by the cathedral or the clergy, reveals that these native saints with multilocal cults were fully supported by the bishopric.

However, a feast's observance was not always equal to the symbolic importance of a saint. For example, in Västerås in early-fourteenth century, the first extant liturgy for David, the saint with particular symbolic connections to the diocese shows that his feast was originally celebrated as a *festum chori*. David's cult was important to the clergy, who promoted it, but general observance of the feast was not initially required.

In most bishoprics in the Uppsala province, the saints with an important observance of *festum fori/terrae* by the thirteenth century also included Botvid and Eskil. In one instance, Botvid was recorded as a *festum chori* with nine lessons – a high liturgical rank but narrower observance. In the case of Eskil, it can be inferred that the bishoprics of Strängnäs and Västerås were in competition after the dissolution of Tuna, each promoting Eskil as an important saint for veneration.

As expected, Elin was important to Skara, as shown in the *festum fori/terrae* rank of her feast day. The other saints included in the pre-1300 extant liturgical fragments for Skara are Erik the Holy and Knud the Holy. These were both originally celebrated as *festum fori/terrae*, although Knud the Holy's feast was a *festum chori* with a high liturgical rank of nine lessons by the end of the thirteenth century.

The saints found in the sources from Växjö also show an interest in certain multilocal cults. However, due to *lacunae* in the extant sources, Sigfrid's rank is unknown until his early-fourteenth century addition to a Calendar.<sup>794</sup> By the end of the thirteenth century, Erik the Holy was venerated in the diocese (shown by an indulgence letter) and, by the twelfth century, Knud the Holy with a *festum chori* observance.

A similar group of native saints appears in the sources in Linköping. Botvid appeared in the Litany of the Saints for the diocese by the twelfth century and by the early-fourteenth century his feast was high ranking with nine lessons and a *festum fori/terrae* observance. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Sigfrid and Erik the Holy were also *festum fori/terrae*, even though the observance of Erik the Holy's feast began as a *festum chori*.

Early observance of Knud the Holy and Knud Lavard's feasts were *festum fori/terrae* in the Linköping Bishopric. The influence of Lund was also prevalent with the high rank of Knud the Holy as a *duplex* in the diocese. The

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<sup>794</sup> Fr 25637 (Table 3.9)



observance of these Danish feasts, at least in the early period, demonstrates Linköping's conscious acceptance of part of the liturgical order of Lund. Speculatively, and as viewed through the liturgy, Linköping connected itself with Lund first, even after Uppsala was chosen as the seat of the new ecclesiastical province. Furthermore, the importance of the observance of the feasts to the diocesan authorities in Linköping was mirrored in the punishments that were allotted those who did not observe the feast even in the thirteenth century. This need for discipline indicated a lack of interest in Knud the Holy's feast by, in particular, the laity in the diocese and a need for the diocesan leadership in Linköping to enforce the feast's observance.

Although Erik the Holy's cult emerged in the twelfth century, it was not until the thirteenth century and the cult's renewal that it was observed as a *festum fori/terrae*. By the late-thirteenth century, it was celebrated as a *totum duplex*. The renewed interest in Erik the Holy's cult in the thirteenth century contributed to the elevation of the rank of his feast. In addition, the alteration of his feast's observance coincided with the moving of the cathedral and the altering of the sacred landscape.

The Uppsala Archbishopric was not simply interested in only one cult. The cult of Knud the Holy was also venerated in the province from the twelfth century as a *festum fori/terrae*, showing the influence of Lund; however, by the early-fourteenth century, the feast was a *festum chori*. Other multilocal cults of native saints were also celebrated in the archdiocese, such as that of Botvid and Eskil from the late-twelfth century, as well as Sigfrid from the thirteenth century. The liturgical rank of Botvid and Eskil's cults were high with nine lessons and a *festum fori/terrae* observance. Sigfrid's cult was well-known and observed in the archbishopric; however, its exact rank is uncertain.

It is important to note that the majority of bishoprics in both provinces either promoted their own native saints or supported the promotion of native saints from the Lund and Uppsala provinces with some sort of liturgical cult. The exception was Slesvig which, as a diocese, did not promote a native saint. The proximity of this diocese to the border with the Hamburg-Bremen Archbishopric could possibly have affected the lack of interest in a native saint. Most saints enjoyed a *festum fori/terrae* observance in the bishopric which contained their shrine and which they were foremost associated. One of the exceptions to this rule was Ribe, which deviated from this general observance; however, all native saints were *festum chori* in that diocese.

*Micro-Christendoms: cooperation among Scandinavian bishops and bishoprics*

A further way in which the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala demonstrated their awareness of being connected centres on the periphery was through the cooperation of their bishoprics. In the cult of saints, this cooperation could take the form of writing indulgence letters together, thereby supporting and acknowledging each others' *loca sanctorum*, or gifting relics – and possibly also liturgical books – to each other, as in the case of Strängnäs and Linköping.

The early veneration of Scandinavian, yet non-Swedish, royal saints in the Uppsala province demonstrated connections between the all of the Scandinavian ecclesiastical provinces. In contrast, the Lund province focused on its own royal saints and Olav the Holy. The earliest royal saints venerated within the Uppsala province as a whole included Olav the Holy, Knud the Holy and Knud Lavard.<sup>795</sup>

The example of Olav the Holy's cult can be mentioned in this context. He was widely venerated throughout Scandinavia, including Denmark, and the cult does not reveal any specific secular political connections, although it might reveal ecclesiastical ones.<sup>796</sup> Liturgical veneration of Knud the Holy was found throughout the Uppsala and Lund provinces by the end of the thirteenth century. Donations made in either Knud the Holy or Knud Lavard's name occurred by the mid-thirteenth century in Östergötland. Knud the Holy and Knud Lavard's cults, often seemingly considered interchangeable, enjoyed a popular veneration from the laity through their patronage of many guilds. The Swedish guilds of Knud (probably Lavard) in particular were associated with trade, demonstrated by their placement in trading towns.<sup>797</sup>

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<sup>795</sup> Knud Magnusen, king of Denmark from 1146-1157, is another possible candidate. His veneration seems to have been focussed in the area where his wife's family originated. However, the sources for his sanctity are late (fifteenth century) and, therefore, have not been presented in detail in this dissertation. For reference to him as a *beatus* and martyr, see the "Chronologia Vestusta" (Cistercian annals): *Scrip. Rer. Sve.* I, Vol. I (1818) 23, 61.

<sup>796</sup> See, among others, Iversen 2000, Knuutila 1997, Nyberg 1997, Rumar 1997.

<sup>797</sup> Wallin mentions the existence of Knud fairs in five locations in medieval Sweden, which support the merchant guild idea. However, they gradually changed character and became "general guilds". See below and Wallin 1975: 222-223, Chpt. 7.

Lund's continued primacy within the Uppsala province and the acceptance of this organization was reflected in the spread of certain cults of saints in the early medieval period. One of these saints was Knud the Holy.<sup>798</sup> Another was Knud Lavard. Erik Plovpenning was a third royal saint brought to the Uppsala province through Danish influence. However, the original impetus in Erik Plovpenning's case was arguably secular rather than ecclesiastical, specifically in the form of Birger Jarl and his daughter-in-law, Sophia, Erik Plovpenning's daughter.<sup>799</sup>

Knud the Holy's inclusion in the Calendars from the Uppsala province demonstrates the fact that early Calendars were distributed from Lund, while his continued inclusion until the late-thirteenth century suggests an acknowledgement of the primacy of Lund or at least strong influence from political actors within the Lund province. However, the painting of Knud the Holy's image in a church in Dädesjö (Växjö Bishopric) could be seen as a local, isolated event, not necessarily connected to general ecclesiastical politics.

An overarching form of episcopal cooperation was evident in involvement of Absalon in several cases of new saints during his archiepiscopate. Absalon demonstrated his interest in these new native saints in part due to his promotion of a more centralized ecclesiastical organization and his attempt to create a new liturgical order for the Danish church. This new liturgy created in the late-twelfth century included the feasts of Kjeld of Viborg and Niels of Aarhus.<sup>800</sup> A primacy, such as Lund, intended to include saints from subordinate dioceses and create order in a common provincial liturgy.

The cult of saints in the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund reflects this move towards centralization in several ways. For instance, in the thirteenth century, the cults of local saints now appeared in the liturgy of other areas of the Lund province. For instance, Knud the Holy's feast was celebrated in Næstved (Roskilde) and in *Ecclesie beate Marie uirginis Haunie* (*Vor Frue Church*) in Copenhagen.<sup>801</sup> The dioceses of Ribe and Roskilde are represented here. Moreover, Knud the Holy's feast had secured a wide observance, *festum fori/terrae*, by the thirteenth century, as indicated in

<sup>798</sup> However, in time, Knud the Holy's feast day disappeared from liturgical celebrations in certain dioceses, such as Skara. Wallin 1975: 72.

<sup>799</sup> See below and Wallin 1975: 56-57.

<sup>800</sup> Ciardi 2010: 60 fn. 71.

<sup>801</sup> See also Andrén 1985: 205.

several manuscripts throughout the Lund province. All of these reflect the centralization policies which were originally developed by Absalon in the twelfth century and which aimed for a consistent liturgy throughout the archbishopric and which Erlandsen was intent on carrying through.

All of the dioceses on Jutland attempted to promote a local saint in the late-twelfth century; however, only two were successful, Kjeld and Thøger, veneration of the former spreading throughout the Lund province, while the latter's cult was primarily focussed on Jylland.<sup>802</sup> The late-twelfth century promotion of one of the cults on Jylland, that of Bishop Liufdag of Ribe, was unsuccessful in its attempt in promoting the cult outside of Ribe. Bishop Radulph of Ribe tried to obtain an official confirmation of the cult; however, he was not successful.<sup>803</sup> The fact that Liufdag's cult had a limited spread could also have been due to Ribe's relative solitary position in the group of Danish bishoprics, in other words a low-level of cooperation. The success of the cults was related to the fact that the local bishop as well as the archbishop and the pope were convinced that a local saint was worthy of a more wide-spread veneration. In order for a native cult to become multilocal, cooperation among bishops and bishoprics was essential. In the Lund and, especially, the Uppsala provinces, cooperation in the cults of native saints was definitely in evidence.

### *Connections to the Papacy and papal canonization*

Another factor to consider in the success of veneration of certain saints was the papal-political situation. Even though it appears that the Lund province was the only region directly affected by this connection, the Uppsala province was tied in to the political situation in Denmark. Danish royal support for the papacy in its struggle with the emperor was one of the reasons behind the establishment of a new archdiocese in Lund with primacy over a new Scandinavian ecclesiastical province. The subsequent division of this province into three, with Lund's continued primacy over Uppsala, was a by-product of the good relations.

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<sup>802</sup> There were of course other saints with multilocal cults whose main cultic centres were in Viborg. For instance, the cult of St Willehad was very popular in Jylland and had its main cultic centre at Viborg Cathedral. However, Willehad was not a native saint as he had never been a missionary in Denmark. It has been suggested that his cult was introduced by Heribert, the first bishop of Viborg, who was originally active in Bremen. Gelting 2007: 101.

<sup>803</sup> See Ciardi 2010: 61, Nielsen 1985.

The area encompassed by the kingdom of Denmark seems to have been integrated effectively and relatively swiftly into the Western Latin Christian culture. Although the Danish church was still undergoing an organizational process until about the mid-twelfth century, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, Denmark was a European, Christian kingdom. Denmark's integration can be seen in the implementation of canon law on an ecclesiastical level as well as in the way royal legislation adapted its practices and customs to fit canon law. For example, the Ecclesiastical Law of Skåne and Sjælland was written in compliance with canon law in Danish in about 1171. This law was an agreement between bishops and parishioners, without any royal involvement, indicating an ecclesiastical initiative.<sup>804</sup> The use of canon law can also be seen in the administration of the cults of new saints.

The precursor to the first laws in Sweden which took into account canon law was the peace legislation thought to have been initiated by King Eric (Lisp and Limp) and Earl Birger. This legislation from the mid-thirteenth century included terminology that was connected to Christian ideas regarding the breaking of the peace. The *Edsöre* Law was then finalized during the reign of Magnus Ladulås sometime after 1275.<sup>805</sup> The first known laws in Sweden were composed at the end of the thirteenth century (*Upplandslagen*, 1296). Thus, by the latter-half of the thirteenth century, Sweden was also a European, Christian kingdom.

One of the discrepancies between the two provinces was the early acceptance of the papal claim of having the sole right to canonization. From the beginning, the Lund province seemed to favour official papal canonization of its saints.<sup>806</sup> While many Danish saints, such as Knud the Holy, were canonized at an early date, it was not until the end of the thirteenth century that the *vitae* of Swedish saints, such as Elin of Skövde, included claims to papal canonization and thereby acknowledged its superiority.

The papal bull from Alexander III referring to a drunken saint has often been assumed to refer to Erik the Holy, although the saint was

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<sup>804</sup> See Gelting 2007: 97, 110-111. However, none of these rules was included in later legislation, see Vogt 2010: 116.

<sup>805</sup> Vogt 2010: 51-53.

<sup>806</sup> See, for example, Gelting 2007: 99-102.

never specifically identified. It is more probable that the papacy wished to reinforce its own right to canonizing saints than criticise a specific practice in the Swedish kingdom.<sup>807</sup> It is more plausible that Alexander III, in the midst of discussing other aspects of canon law, including marriage, felt it necessary to include an important point on canonization.<sup>808</sup> At the end of the twelfth century, the popes were beginning to insist on a papal stamp of approval before local clergy could permit the continued veneration of a new saint. Thus, this bull from Alexander III was one of the steps that led to the official decree concerning papal canonization in the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX in 1234.

Early claims of or actual papal canonizations were made in the Lund province even before the papal decree of 1234. One such later claim, without any contemporary evidence, was made in the case of Thøger. This case demonstrates the acceptance of the importance of papal canonization in the Lund province by the end of the twelfth century as being supreme to the earlier common form of episcopal canonization. This difference between the two provinces should be interpreted as the fact that Denmark was early in its acceptance of the papal prerogative, connected in part to papal interest in Danish support in its struggle with the Holy Roman Emperor, rather than any conscious insubordination on the part of the Uppsala province reflected in its lack of applications to the papacy for canonizations.

The mostly friendly relationship between the archbishop in Lund, the Danish monarch and the papacy ensured an early adherence to a procedure of seeking papal approval for new saints long before the bull of 1234. The first example of this relationship and the importance of papal canonization was that of Knud the Holy.<sup>809</sup> In addition, his canonization was an example of the positive relationship between the monarch in Denmark and the pope.

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<sup>807</sup> Oertel 2013. Jönsson 1991. Ahnlund argues that the “drunken saint” was Knud Magnusen, see Ahnlund 1948: 297-298. For an overview of the various views, see Sands 2008: 208. For more recent publications which support Erik as the “drunken saint”, see Lehtonen 2007: 9. Klaniczay 2010: 303. For Knud Magnusen, father of Niels of Aarhus, see Annals: *Chronologia ab Anno 266 ad 1430* in Scrip. Rer. Sue. I, 22ff: “MCLVI Obiit beatus Kanutus rex et martyr roskildensis” and “MCXXX Sanctus Kanutus ringstadis martirizatus est”. Franciscan Annals: Scrip. Rer. Sue. I, 61: “MCLVI Obiit beatus Kanutus Rex et Martir Roskildensis”. See also Wallin 1975: 152ff., Fröjmark 1998: 198, Harrison 2004: esp. 43-44.

<sup>808</sup> Cf. Jönsson 1991.

<sup>809</sup> Cf. Gelting 2007: 101.

From the outset, the Uppsala province adhered to the traditional method – episcopal approval of the cults of saints. However, by the end of the thirteenth century, bishops were seen to be modifying cults to fit the new papal canonization requirements, for example the later claim in her *vita* that Elin of Skövde had been canonized.

This lack of interest in obtaining a canonization bull from the pope does not indicate that the bishoprics under Uppsala acted entirely independently of the papacy. As has been shown, obtaining papal indulgences to honour native saints seems to have been common. That in itself demonstrated an awareness of the papal prerogative in ecclesiastical matters. In effect, informing the papacy about a saint and obtaining a confirmation of the appropriateness of the saint demonstrated a conscious adherence and awareness of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The later claims to papal canonization made for certain saints demonstrated an acceptance of the reforms of 1234 and an attempt to fit these saints into the new saintly template.

The Lund province can be seen to have continued its acceptance of papal canonization as it ascribed to the newly prescribed formal proceedings shortly after the 1234 decree. Wilhelm of Æbelholt and Erik Plovpenning were the subjects of formal canonization proceedings, at least in terms of miracle collection. Although it is possible that Archbishop Absalon made an attempt to have Margarete canonized in the late-twelfth century, the first sources that reveal an apparent attempt at canonizing Margarete are from the mid-thirteenth century and by Archbishop Jakob Erlandsen.<sup>810</sup>

Only one of these saints received a formal papal canonization and a continued cult. In the Uppsala province, the renewal of Erik the Holy's cult included the recording of miracles in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, which can be seen as directly related to the new formalities. However, in other dioceses in the Uppsala province, miracles were not necessary for the continued success of other cults. In addition, there are no records of canonization proceedings in the pre-1300 period in the Uppsala province.

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<sup>810</sup> The letters are undated. See also Damsholt 1985: 210-211, Clausen 2009.



## **Saints in secular and ecclesiastical politics**

It is important to discuss secular politics in a study of the establishment of the Church in what would be the medieval kingdom of Denmark. Franks, Anglo-Saxons and the struggle for primacy over the Danish bishoprics has been overwhelmingly present in research on the Christianization period.<sup>811</sup> One of the reasons for this interest is the fact that a large number of the saints from this ecclesiastical province were royal. Not surprisingly, secular and ecclesiastical politics were not conceived of as entirely separate. Although not as obvious as their neighbours, a similar connection between medieval secular and ecclesiastical politics has been identified in the area that would become the Swedish kingdom by the thirteenth century. The cults of saints had a role to play in this arena.

In addition to their place in the devotional lives of Christians, saints served both socio-political and financial purposes. While these purposes for promoting the cult of a saint could have been interrelated, for example, the financial benefit of having a shrine could also influence a political decision to promote the cult. Not only royal saints were especially venerated by the royal laity. Many non-royal, native saints were especially venerated in royal circles, for example Thøger of Vestervig, Wilhelm of Æbelholt, and Kjeld of Ribe, who were included in the private liturgical Calendar from *Kong Valdemars Jordebog*, originally compiled in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>812</sup> The feast days of all of these native saints were observed as *festum chori*. Their inclusion in a Calendar presumably produced for the laity indicates their wide-spread importance and veneration.

As expected, the most prominent group of laity in the sources from the region were the rulers and their families. From the beginning of the conversion period, the Church sought and required secular political stability in order to function properly. A missionary church might be able to flourish and grow in an area with an unstable political base; however, for the Church to assume its proper, complex administrative and judicial form it was an absolute necessity to have access to a stable ruling class.

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<sup>811</sup> See, for example, Gelting 2007: 83-34.

<sup>812</sup> Aakjær 1926-1943a, Aakjær 1926-1943b, Johansen 1933: 149-150, Jørgensen 1907-8.

*Caught in the middle: saints in secular and ecclesiastical political conflicts*

The cults of new saints were, in some cases, directly connected to periods of institutional establishment or crisis, as in the case of the foundation of Växjö. In other cases, these events do not seem to have directly affected the cults of new saints. For instance, from 1133 until 1138, the Archbishopric of Lund was temporarily suppressed and its status given to the see of Hamburg-Bremen, formerly a metropolitan see, which had originally been given jurisdiction over Scandinavia and was in charge of missionary work.<sup>813</sup> However, this transition does not seem to have made a lasting impression in the sources for the cults of native saints in Hamburg-Bremen, i.e. the later printed Calendars. In other words, Danish saints do not appear to have been added to Hamburg-Bremen Calendars during this period. Moreover, Ansgar, a ninth-century Hamburg-Bremen saint and Scandinavian missionary, was probably not added to Lund Calendars until the end of the thirteenth century at the earliest; however, Ansgar's relics were incorporated into the altar of Lund cathedral's new crypt in 1123 and he is included in the *Memoriale fratrum (Necrologium Lundense)* which could indicate a possible desire to continue the ecclesiastical or spiritual connection with Hamburg-Bremen or placate the archdiocese in some way.<sup>814</sup> His feast day is missing, however, from all extant twelfth and thirteenth-century Calendars and Missals from Lund. These sources for Ansgar's veneration all predate the suppression of the new Lund province, however, and do not support an attempt of Hamburg-Bremen to influence veneration practices in Lund at that time.

It has been stated that there were almost no missionary saints venerated by their contemporaries in what became the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund.<sup>815</sup> Possible influencing factors were political conflicts concerning the primacy of Hamburg-Bremen in the area, political relations between various Danish kings and the Holy Roman Emperor, and relations with the papacy.<sup>816</sup> As mentioned, there are in fact saints linked to the

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<sup>813</sup> See Gelting 2004a: 224, Gelting 2007: 95.

<sup>814</sup> Helander 1989: 28-30.

<sup>815</sup> Gelting 2007: 99.

<sup>816</sup> For a critical view of Hamburg-Bremen and the questionable credibility of their claims to primacy over Scandinavia, see, for example, Janson 2009: 67-69.

conversion period, although their veneration is only evident at a later date: Liufdag of Ribe, Thøger of Vestervig and, to a lesser extent and much later, Ansgar. Although speculative, it is worth mentioning that Poppo (missionary to the Danes) and Harald Bluetooth (similar to Olav of Norway) were likely candidates for veneration as missionary saints. The lack of a continued cult, especially for Poppo, if there indeed was one, could have been a conscious, political downplay of Hamburg-Bremen's role in the conversion of the Danish kingdom and reflects the conflict the German archdiocese had with Lund. In Denmark, the predominant missionary cult of this period is that of Thøger, whose cult emerged in the mid-eleventh century.<sup>817</sup> The final saint to have arisen in the Lund province before 1300, Wilhelm, represents the integration of Denmark and the Lund province into Europe.

A further ecclesiastical incident which could potentially have encouraged the promotion of saints in two dioceses, was the Roskilde-Lund archbishop/primacy conflict.<sup>818</sup> However, contrary to the *loca sanctorum* promotion theory, as mentioned, neither Lund nor Roskilde promoted a cult around any of its local saints until Knud Lavard's murder in 1131. In the cases of these dioceses, especially Lund, the early drive to create *loca sanctorum* was dependent on the diocese or area and was not a Scandinavian phenomenon in general.

The fact that the Danish kingdom was closer to the Holy Roman Empire and Rome than the Swedish kingdom affected the Danish relationship with the emperor and the pope. For example, the Danish aristocracy, both secular and ecclesiastical, chose sides in the twelfth-century schism. In the 1160s, the Danish king allied himself with the emperor while the archbishop in Lund always showed firm ties to the papacy. Valdemar I supported the emperor's anti-pope Victor while Archbishop Eskil supported Alexander III. This involvement in papal politics affected the relationship between the king and the archbishop, discouraging the archbishop's acceptance of saints that the monarch might have wished to

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<sup>817</sup> Ansgar's veneration as a saint became important at a late date in the Danish kingdom, after the archbishopric was secure and the possibilities of numerous, alternative conversion stories were deemed possible. Cf. Gelting 2007: 99, Carlé and Fröjmark 1996: 512,530, Gertz 1908-1912: 9.

<sup>818</sup> See also Gelting 2004a: 196-197.

promote, such as Knud Lavard. However, the king's change of allegiance by 1170, and the return of Eskil from exile, improved relations between the archbishop and the king, ensuring Knud Lavard's canonization.<sup>819</sup>

In the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, the state of affairs by the end of the thirteenth century differed greatly from the twelfth century.<sup>820</sup> The Danish king, Valdemar I, controlled much of the eastern Baltic, including Estonia, while the church was actively attempting to promote the exclusive use of canon law and the supremacy of the pope and church over kings. A central figure in this conflict was Archbishop Jakob Erlandsen (archbishop from 1254-1274). The Danish king opposed the kind of church reform that the archbishop and the pope promoted. Among other items of dispute was the right of the clergy to live exclusively by the tenants of canon law and be excluded from the secular law of kings. The conflict with the king was often violent and Jakob Erlandsen was forced into exile for a period.

One of the reasons for the promotion and emergence of Erik Plovpenning's cult by the kings was related to this ecclesiastical-secular political conflict. The promotion of Erik's cult, and thereby the dynasty's sacral legitimacy, supported the Danish kings in their cause against the archbishop. In addition, Kristoffer I used his familial connection to Knud Lavard to insist on his authority in the power struggle with the archbishop.<sup>821</sup>

However, the use of Erik Plovpenning in this dispute would ultimately prove detrimental to his cult. The unsuccessful canonizations of Erik Plovpenning, as well as Niels of Aarhus, in the thirteenth century were due to a number of factors. Firstly, the political dispute with the archbishop indicated that the Danish monarchs did not have support for canonization of these saints from the head of the Lund province, neither episcopal nor papal. Secondly, as was its right after 1234, the papacy often stalled canonization processes in favour of the archbishop. In this case, the canonization proceedings of these saints

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<sup>819</sup> Friis-Jensen 2006: 197, 201. Friis-Jensen also speculates that the Danish crusading efforts helped convince Alexander III to canonize Knud Lavard. This crusading connection fits in with Villads Jensen's theory that Knud Lavard's cult and guilds were part of the crusading movement. See below.

<sup>820</sup> It is important to note that the eastern Baltic area was also under Lund's primacy after Valdemar I gained control of the area. In the early-thirteenth century, Denmark subjugated Estonia and Tallinn (Reval) came under the authority of Lund. However, this area has been excluded from the present study.

<sup>821</sup> Cf. Wallin 1975: 57.

failed to obtain the favour of the papacy.<sup>822</sup> It was impossible to come to a compromise. Finally, royal efforts to promote these saints dissipated. Thus, royal saints could be viewed as playing pieces in a game of power, useful for the moment but not necessarily worthy of a lasting cult.

An attempt to canonize Margarete by Archbishop Erlandsen coincided with the efforts of the king to initiate papal canonization proceedings for other saints, namely Niels of Aarhus and Erik Plovpenning as discussed above, which were also connected to the royal-ecclesiastical dispute in the mid-thirteenth century. The choice of Niels and Erik as new saints with royal backing is perhaps not surprising; however, it is significant that Margarete, a lay-woman, was the saint-of-choice for the church officials in this race of holy legitimization.

However, the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala differed. It does not appear that any of the saints were involved in a conflict between secular and ecclesiastical political interests, but any discord was instead among ecclesiastical institutions. This absence was possibly due to the fact that the area was not fully developed as a kingdom at the time. The Linköping versus Växjö conflict was reflected in the two bishoprics' promotion of the same saint, Sigfrid, and Växjö's continued efforts to prove its right to a see. By the fourteenth century, secular political acceptance of the *locus sancti* of the Växjö Cathedral and Sigfrid was reflected in the endorsement of King Magnus Eriksson. The king stated that Växjö was the oldest bishopric in the realm providing evidence of royal favour for a bishopric and acceptance of the message in Sigfrid's saint's legend.<sup>823</sup>

### *Creating holy families: founding dynasties, dynastic continuation and the cults of saints*

Compared to only one in the Uppsala province, there were a large number of royal saints in the Lund province. The cults of several saints validated royal authority, tying in to the ecclesiastical need for stability in the days of establishment; however, just because a saint was from the royal family did not indicate that s/he would be used in order to enhance the monarch's

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<sup>822</sup> For another view on the political motives and papal prerogatives surrounding the canonization attempts of Niels of Aarhus, Erik Plovpenning and Margarete, see Clausen 2009: 330-334.

<sup>823</sup> See Larsson 1975: 8.

position. Several saints from Denmark were used in validation of authority – Knud the Holy and his relative Knud Lavard being the most obvious examples, as well as the previously discussed Erik Plovpenning and Niels of Aarhus. However, Erik the Holy, seemingly a prime candidate for use in validating his family's superior claim to the Swedish throne, was not initially promoted as such. It was not until nearly a century later, when Uppsala Cathedral was moved, that a monarch, Valdemar Birgersson, showed an interest in aligning himself with the saint.

One method of determining the importance of a particular saint to a political figure is the appearance on an official seal. However, in the period before 1300, most royal seals feature neither saints nor saints' symbols, although religious signs such as crosses are used and on reference to the Virgin Mary has been found – the image on Queen Margareta's seal from ca 1263 is of the Virgin Mary with the text "*Margareta regina daci*".<sup>824</sup> The same absence of saints and their symbols is true for the seals of nobles and merchant towns before the end of the thirteenth century.

Saints had a role to play in dynastic politics – the legitimacy of kings as rulers and supporting a hereditary kingship rather than election.<sup>825</sup> The notion of a saintly dynasty (*beata stirps*) gained popularity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although in Scandinavia, and elsewhere such as Anglo-Saxon England, it is possible to discern an interest in a holy ancestor from the eleventh century. For instance, the canonization of Knud the Holy has been interpreted as part of the ecclesiastical need for political stability.<sup>826</sup> Knud gave credence to the idea of monarchical authority and provided a form of legitimization, without actually supporting a specific dynasty. During his reign, according to his *vita*, Knud the Holy attempted to change and influence social traditions in favour of the church.

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<sup>824</sup> Petersen 1917: 2. For a discussion of how bishops (and not just the royal chancery) began to make themselves and their authority visible with seals in the eleventh century, as well as a discussion of the philosophical implications of the use of imprints, see Bedos-Rezak 2004.

<sup>825</sup> See Geary 2006: 327-328.

<sup>826</sup> For *beata stirps*, see Klaniczay 2002: 12, 88-89, 399. For further discussion of the concept in relation to German, Merovingian and Scandinavian kings, see also Oertel 2014: 65-72. See, also, Breengaard 1982: 148-149, 163, 166-174. Fröjmark claims that the motives for canonizing Knud the Holy and Erik the Holy were similar; however, Knud's actions that have been interpreted as pro-church or having an anti-social nature do not have a parallel in the reasons for Erik's martyrdom. Fröjmark 1996a: 408.

Many kings actively supported Knud the Holy's cult. Firstly, his successor, Erik Ejegod, played a key role in its promotion, petitioning the papacy for support in Knud the Holy's canonization.<sup>827</sup> Moreover, between 1104 and 1134, King Niels' made donations to the church in Odense on three separate occasions (including one for the soul of his son) and wrote a letter of privilege to the abbey.<sup>828</sup> In the mid-twelfth century, King Erik III Lam sided with the monks of St Knud in Odense in their request to have the right to St Alban's church showing his support for the cult of his ancestor.<sup>829</sup> In the 1140s, Erik III Lam donated property to the monks in Odense and confirmed privileges of the Knud-brothers, again siding with the monks in a dispute and invoking Knud's name in a prayer.<sup>830</sup>

In 1175, King Valdemar I was responsible for confirming the rights and privileges of St Knud's Abbey in Odense.<sup>831</sup> The letter refers to both saints named Knud as the dating refers to the *translatio* of Knud Lavard.<sup>832</sup> In other words, Valdemar was aware of both saints Knud and also considered the support of Knud the Holy's cult important.

Familial ties were also evident in the promotion of Knud Lavard's cult. Valdemar's initiative resulted in the elevation of his father, Knud Lavard, coinciding with the crowning of his son in 1170.<sup>833</sup> This action emphasized the connection of Valdemar's family with the saint and would have given an added solemnity to the coronation. Knud Lavard's brother, Erik II Emune and Knud VI were also promoters of the cult, especially concerning the decoration of the shrine.<sup>834</sup>

The feast days of the royal saints Knud the Holy and Knud Lavard were also included in the Calendar from *Kong Valdemars Jordebog*. Knud the Holy's *translatio* was marked as a *festum chori* and his *Passio* as a *festum fori/terrae*.<sup>835</sup>

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<sup>827</sup> See, especially, Breengaard 1982: 148-149, 162ff..

<sup>828</sup> DD 1:2:32, DD 1:2:34, DD 1:2:35 (Table 2.11)

<sup>829</sup> DD 1:2:71 (Table 2.11)

<sup>830</sup> DD 1:2:81, DD 1:2:85 (Table 2.11)

<sup>831</sup> DD 1:3:49 (Table 2.11)

<sup>832</sup> However, the date is also given as the seventh calends of July ("*septima Calendar iulii in die sancti Canuti martyris...*"), which indicates that some confusion could be possible as to which Knud the letter referred. DD 1:3:49 (Table 2.11)

<sup>833</sup> For a discussion of the literary production in connection with these celebrations, see Mortensen 2006b: 259, Friis-Jensen 2006: 197-202ff.

<sup>834</sup> DD 1:2:65, DD 1:2:122, DD 1:3:135, DD 1:3:15, DD 1:3:62, DD 1:3:63, DD 1:3:107 (the guild in Flensborg was originally associated with Knud Lavard).

<sup>835</sup> Table 2.1



However, it was Knud Lavard who enjoyed a *festum fori/terrae* for both of his feasts in this Calendar.<sup>836</sup> This inclusion demonstrates an awareness of and a relationship to a Danish pantheon of saints, at least in royal circles, by the end of the thirteenth century. In addition, the feasts of Knud Lavard were of greater importance to the royal family than that of Knud the Holy.

Sometime before 1241 and again in 1242, King Erik IV Plovpenning, who was later promoted as a saint himself, confirmed his father Valdemar II's letter of privilege, again showing royal support for the Knud-brothers in Odense.<sup>837</sup> A sign of the conflict between Erik Plovpenning and his brother Duke Abel of Jylland emerged with a duplicate letter by Abel also confirming his father's letter of privilege to the Knud-brothers in Odense.<sup>838</sup> Furthermore, after the fire in Odense, a number of measures were taken by King Erik VI Menved to aid in the abbey's recovery.<sup>839</sup> Clearly, the abbey was favoured by the kings.

Further interest in connecting oneself with a saint and using sanctity as a means of legitimization is found in the confirmation of gifts by King Knud VI. While using a phrase to support the sanctity of his ancestor, King Knud VI confirmed the donations given by his ancestor Knud the Holy and the founding of cathedral chapter in Lund.<sup>840</sup> In addition, King Knud VI confirmed the privileges of the abbey in Odense.<sup>841</sup> The donations and assurances of kings for the abbey in Odense continued with King Valdemar II Sejr's donation in 1202 or 1203.<sup>842</sup> He also confirmed the donation to the Lund Cathedral Chapter made by his ancestor Knud, "*Sancte igitur memorie rex Kanutus*", and re-affirmed the rights of the monks in Odense.<sup>843</sup> The continued reaffirmation of the privileges by kings shows a connection to the abbey and the importance of the saint to the royal family.

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<sup>836</sup> Table 2.2

<sup>837</sup> DD 1:6:148, DD 1:7:104. Other letters written by a royal by the name of Erik confirm the privileges of the monastery. These can be dated from the 1230s to the early-fifteenth century and show a continuity in royal support for the caretakers of the shrine of the royal saint Knud the Holy. DD 1:6:152-161 and DD 1:6:162 (Table 2.11)

<sup>838</sup> DD 1:6:149 (Table 2.11)

<sup>839</sup> DD 2:3:325, DD 2:3:326, DD 2:3:327 (Table 2.11)

<sup>840</sup> DD 1:3:134 (Table 2.11) The letter is written in the sacred memory of King Knud: "*Sancte igitur memorie rex Kanutus*."

<sup>841</sup> DD 1:3:189 (Table 2.11)

<sup>842</sup> DD 1:4:45 (Table 2.11)

<sup>843</sup> DD 1:4:45 (Table 2.11)

Several other royals or aristocrats supported the cult of Knud the Holy through donations or wishes to be buried in the cathedral in Odense. Some of these have direct familial connections with Knud the Holy, but not all. For example, Knud, son of Duke Prizlav wished to be buried in an Odense church and thus made a donation to the monks and Knud the Holy in 1183.<sup>844</sup> A squire named Åstred made a donation to the abbey in about 1239.<sup>845</sup> In 1261, Duke Erik Abelsen of Jylland, Erik Plovpenning's nephew, placed Knud the Holy's abbey under his protection and confirmed its previous donations.<sup>846</sup> The diploma was composed in Sønderborg in the Slesvig Diocese and shows a royal connection or interest in the abbey independent of which territory or region the royal person controlled.<sup>847</sup> The attraction of the abbey was directly related to their connection to Knud the Holy.

With regard to the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, the political importance of cults of saints, at least for the ruling class, came at a later date.<sup>848</sup> In previous research, the cult of Erik the Holy has been regarded as an entirely secular-politically based cult, with support from one of the two families that were struggling against each other to gain absolute control over what became the kingdom of Sweden.<sup>849</sup> This idea is based on the fact that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were characterized by political instability in Sweden. A dynastic cult would theoretically have provided an incentive for a strong ruler to cooperate with a missionary church and lead to its proper establishment in the area. This process seems to be the case for the further promotion of, for example, Olav the Holy and Knud the Holy's cults from an early date.

According to this hypothesis, the Sverker-dynasty had better connections to and support from the papacy, especially shown by the fact that the Uppsala Archbishopric was established during Karl Sverkersson's reign.<sup>850</sup> In this view,

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<sup>844</sup> DD 1:3:116 (Table 2.11) The abbey's seal is also significant, see the section on Odense in Chapter Three.

<sup>845</sup> DD 1:7:32 (Table 2.11) See, also, the section on Odense.

<sup>846</sup> DD 2:1:342 (Table 2.11)

<sup>847</sup> In 1270, Kristine, the widow of the former chamberlain, Niels, donated property to Dalum Nunnery. The prior of Knud's Abbey was one of the witnesses. This connection between the two Benedictine Houses is perhaps not surprising; however, it does give another example of the importance of Knud's Abbey in Odense. DD 2:2:152 (Table 2.11)

<sup>848</sup> Recent research supports this development. See, for example, Oertel 2014.

<sup>849</sup> See, for example, Blomkvist et al. 2007: 189f., Schmid 1959.

<sup>850</sup> Hallencreutz 1996b: 255-256, Ahnlund 1948: 302, Sands 2008: 209.

the papacy considered the Sverker family more suitable for ruling the throne and Erik's family needed some proof, such as a saintly relative, to lend support to their claim as the rightful rulers. However, the Church was in favour of stability and a stable political organisation in the form of kingship.<sup>851</sup> The papacy merely interpreted Karl Sverks'son's reign to be suitable to the founding of a new ecclesiastical province, which presumably had been in the works for some time.

The theory that Erik the Holy's family promoted his cult in the late-twelfth century is in itself understandable, as the church's establishment phase was dependent on secular power. Without this support, the church's institutionalization was compromised. These needs required tools of legitimization which everyone could understand, including the endorsement of God.

However, there is no clear evidence that Erik's son Knut, king from 1167, actively promoted the cult. The initial promotion of Erik the Holy's cult in the twelfth century was actually tied to ecclesiastical politics.<sup>852</sup> In fact, it does not appear that his family showed much initial interest in actively promoting his cult and it was the Uppsala Archbishopric that acted as the primary initiator of the cult in the twelfth century.

The first definitive indication of dynastic support of Erik's cult came with Valdemar Birgersson and Birger Jarl in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>853</sup> Valdemar (1250-1275), the son of Birger Jarl and Ingeborg Eriksdotter, was related to both the Sverker and Erik-families. In 1270, he issued a charter which claimed Erik, the king and martyr, was his ancestor.<sup>854</sup> Later in the thirteenth century, Magnus Eriksson continued Valdemar Birgersson's attempts to legitimize the family's superior claim to the throne and in so doing establish a dynasty. In fact, Birger Jarl and his descendants were active supporters of the church in general through donations. Moreover, they were interested in the codification of the laws, seeing the king as the bringer of peace and justice.<sup>855</sup> All of these events can be seen reflected in the *lectiones* for Erik the Holy's office. The composition of Erik's *officium* also coincided with during the period in which the Folkunga Dynasty was in

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<sup>851</sup> Fröjmark 1996a: 408f.

<sup>852</sup> For a similar critical view of this assumption, see: Oertel 2014. See also Oertel 2013.

<sup>853</sup> Ahnlund 1948: 302.

For example, DS 546 and DS 570 (Table 3.14)

<sup>854</sup> DS 546 (Table 3.14)

<sup>855</sup> Lehtonen 2007: 9-11.

the process of solidifying their hold on the crown. Likewise, the provincial laws were codified in the last-half of the thirteenth century and the Swedish ecclesiastical organization was also formalized around the same time.

According to previous research, the reason that the Uppsala Archdiocese showed a renewed interest in promoting Erik the Holy's cult was the threat of the emerging cult of Erik Plovpenning. In addition, Erik Plovpenning's connections to Birger Jarl's family have been cited as the promotional cause. The basis of this conclusion includes reference to Erik Plovpenning's miracle stories being placed in *Suecia*; however, the cults of the Knuds and, of course, Olav were able to co-exist in the Uppsala province. Thus, the interest in Erik the Holy's cult was due to other factors, most specifically related to the promotion of *loca sanctorum*.<sup>856</sup>

Familial connections to a royal saint should have led to its spread to other areas and increased pilgrimage across borders. For instance, Erik Plovpenning's connections to the ruling family in Sweden are given as reasons for Birger Jarl's pilgrimage to Erik's grave in Ringsted. Erik Plovpenning's daughter, Sophia, apparently took the cult with her to Sweden when she married the Swedish king, Valdemar Birgersson. However, there is no further indication that Erik Plovpenning was venerated outside of the royal circle. He was not granted a liturgical cult, although numerous miracles were attributed to him and recorded.<sup>857</sup>

The attempted canonization of Erik Plovpenning can also be seen as part of a late-thirteenth century conflict for the throne.<sup>858</sup> As mentioned Abel, Erik's brother, is usually blamed for his murder. Margaret Sambiria, the wife of Erik's other brother, Kristoffer I, could have been responsible for writing an appeal to either Pope Innocent IV (1243-54) or Pope John XXI (1276-77).<sup>859</sup> It appears Margaret acted alone at first. Kristoffer was not prepared to publically endorse the cult until 1258 when he

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<sup>856</sup> See Ahnlund 1948: 315-316.

<sup>857</sup> Olrik 1893-1894: 382ff.. Ahnlund 1948: 312-315. Cf. Wallin 1975: 56-57.

<sup>858</sup> See, for example, Christensen 1965-68: 32-33, 35-36.

<sup>859</sup> The idea put forth here is that a scribal error was the reason for the name "Johannes" in the copy of the original document, instead of "Innocent". The reason given is that the stated place of Erik Plovpenning's burial was only accurate before 1258 and, therefore, the letter must have been written during Innocent's papacy. Christensen 1965-68: 21, 22-23. The letter has more recently been dated to 1252-54 when Margaret Sambiria was queen and Innocent was still pope. See Clausen 2009: 319. It is also possible that the letter refers to John XXIII, who was also pope when Margaret Sambiria was queen.

supported the translation of Erik's body to Ringsted. In this way he visibly demonstrated his support of the queen's cause, which would also benefit his own descendants.

The descendants of Kristoffer decided to portray Erik Plovpenning's murder as a martyrdom and the subsequent miracles only added credence to their cause – control of the kingdom. Erik Plovpenning's cult arose at the tail-end of the era of saint-making in the Lund province which had begun in the twelfth century. This fact could also partly explain the lack of liturgy associated with him and why he was not canonized; however, Erik as a saint served a legitimization purpose for the Danish royal family

The cult that grew up around Erik Plovpenning and his biography were important instruments in the defamation campaign against Abel and his descendants. Accusing Abel of fratricide, although his involvement in the murder was at best tenuous, led to questioning of his ability as a king. His death a short time after his succession to the throne encouraged some of his contemporaries to conclude that it was the intervention of divine punishment. It also led to the conclusion that his sons were also tainted and not fit to rule. Kristoffer succeeded his brother, despite the fact that Abel had sons and an apparent ruling in favour of direct succession had been agreed upon in the early 1250s. The canonization attempt can be seen as promotion of a new dynastic saint, following in the footsteps of Knud the Holy and Knud Lavard.<sup>860</sup> Adding another saint to these dynasties continued their sacral legitimation. Both Erik Plovpenning and Niels of Aarhus' cults were supported and promoted by Kristoffer I. Although both cults failed, the initial purpose of the promotion would have provided Kristoffer with an even holier ancestry: his brother, Erik, and his relative, Niels. Niels' father, Knud V Magnusen, had even ruled together with Kristoffer's grandfather.<sup>861</sup> As mentioned, King Valdemar Birgersson issued several letters in connection with the cult of Erik the Holy and the cathedral in Uppsala. Besides the record of the decision to move the cathedral, Valdemar also made a generous donation to the new cathedral in Uppsala in honour of his at the time of Erik the Holy's translation.<sup>862</sup>

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<sup>860</sup> Christensen 1965-68: 36-37, 43. Discussion of the canonization attempt also found in Clausen 2009: 318-319.

<sup>861</sup> Kristoffer's grandfather was Valdemar I (the Great), who reigned together with Niels' father Knud V Magnusen.

<sup>862</sup> DS 570. Valdemar also indicated that the property was to support Jakob Israelsson's canonry. (Table 3.14)

A parallel example to the Danish interest in royal saints can be found in the Arpadian saints, Elizabeth and Margaret, in thirteenth-century Hungary.<sup>863</sup> All of these saints provided their descendants with a saintly lineage and were nearly contemporary with Erik Plovpenning. Contrary to Erik Plovpenning, however, their cults were enormously successful.

### *Saints as political mirrors*

In the Lund province, the idea of saintly kings being mirrors for later kings was evident from the early-twelfth century. For instance, the introduction written by Ælnoth in Knud the Holy's *Passio* was dedicated to Niels Svensen and explicitly encouraged him to act like his older brother, Knud the Holy. The details in this legend were to be read as guidelines for Niels and future monarchs.

Erik the Holy could also have been used as an exemplar for kings. His *vita*, composed in about 1280, contains the tenuous claim that Erik led a crusade to Finland, as well as listing other typical saintly virtues. The sources point towards the promotion of Erik's cult as an essential part in the formation of a stable archdiocese and ecclesiastical province. For example, Erik's legend supported the promotion of a king as the bringer of justice.<sup>864</sup> Furthermore, Erik was described as supportive of the Church and a church-builder (much like Elin of Skövde). In addition, all hagiography associated with Erik can be seen as legitimizing the Church in Scandinavia in its description of the coming of Christianity to the region.

There are numerous links between Erik the Holy and Henrik of Finland's cult. In addition to the literary connection between the two saints in Henrik's legend and in later medieval ecclesiastical art, the very nature of these saints and their cultic objects associate them with law and justice. Moreover, Erik was seen as a just monarch and a role model for all future kings in the region. For example, in the Law of Uppland (1296), Erik the Holy is named as one of the founding "fathers" of the law. This aspect tied in to his cult's didactic purpose for the general public and as a kingly mirror. Additionally, Erik was similar to Olav the Holy in this role

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<sup>863</sup> Klaniczay 2002: 298ff.

<sup>864</sup> Similar details are also found in the legend of Henrik of Finland. Cf. Lehtonen 2007: 12ff.

as the founder of just and right laws for his kingdom.<sup>865</sup> Initially, however, these aspects of his cult were not appreciated by the late-twelfth century rulers. The political situation in late-twelfth century Sweden was such that claiming a holy ancestor did not enhance a person's right to rule.

Henrik of Finland's cult can also be seen to have a part to play in the promotion of canon law and ecclesiastical rights in the newly Christianized area.<sup>866</sup> Henrik's connection to this history was important as a bishop and as he was seen as a martyr for bringing the official faith and its attendant system of laws and organisation to people who had been without. The Christian view of how society should be run was important in this instance.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, regulations which agreed with canon law were in place in Sweden. This consolidation took place during the reigns of Earl (*jarl*) Birger Magnusson and, especially, his son King Magnus Birgersson Ladulås.<sup>867</sup> In Denmark, the first law books were written in the twelfth century and have no reference to canon law, unlike their equivalents in Sweden. As for charters in Denmark, the earliest of these were issued by the king, clergy (usually bishops) and royals; the lay aristocracy did not issue charters until the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>868</sup>

### *Secular foundations and native saints: guilds*

In addition to the ruling families, a secular factor that influenced the geographical spread of the cults of new native saints was the role of guilds. Most of the early evidence for guild dedications show that the native saints of choice were royal saints, in particular Olav the Holy and Knud the Holy or Knud Lavard.

The extant official guild-seals with images of guild patrons highlight the geographical spread of cults of native saints. These saints included Knud the Holy or Knud Lavard on seals for guilds in the thirteenth century.<sup>869</sup>

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<sup>865</sup> Lehtonen 2007: 10-11, Sands 2008: 213-214.

<sup>866</sup> Cf. Lehtonen 2007: 18-20.

<sup>867</sup> Blomkvist et al. 2007: 205.

<sup>868</sup> Gelting 2007: 104-105.

<sup>869</sup> *Sigillum Convivarum* from guilds dedicated to either Knud the Holy or Knud Lavard from: Aalborg ("Aleburg", c. 1275), Falsterbo ("Valsterbode", c. 1300), Kolding (c. 1300), Lund (c. 1250), Malmö ("Malmøhe", c. 1300), Odense (c. 1250), Randers (Randrus, c. 1300), Ribe ("Ripa", c. 1300), Storheddinge ("Heddinge Makle", c. 1256), Tommerup, Skåne (Tumathorp, c. 1275), Vordingborg ("Wedhinburc Selandie", c. 1300), Ringstad ("Ringstadensis", c. 1275). See Petersen 1886: 23-30.



*Knudsgilder* (Knud Guilds) could be found throughout the area controlled by the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund, as well as outside of its jurisdiction. They were merchant or protection guilds for crusaders and sometimes associated with Knud Lavard as the latter type.<sup>870</sup>

The earliest evidence for a *Knudsgild* is the letter, dated to approximately 1170-82, written by King Valdemar I to the new Knud Guild from Gotland located in Ringsted. The king expressed his interest in supporting and joining the newly formed guild. In addition, he actively supported the dedication of the guild in honour of his father, who was considered a saint. The branch of the guild was also involved in the financial support of Ringsted Abbey, a further tie between the ruling families and the abbey.<sup>871</sup>

The *Knudsgilder* were founded in the twelfth century. It has been assumed that these guilds were formed due to commercial interests and were dedicated to Knud Lavard. However, recent research has argued that the early *Knudsgilder* were instead crusader guilds. The basis of this reasoning is related to the proximity of Denmark to the continent and the fact that it wished to promote itself as a crusader kingdom and pull itself from the periphery of Western Christendom into the centre of the crusading cult.<sup>872</sup>

In this interpretation, the contemporary view of Knud Lavard as a warrior saint meant that the guilds were similar to the Knights Templar founded in the early twelfth century without, however, the aspect of being a religious order whose members took vows similar to those taken by monks. Knud Lavard was often associated with crusaders and depicted as a warrior, for example on the seal from Slesvig's *Knudsgild* from around 1200.<sup>873</sup> This idea could also be linked to the medieval acceptance of warrior saints, even outside of Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia. For example, St James was transformed into such a saint and connected to the Christian reconquering of the Iberian Peninsula.

From the thirteenth century, there was a shift in saintly patronage and in some cases, it is not clear whether a guild is dedicated to Knud the Holy

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<sup>870</sup> For further discussion of the "mutual insurance fellowships", see Villads Jensen 2002: 64, 81-82, Wallin 1975: 49-50.

<sup>871</sup> DD 1:3:63 (Table 2.12) DD gives the date as 1177. The guild's main branch was located on Gotland.

<sup>872</sup> See Villads Jensen 2004, Villads Jensen 2002.

<sup>873</sup> Villads Jensen 2002: 66, 78-81.

or Knud Lavard.<sup>874</sup> In fact, nearly all *Knudsgilder* were later associated with Knud the Holy, even if the same guild had been dedicated to Knud Lavard earlier from about 1300. These later guilds were not crusading in nature, that role having been overtaken by the Order of St John of Jerusalem after its arrival in the Lund province in the 1160s.<sup>875</sup>

The oldest guild charter which specifically mentions a *Knudsgild* comes from Flensborg and has been dated to about 1200. This guild was also placed under the king's protection.<sup>876</sup> The connection of the kings to the guilds influenced the choice of patron saint. As both Knuds were important saintly ancestors of the ruling families, the choice of one of them as patron for the guilds was fitting.

With regard to connections with royal saints, a brief interest in re-assigning guild patronage occurred in the initial promotion of the cult of Erik Plovpenning. In the mid-to-late thirteenth century in Kallehave, a couple of seals show that some guilds were dedicated to Erik Plovpenning.<sup>877</sup> The wall-painting in the church in Kallehave provides evidence that an interest in the cult of Erik Plovpenning was prominent in this town, perhaps due to the efforts of the guild. These guilds had most likely originally been guilds of one of the saints Knud (most likely Lavard). However, this re-assigning of guild patronage did not last and Knud the Holy eventually came out as the winner of the patronage popularity contest.<sup>878</sup>

Regarding the situation in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, the earliest guilds were also *Knudsgilder*, although they emerged a later date than in Denmark. The establishment of *Knudsgilder* in the region also contributed to the spread of the cults. For example, a twelfth-century chapel on Öland was dedicated to Knud which suggests a cultic interest in the area most likely guild-related.<sup>879</sup> In fact, the early guilds that promoted veneration of a specific new saint from the region are dominated by those who venerate Knud the Holy. The merchants could also have been influential in the choice of guild patron.

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<sup>874</sup> Liebgott 1982: 173-174, Villads Jensen 2002: 81-82.

<sup>875</sup> Villads Jensen 2002: 81-82. Knud Lavard was identified as patron from 1170-1256 in Denmark. Wallin 1975: 49-50, 82-83.

<sup>876</sup> DD 1:3:107 (Table 2.12) Villads Jensen 2002: 70-72. See also Wallin 1975: 49-50.

<sup>877</sup> Table 2.10

<sup>878</sup> Cf. Wallin 1975: 56-58, 154, 221.

<sup>879</sup> Wallin 1975: 220-222.

The guilds' interest in the cults of these royal native saints is significant as it provided a means for the cult of Knud to spread.<sup>880</sup> The pre-1300 cults of Knud the Holy and Knud Lavard were found throughout the Lund province, on Gotland and, most likely, on Öland. Prior to 1300, from the extant evidence, only native royal saints from the Lund province were associated with guilds.

### **Saintly Scandinavian women prior to 1300**

A number of similarities arise when examining the lives of the early Scandinavian female saints more closely. For instance, they were all non-royal laywomen. Except for Margarete, who has tentatively been identified as one of Absalon's relatives, they were not noble despite the claims in their legends meant to emphasize their saintly worthiness. None of them were connected to a religious house. In addition, they all were or had been married by the time of their deaths. Moreover, all of them had been killed by relatives, be it in-laws or a spouse, as revenge or a culmination of domestic abuse.<sup>881</sup> In other words, they were all martyrs as a result of familial disputes. Thus, in the early period of the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala, it was possible for a woman to be venerated as a saint if she were non-royal, a member of the laity and a martyr. This combination of factors is a possible Scandinavian trend as they were unusual female saints for this period.<sup>882</sup>

Three saints do not seem like such a large number compared to the numerous male saints in these two provinces. However, when taking into consideration the general picture in the Western Church, the number of female saints has always been proportionally lower than male. This phenomenon was true even in the twelfth century, when the number of female saints began to increase and through the thirteenth to the fifteenth

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<sup>880</sup> Considering the popularity of Olav the Holy throughout the region, it is noteworthy that no extant evidence for a guild dedicated to him exists.

<sup>881</sup> Lundén briefly mentions the similarities among Margarete, Elin and Magnhild: all married women, all martyrs, all died due to familial disputes. However, he does not analyze these aspects more closely. In addition, Lundén makes an attempt to categorize them as "ett klöverblad i nordisk helgonhistoria" [a clover-leaf in the Scandinavian history of saints], which seems to be a modern, rather than medieval, attempt to affix some form of symbolism to the fact that there were three female family-martyr saints in Scandinavia. Lundén 1983: 132-133. See also Fröjmark and Krötzl 1997: 133-134.

<sup>882</sup> Cf. Sahlin 2010: 660ff.

centuries when the overall number of canonized saints decreased.<sup>883</sup> In certain areas, such as what was to be the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, a relatively higher number of female saints had emerged by the time of the Reformation and received both popular and official devotion.

Although the number of female lay saints rose in general throughout Western Christendom at this time, one possible hypothesis for the acceptance of female saints in Sweden was related to the popularity of Marian devotion from the conversion period, as seen on the rune-stones. The veneration of women was accepted from the time of the initial establishment of Christianity in Sweden.<sup>884</sup> When taking into consideration the number of new female saints which emerged in the period before 1300, however, it is surprisingly rather low. Only Elin of Skövde left any record of an official, liturgical cult before the year 1300.

It has been assumed that Ragnhild of Tälje also enjoyed a following before 1300, but this cannot be confirmed from the available sources for the period and remains an issue of conjecture. Regardless of whether or not Ragnhild was venerated before 1300, the fact that the official church actively promoted the cult of at least one woman, including the composition of a *vita* and *officium* at the early stages of her cult, can be seen as an important indicator of the status of women in at least one diocese, that of Skara.

In fact, it is instead the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund that was responsible for the promotion of two cults of female saints in the early period: Margarete and Magnhild. As mentioned, Margarete's cult was supported by the archbishop and erstwhile bishop of Roskilde, Absalon, and his successors.<sup>885</sup> This promotion included mentioning Margarete to the pope, who officially accepted her veneration at her shrine in Our Lady Abbey in Roskilde.<sup>886</sup> With regard to Magnhild, later sources indicate that the archbishopric wished to elevate the cult into an official context in the cathedral. However, no source exists for an attempt made to obtain papal approval of the cult. Furthermore, neither saint was granted an official canonization despite acknowledgement by the archbishops and, in Margarete's case, the pope.

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<sup>883</sup> Weinstein and Bell 1982: 220-221. Vauchez also identifies an "increasing feminization of lay sainthood", at least in general Western Christian terms, from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Vauchez 1997: 268-269.

<sup>884</sup> Ellis 2000: 22-23.

<sup>885</sup> Jakob Erlandsen and Peder Bang. See also Damsholt 1985: 211.

<sup>886</sup> DD 1:3:100 (Table 2.15)

The lack of papal canonization, or even a later claim for a successful canonization, for these Danish women is remarkable in light of the fact that the Danish clergy and other interested parties in Denmark adhered from an early date to the papal claim that the papacy was solely responsible for making saints.<sup>887</sup> One of the results was that non-canonized Danish saints, including Margarete and Magnhild, did not enjoy the same level of later, official veneration. Moreover, their feasts were never added to the liturgy for the province.

The initial support shown by the clergy for the cults of Margarete and Magnhild was important and it gave an official stamp of approval on what were presumably popular cults. Both cults were limited in geographical scope. Margarete's cult was mainly concentrated on the island of Sjælland (Sealand) and within the jurisdiction of the Roskilde Bishopric.<sup>888</sup> Magnhild's cult was concentrated in Fulltofta (her cult centre) and Lund.

In contrast, Elin's lack of proper, papal canonization was not initially a problem for the official church in Skara or the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala. Brynolf Algotsson later claimed in his *officium* for Elin's feast day that Elin had been canonized which indicates that by the end of the thirteenth century all proper saints needed to claim official papal recognition even in that province.

A further aspect that all three of these women had in common was that there does not seem to have been active promotion of their cults by any monastic orders. Although Margarete's shrine was located in the Cistercian abbey in Roskilde, her veneration was not generally endorsed throughout the order. Instead, as mentioned, the bishop and archbishops were the main promoters of her cult, demonstrating the initial importance of establishing her sainthood. Promoting a local cult in Roskilde gave the diocese a *locus sancti* and a shrine with which to attract pilgrims.

A similar promotional situation was apparent in Elin's case. Although her feast day appears in fragments of early Dominican Calendars from the Uppsala province, no other extant evidence of any active promotion of her cult by the mendicants exists.<sup>889</sup> Once again, it is a bishop who built on her existing cult and produced a unique liturgy for her feast day primarily for

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<sup>887</sup> See also Damsholt 1985: 211f., Gelting 2007: 101.

<sup>888</sup> See Ellis Nilsson 2014c.

<sup>889</sup> See also Ellis Nilsson 2014c.

use in Skara, including *exempla* for the lay population. However, taking into consideration the liturgical fragments, the Dominicans within the Uppsala province accepted the cults of new local saints and included them in their Calendars for veneration in new convents, thereby leading to their spread.

With regard to Magnhild, although sources for her cult are sparse, no monastic order was seemingly interested in including her cult in their liturgy. Besides the interest of the local laity, the archbishop and the canons in Lund were the only clergy involved in the control of her cult.<sup>890</sup>

The initial promotion of their cults indicates a clerical acceptance of female piety and sanctity in both provinces. In addition, victims of murder and abuse were shown as acceptable saints. They were victims that had suffered due to their beliefs – a quality they shared with all other martyrs. For example, in Margarete's case, her husband was reported to have been provoked into abusing her by her piety and charitable works, thereby making her suffering holy.

Clerical control of Elin's cult enhanced its popularity, even within the official church. Unlike the others, Elin was the subject of a newly produced liturgy. Although Margarete's *translatio* appears in the Sunesen Psalter and she is the subject of two short legends, an *officium* was never written in her honour, nor did her feast day become a major one. In contrast, Magnhild's feast day was not recorded in the Calendars from the Lund province. In fact, the promotion and clerical control of Margarete and Magnhild's cults seem to have led to a dead-end in the official church, although popular veneration was still in evidence. Thus, despite initial interest by the clergy, it was only Elin's cult which was to grow into a province-wide, regional cult with both popular and official support. Margarete's cult remained a multilocal cult and Magnhild's essentially a unilocal cult, neither with a liturgical celebration.

Taking into consideration the political climate described above, it is clear that the support of women was not directly needed to establish or secure the church as an institution, although they might have played an instrumental role in Christianity's introduction to the region. The relative lack of female saints can, thus, be explained in terms of power relations between the church and the monarchy – run by men – as well as societal gender roles in general. Despite the significant involvement of women in the initial conversion and first stages of

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<sup>890</sup> DD 4:2:338

the Christianization in Scandinavia, the patriarchal structures that arrived with the continued Christianization and the foundation of ecclesiastical institutions restricted the continued influence of women. Thus, the promotion of cults of saints was primarily the prerogative of official ecclesiastical institutions upon whose hierarchy female saints had difficulty finding a place.

From an economic perspective, in the medieval period, a woman was tied economically to her father or husband. It is first as a widow that Elin, for example, could donate to a church. In addition, despite Margarete's wealth and ability to give alms while married, she was still dependant on her husband; his consent was needed before donations were made. His lack of support for her piety suggests that she made donations without his approval, causing more friction in their relationship. In this case, the biographies of Elin and Margarete reveal socio-economic familial relations.

After the official church and its adherent institutions were firmly established in the late-thirteenth century, the Uppsala province continued to promote the cults of new saints and initiated canonization processes. In addition to the continued support for Elin, there were several new female saints. The situation in Uppsala reflects Weinstein and Bell's and Vauchez's findings that female canonizations increased from the thirteenth and, especially, the fourteenth century.<sup>891</sup> In this case, Denmark deviates from the trend with no new canonizations. New cults of unilocal, popular saints without an official liturgy did, however, arise in the Lund province after 1300, for example, Thora in Skåne.

By the end of the fourteenth century, cults of several new female saints had emerged in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala. These included one of the most important saints to have originated in Sweden, Birgitta. Prior to 1300, however, the two ecclesiastical provinces were similar with only one or two female saints. After 1300, the Uppsala province continued to honour new saintly women by encouraging their veneration, while in the Lund province they were conspicuous by their absence.

That is not to say that the springs and wells attributed to various female saints, unknown except for their names, were meaningless in popular devotion in the Lund province. These types of saints existed in the Uppsala province as well: for example, Birte in Ryssby, Småland and Ingemo in

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<sup>891</sup> Weinstein and Bell 1982: 220-221.



Dala, Västergötland. However, in the official liturgy of the Lund province, there was a lack of native female saints at the end of the Middle Ages. The differences the two provinces demonstrated in the promotion of female saints was related to the developmental stage of the ecclesiastical administration in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the political use of native saints and the period in which new cults of saints were of interest to the bishoprics of the Lund province versus those of the Uppsala province.

### **Summary and conclusions: creating new saints and Christianization**

The cults of native saints in these two Scandinavian ecclesiastical provinces had both similarities and differences. As presented above, these differences were primarily due to *when* the promotion of the cults took place. The organization of the Lund province was completed at an earlier date than the Uppsala province; therefore, its integration into western Christendom was further advanced by the early-twelfth century, allowing for more formal types of cult creation.

For instance, the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund showed an early interest in the papal canonization of its saints in the twelfth century before the 1234 decree, which made papal canonization canon law. On the other hand, the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala continued the otherwise common practice of episcopal canonization until the 1234 decree. The new saints to have been promoted after this date include David, for whom an official papal canonization is missing. In contrast, papal canonization was claimed for Elin of Skövde by the end of the thirteenth century.

Taking all of the above into consideration, it can be seen that the cults of new saints served a variety of purposes in the Christianization of the landscape and society, including the sacred (saintly) support for locations of certain ecclesiastical institutions, such as bishoprics.<sup>892</sup>

With regard to *loca sanctorum*, it has been seen that in some bishoprics, such as Växjö, Strängnäs and Uppsala, a local saint was important in

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<sup>892</sup> Cf. the situation in Norway, where the transfer of the original diocese on Selja to Bergen meant that the local cult of martyr saints moved with it. Moreover, "... the bishop's see of Bergen 'made' Sunniva..." so that it would also have a local saint: Ommundsen 2010: 79, 88. For a discussion of the construction of legends and the creation of the cult of Sunniva in relation to Bergen's attempt to promote itself as the political and spiritual capital of Norway, see O'Hara 2009: esp. 119.

legitimizing the placement or transfer of a see. However, in other cases, a location's connection to the conversion story and the missionaries therein was sufficient to confirm the sanctity of a place. Although a saint might not directly be connected to a specific cathedral, a shrine of a new local saint provided other groups, such as abbeys, with *loca sanctorum*. These locations include Æbelholt and Vestervig. Similar findings from a recent study of the cults of saints in medieval Norway have also indicated that bishops and local saints "lent each other authority and credibility."<sup>893</sup>

The use of Sigfrid in different contexts demonstrated that a saint could have different functions. Most importantly, a saint could be created, or transformed, to serve the needs of those who were promoting his/her cult. For example, all saints whose cults emerged in the medieval period were all subsequently arranged into a saintly hierarchy. At the top were the universal saints, whose veneration was present to some degree in all parishes. New royal saints from a particular region, such as Knud Lavard or Knud the Holy, might have come at the top in terms of the officially sanctioned cults of native saints. Other saints, such as Magnhild of Fulltofta, who were not supported by a rich and powerful dynasty or members of the ecclesiastical aristocracy, fell to the bottom of the pile – not forgotten but without a prominent, ecclesiastical cult.

There were similarities between the two regions; it has been seen that all of the dioceses were actively engaged in promoting native saints, with either unilocal or multilocal cults, albeit at different times and with different reasons for this promotion. Firstly, several of these saints were promoted due to their connection with the early establishment phase of their dioceses. These include the cults of Liufdag in Ribe, Sigfrid in Växjö, Henrik in Turku and Eskil in Strängnäs. The evidence from Västerås of their active efforts to connect the diocese to David was created after 1300; however, the early-fourteenth century liturgy suggests that his cult began in the late-thirteenth century at the latest and it is entirely plausible that the connection of this diocese to a common conversion myth began then. Botvid of Södermanland and Thøger of Vestervig also fit this pattern; however, they created *loca sanctorum* in a parish and abbey, respectively, rather than the bishoprics in Strängnäs and Børglum.

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<sup>893</sup> Ommundsen 2010: 91.

One difference between the two provinces, and even among bishoprics, was present in the time-period in which the promotion of local saints. The interest in unilocal or multilocal cults continued throughout the medieval period and through to the Reformation in the Uppsala province; however, the emergence of new cults of native saints in Denmark was mostly focussed in the period prior to 1300.

Additional differences are found in the importance that secular politics played in the promotion of different cults at different times. The importance of family saints to the Danish royals can be observed from the twelfth century, while the Swedish royals' interest can primarily be observed from the mid-thirteenth century.

Even though some cults were of great political importance, this status did not guarantee their success in the long-term. Official acceptance by the church, whether episcopal or papal, and inclusion in the liturgy provided a better guarantee of longevity. Nonetheless, royal support was instrumental in the early promotion of the cults of the Danish royals, Knud the Holy and Knud Lavard. Conversely, it was not until the renewal of the cult of Erik the Holy in the middle of the thirteenth century that the Swedish royal family connected with his cult showed a vested interest in the cult's success. This disparity was due in part to the administrative development of the two kingdoms, the relatively stable monarchy in Denmark in the twelfth century, the time-period in which an ecclesiastical administration was established and how important it was to have a holy ancestry in the twelfth versus the thirteenth centuries. Although an attempt was made to establish a new royal cult for Erik Plovpenning, in general the interest in Denmark was limited to the twelfth century – the time when the concept of a holy ancestor or *beata stirps* also began to have a political impact in Central Europe.<sup>894</sup>

The growing appeal in Sweden for the cult of a holy ancestor, Erik the Holy, in the thirteenth century was also parallel to developments in central and southern Europe. In these areas, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw the emergence of the strategy of legitimizing a ruler's claim by referring to his/her holy ancestry. For example, the holy dynasties of Elizabeth and Margaret in Hungary and the Angevins legitimized their reign in Italy and

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<sup>894</sup> For example, saints Ludmila and Wenceslas of Bohemia, as well as Olga and Vladimir in Kiev. Klaniczay 2002: 227, Oertel 2014.

Hungary by means of their holy ancestries.<sup>895</sup> The importance of *beata stirps* increased in Central Europe as well as Scandinavia in the fourteenth century.

Prior to 1200, in Denmark, and prior to 1300 in Sweden, the ecclesiastical provinces fit into the concept of Micro-Christendoms. Although the missionary period in what became the ecclesiastical provinces of Lund and Uppsala was similar, the establishment and development of the Church as an institution differed, both in terms of when it occurred and its configuration. Due to its proximity to the continent and history of political ties with the Holy Roman emperor and the pope, the Christianization of the Danish kingdom as seen through the promotion of new native saints was more political in nature from an earlier date. On the other hand, in the Uppsala province, the promotion of new cults of saints was dependent on other factors such as the veneration of local role models who helped in the Christianization of the region.

Thus, the creation and promotion of new liturgical cults reflected the establishment of Christian institutions and a full acceptance of the new beliefs in this region. The fact that the bishoprics of the Lund province showed an interest in creating cults of local saints at an early date was related to the progression of the Christianization in that kingdom. In other words, the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions affects the possibility of cultic promotion, especially on a liturgical level.

The time gap in the final establishment the Church in the two regions also lead to differences in the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions. For instance, in the Lund province, the founding of dioceses and monasteries was relatively early and there were few early nunneries. In the Uppsala province, on the other hand, the establishment of bishoprics, monasteries and nunneries occurred later than Lund, but with similar numbers of houses for both monks and nuns.

A further difference was found in the promotion of female saints. Although the veneration of two female saints began in the Lund province before 1300, neither cult was successful. In the Uppsala province, specifically in the Skara Bishopric, the only known female saint before 1300 was given her own *officium* and enjoyed a popular and official cult until the Reformation – and beyond.

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<sup>895</sup> Klaniczay 2002: 298ff.

Similarities are also found in the active promotion of local cults by certain bishoprics, albeit in different centuries. Most bishoprics can be seen to have promoted at least one native saint in the time period studied. Many of the bishoprics showed their interconnectivity through the celebration of feast days, granting of indulgences and the sharing of relics with each other. The importance of these native saints with multilocal cults can be seen in part from the observance and the liturgical ranks of their feasts in the individual bishoprics. Unfortunately, even with the liturgical fragments, the *lacunae* in the liturgical sources prevent a complete picture from being formed. However, it is clear that in both the Lund and the Uppsala provinces the cults of native saints were an important part of the sacred landscape. The integration of the feasts of saints in the liturgy gave these saints an advantage in terms of the continued success of their cults.

Finally, it can be seen that – at least in the case of these two provinces – through their actions, the Scandinavian bishoprics and their cults of saints reflect a Scandinavian sphere. They shared saints, and created and maintained multilocal cults in the North.

Despite these efforts, the number of *loca sanctorum* in Scandinavia promoted as pilgrimage sites was relatively low before 1300 compared to the plethora of official holy places in many other places in medieval Europe. This situation had not changed even by the end of the medieval period. Although a few more official, local pilgrimage destinations were created, it seems that they were still few and far between.<sup>896</sup>

The new cults of native saints that arose in the Lund and Uppsala provinces were all instrumental in the creation of *loca sanctorum*; however, the reasons for creating these new holy places varied. In some instances, such as in Växjö, a *locus sancti* was exploited to further legitimize the placement of a bishopric. In other cases, such as Odense, the *locus sancti* was promoted as a pilgrimage destination and a way of the newly established church to endorse the secular political power that ensured their position. In all cases, the *loca sanctorum* which arose through the cults of native saints were evidence of a divine blessing, something that any bishop would have been pleased to have in his possession, especially aiding the instruction of those in his care.

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<sup>896</sup> Cf. Presentation by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa at the *Hagiotheca* conference in Zadar, Croatia (Sept. 18, 2014) in which she mentioned the geographical difficulties faced by pilgrims in the late medieval period in Scandinavia.

Thus, in the long-term Christianization of the region, it can be seen that the creation of new cults of native saints was not necessary for the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions. On the contrary, it has been shown that the right conditions and institutions were required first in order to initiate the promotion of new saints, especially on an official level with a feast day and unique liturgy. Native saints did in turn, however, provide legitimization of ecclesiastical organizations and royal dynasties. The creation of their cults was also an important part of the work in sanctifying the landscape on the Christian periphery.





# Sammanfattning

## **Syfte, frågeställning, metod**

Syftet med denna avhandling är att undersöka de nya kulter av inhemska helgon som etablerades i samband med Skandinavien kristnande. Arbetet fokuserar särskilt på de områden som kom att utgöra de lundensiska och uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinserna, vilka inrättades år 1103 respektive 1164. Denna studie förklarar sambandet mellan etablerandet av nya kulter och skapandet av en kyrklig organisation och administration; den är baserad på tidigare hagiografisk forskning om medeltida helgonkult i såväl de tre skandinaviska kyrkoprovinserna som i den övriga västerländska kristenheten. Avhandlingens tidsperiod är koncentrerad till 1000- till 1200-talen, eftersom de slutliga medeltida kyrkliga institutionerna i båda kyrkoprovinserna etablerades under den tiden. Huvudfrågorna lyder: vilken relation förelåg mellan inhemska helgon och den kyrkliga organisationen? Fanns det ett behov av nya, lokala helgon i Skandinavien och i så fall varför? Den huvudsakliga metoden utgörs av en analys av de bevarade liturgiska källorna samt av andra källor såsom diplom.

Redan i den tidiga kyrkan var helgonkult ett i huvudsak lokalt fenomen. Ju mer etablerad kyrkan blev i det romerska imperiet, desto mer accepterade blev dessa kulter samtidigt som de ökade i popularitet. Även om den kyrkliga ledningen var mån om att kontrollera helgonkulten, till exempel genom förordningar, fortlevde lokal helgonkult som en mer spontan och omistlig del av folklig fromhetsutövning. Därtill fungerade helgonen också som undervisande exempel för såväl präster, munkar och nunnor som för lekmän. I de bevarade källorna framgår det att helgonen utgjorde viktiga förebilder särskilt för befolkningen i områden som nyligen kristnats. Helgon var dessutom centrala i den enskildes andaktsutövning och i gemensamma trosföreställningar.

Helgon som här definieras som "inhemska" betraktas av kyrkan som heliga personer som levtt och varit verksamma på den plats där en kult senare uppstod. Undersökningen visar att kulterna av inhemska helgon blev viktigare i en senare fas av kristnandet, inte minst som ett led i processen att bygga upp ett kollektivt minne över missionstiden och kristnandet, samt i utbildningen av de personer som nyligen kristnats i ett område.

De två kyrkoprovinserna som här studerats hade under medeltiden ett komplext och ojämnt förhållande till varandra. Trots att de två provinserna sammanföll med två självständiga kungadömen var den lundensiske ärkebiskopen den svenska kyrkoprovinsens primas. Konflikter kunde uppstå också mellan stift inom respektive kyrkoprovins, mellan den kyrkliga och världsliga makten där samt mellan kungamakt och påvedöme. Dessa förhållanden påverkade i hög grad huruvida en viss helgonkult understöddes eller inte.

Avhandlingen inleds med en översikt över helgonkultens utveckling inom den västerländska kristenheten. Missionsperioden och det tidiga kristnandet diskuteras i samband med de källor som kan kasta ljus över de tidiga, skandinaviska helgonkulterna. Därtill diskuteras forskningsläget, i synnerhet tidigare forskning rörande helgon, liturgi och hagiografi. Denna avhandling bygger bland annat på grundforskning rörande liturgiska handskrifter och handskriftsfragment. Tidigare svensk forskning har exempelvis bestått av katalogisering av bevarade liturgiska fragment och handskrifter. Även i Danmark har de första stegen till katalogisering av fragment gjorts.

Tidigare hagiografisk forskning har huvudsakligen fokuserat på helgonens legender (*vitae*). Under senare tid har dock en förskjutning skett mot frågor rörande Skandinaviens kristnande, liksom att mirakelberättelser har kommit att användas som socialhistoriska källor. Genom att undersöka de tidigaste beläggen för helgonkult samt genom att i en enda jämförande studie analysera de enskilda inhemska helgonkulternas relation till kristnandet bidrar denna studie med ny forskning.

Ett par för avhandlingen centrala begrepp måste definieras. För det första syftar Alan Thackers begrepp "multilokal" och "unilokal" på kultspridning. Om belägg för en helgonkult återfinns enbart på en plats definieras kulturen som unilokal, men om kulturen kan identifieras på två eller fler platser definieras den istället som multilokal. För det andra används teorin om "Micro-Christendom", ett begrepp utvecklat av Peter Brown, som

går ut på att folk som bodde i nyligen konverterade områden tolkade den nya religionen annorlunda än på andra håll. En av konsekvenserna var att skillnader uppstod i hur den nya religionens praxis tolkades, hur snabbt den lokala makten anpassade sig till kyrklig administrativ praxis samt hur lokala sedvänjor förändrades för att passa in i den nya religionen. Direkt kopplade till Browns definition av "Micro-Christendom" är helgonkulturer och *loca sanctorum*, det vill säga specifika heliga platser, de flesta med koppling till kulten av ett helgon.

Genom en analys av de liturgiska källorna framgår vilka helgonkulturer som var tillräckligt sanktionerade för att inkluderas på en officiell nivå. Alla dessa ledtrådar kan hjälpa till att avslöja vilka orter som kan identifieras som *loca sanctorum* under tidig medeltid samt hur dessa främjades och stöddes inifrån stiftet och av andra stift. I det liturgiska materialet återfinns uppgifter om firningsgraden samt den liturgiska festgraden. För allmänt festdagsfirande (ett utbrett firande av ett helgons festdag) var *festum fori/terrae* ofta nedskrivna i kalendarier men vanligtvis var dessa dagar skrivna i rött bläck och i ett fall guld. En firningsgrad av *festum chori* var avsedd bara för prästerna. Vad gäller festgraden kan den fastställas utifrån antalet angivna läsningar för festdagen eller en notering om, till exempel, *festum duplex, totum duplex* eller *festum simplex*, där den senare är av lägre rang.

En särskilt utarbetad liturgi kan ge information om en viss helgonkult på stiftsnivå samt avslöja vilket intresse olika grupper inom kyrkan kunde ha för ett visst helgon. I vissa fall har ingen liturgi bevarats, varför kompletterande källor, såsom kyrkokonst eller diplommaterial, har använts i syfte att göra bilden mer fullständig. I många fall kan det konstateras att en viss helgonkult inte var tillräckligt viktig att bevaras för kyrko- eller stiftsledningen.

För att besvara avhandlingens huvudfrågor studeras spridningen av de lokala kulterna i relation till Thackers begrepp "multilokal" och "unilokal". De inhemska kulternas uppkomst i de två kyrkoprovinsernas äldsta biskopsdömen analyseras dessutom utifrån konceptet "Micro-Christendom" såsom det speglas i teorin om *loca sanctorum*. I avhandlingens huvuddel analyseras de tidigaste liturgierna som går att associera med helgonkult i varje enskilt biskopsdöme. Slutligen jämförs analysen av resultaten från de två kyrkoprovinserna i syfte att klarlägga vilka likheter och skillnader mellan biskopsdömena som föreligger vad gäller inhemska helgonkulturer i relation till Skandinavien kristnande.

## Källmaterialet

Undersökningen i avhandlingens huvuddel utgår från det äldsta bevarade hagiografiska materialet, i synnerhet det liturgiska, som användes i samt härrör från den lundensiska och uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinserna. Flertalet liturgiska böcker från skandinavisk medeltid är idag bevarade enbart som fragment från till exempel kalendarier, breviarier, missalen och lektionarier. På grund av ett tämligen fattigt källmaterialbestånd för den tidiga medeltida perioden i Skandinavien, utgör dessa fragment en värdefull resurs för historisk forskning om det medeltida samhället.

Katalogiseringen av det svenska fragmentmaterialet har framskridit längre än det danska. Riksarkivets databas över medeltida pergamentomslag (MPO-databasen) har här utnyttjats för att identifiera de bevarade fragment som innehåller uppgifter om inhemska helgon för den uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsen och, i vissa fall, den lundensiska kyrkoprovinsen. Databasen hjälper med att identifiera fragmentens proveniens, ålder och plats i liturgin.

Inget sådant system finns för att undersöka och identifiera relevanta fragment i det danska materialet. Det finns enkla register över de liturgiska handskrifter och fragment som bevaras på Det Kongelige Bibliotek och Rigsarkivet (båda Köpenhamn). Liknande fragment och handskrifter finns också på Lunds universitetsbibliotek. I alla dessa register återfinns information om ålder och, oftast, vilken liturgisk bok fragmentet än gång tillhörde.

För att komplettera dessa källor har också liturgiska böcker på British Library som i tidigare forskning pekats ut som intressanta ur ett skandinaviskt perspektiv analyserats. Därtill har de liturgiska fragment som nyligen publicerats i en bild- och forskningsdatabas på Finlands Nationalbiblioteks hemsida undersökts för att identifiera inhemska helgon i den delen av den medeltida uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsen.

I det hagiografiska och liturgiska materialet finns spår av helgonkulters betydelse för de som stödde och initierade dessa. Därtill finns det oftast festdagens liturgisk rang (festgraden) samt firningsgrad. I helgonlegenderna kan inslag identifieras som tyder på vilka grupper som hade intresse av att stödja en helgonkult samt dåtidens syn på historiska händelser.

Utöver det liturgiska materialet har även diplom undersökts och analyserats, till dessa hör brev tryckta i *Diplomatarium Danicum* (DD) och *Diplomatarium Suecanum* (DS). Bland diplommaterialet återfinns avlatsbrev,

donationsbrev, ansökningar om kanoniseringar, samt tecken på att en kult fått genomslag, till exempel när en festdag används i dateringssyfte.

### **Kultspridning: unilokal och multilokal**

I kapitel två presenteras samtliga inhemska helgon vars kulter antas ha etablerats före år 1300. Dessa helgon är uppdelade i de kategorier som identifierats och använts inom äldre hagiografisk forskning, nämligen "missionshelgon", "lekmannahelgon", "heliga biskopar och präster", "klosterhelgon" samt "kungliga helgon". Det har i föreliggande arbete varit angeläget att närmare studera denna kategorisering, inte minst eftersom presentationen av en helgontyp i en legend har ansetts som betydelsefull för kultens spridning. Det har tidigare antytts att dessa kategorier kan kopplas till en kults officiella och populära status beroende på om helgonet under sin livstid var lekman/lekkvinna eller vigd till någon form av kyrklig tjänst eller klosterliv.

I detta kapitel diskuteras också spridningen av de inhemska helgonkulterna utifrån deras respektive geografiska utbredning, det vill säga huruvida de kan definieras som unilokala eller multilokala. Det visar sig att samtliga kategorier ovan inkluderar kulter som var antingen unilokala eller multilokala. Till de multilokala kulterna hör till exempel missionshelgon som Sigfrid av Växjö, Thøger av Vestervig och Eskil av Tuna/Strängnäs medan Liufdag av Ribe och David av Munktorp bör klassificeras som unilokala. Härigenom undermineras den i tidigare forskning etablerade föreställningen om att helgontypen har inflytande över kultspridning.

De flesta multilokala helgon vördades i två eller flera biskopsdömen inom respektive kyrkoprovins. Samtidigt fanns det en grupp multilokala kulter som spred sig också utanför den egna kyrkoprovinsens gränser, till exempel kulterna av Knud den helige och Erik den helige.

Föreliggande arbete visar att det finns flera orsaker till dessa skillnader. För det första kan själva helgonkategoriseringen faktiskt ha bidragit till spridningen. Ett exempel på detta är Margareta av Roskilde, en lekkvinna, som blev helgon under andra hälften av 1100-talet, en tid då kyrkoprovinsen verkade acceptera inhemska kvinnliga helgon. Kultens officiella status främjades dock inte i längden, troligen på grund av att kvinnliga helgon inte prioriterades. I motsats till Margareta av Roskilde fick kulten av Elin av Skövde både en bred officiell och folklig spridning. För det andra kan

ett helgons politiska status ha bidragit till att en kult blev multilokal eller inte. Till exempel misslyckades försöket att officiellt helgonförklara Erik Plovpenning. Detta berodde förmodligen på att kulterna av de äldre kungliga helgonen, Knud den helige och Knud Lavard, var etablerade och att något behov av ett nytt kungligt helgon inte förelåg.

### **Biskopsdömen och *loca sanctorum***

Kontakten med och antagandet av den kristna läran ledde till genomgripande förändringar i det skandinaviska samhället. För att visa på hur främjandet av nya inhemska helgonkulturer relaterar till funktioner som *loca sanctorum* och samhällets kristnande har dessa kulturer särskilt analyserats i relation till etablerandet av kyrkliga institutioner, i synnerhet biskopsdömen. De biskopsdömen som har inkluderats i denna studie återfinns i den så kallade Florenslistan från början av 1100-talet och i de dokument som tillkom i samband med de sista stegen i etablerandet av den uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsen, exempelvis från Skänningemötet 1248. Analysen har utgått från dessa nya kulturers utveckling och liturgiska betydelse för de nyetablerade biskopsdömena.

I föreliggande arbete samt i tidigare forskning har det konstaterats att de inhemska helgonkulturer som eventuellt etablerades i den lundensiska kyrkoprovinsen redan under missionsperioden inte har efterlämnat några spår. Däremot görs senare försök att återkoppla till den äldre missionshistorien och dess martyrbiskopar genom att lansera dem som helgon. Det är dock endast i Vendsyssel/Børglum och Ribe som kulturer av missionärerna Thøger och Liufdag initierades. Av dessa två blev enbart Thøgers kult bestående. I syfte att skapa *loca sanctorum* propagerade biskopar och abbotar för andra helgon, till exempel Kjeld av Viborg och Knud den helige.

Främjandet av inhemska kulturer blev viktigt i Danmark under kyrkans etableringsfas. Belägg för etablerandet av inhemska kulturer i hagiografiskt material rörande Danmark återfinns först i början på 1100-talet, eller möjligen redan i slutet på 1000-talet. De äldsta liturgiska beläggen för firandet av inhemska helgon är från 1100- och 1200-talen.

Trots lakuner i det danska liturgiska materialet är det möjligt att fastställa att den inhemska liturgin präglades av engelska och franska influenser. Detta kan delvis ha berott på ett aktivt försök att motverka eller minska det tyska inflytandet. Men influenserna kan också förklaras av att Danmark hade

kopplingar till den engelska kungamakten och kyrkan redan under 1000- och 1100- talen.

I många danska biskopsdömen uppstod det under 1100-talet ett förnyat intresse för inhemska helgon. Roskilde utmärker sig för att vara det biskopsdöme i den lundensiska kyrkoprovinsen som producerade flest lokala helgon. Förutom Knud Lavard och Erik Plovpenning, vars kulter främjades av kungamakten, utvecklades också kulterna av Margareta av Roskilde och Vilhelm av Æbelholt, vilka huvudsakligen stöddes av kyrkliga företrädare.

Vad gäller uppkomsten av inhemska helgonkulter i den uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsen kan det konstateras genom Vallentunakalendariet att några av dem hade etablerats redan i slutet av 1100-talet, nämligen kulterna av Botvid av Södermanland och Eskil av Tuna/Strängnäs, samt Knud den helige och Olav den helige. Under 1200-talet tillkom liturgiskt belagda kulter för ytterligare helgon, nämligen Sigfrid av Växjö, Elin av Skövde, Erik den helige och Henrik av Åbo. Det har visat sig att de biskopsdömen i den uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsen som tidigast främjade inhemska helgon var Uppsala, Västerås och Linköping, det sistnämnda dock utan egna lokala helgon.

I samband med att den uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsen upprättades år 1164 tilldelades också lundabiskopen primat över densamma. Att detta fick praktiska konsekvenser kan påvisas genom det faktum att kulten av Knud den helige har noterats i Västerås, Skara och Linköping. Troligen tyder detta på att kyrkor i ärkestiftet och närliggande stift hade intresse av att stödja lokala helgonkulter på grund av influenser från det äldre ärkestiftet.

Liksom i den lundensiska kyrkoprovinsen blev det med tiden viktigt i några av den uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsens biskopsdömen att liturgiskt anknyta till helgon från missionstiden. Exempel på sådana helgon är Eskil av Tuna, Sigfrid av Växjö och David av Munktorp, som alla ska ha bidragit till omvändelser och till att det byggdes kyrkor. Dessa helgon bidrog till skapandet av ett heligt förflutet, vilket i sin tur uppfattades som en konkret delaktighet i den universella kyrkans historia. Helgonens betydelse för den lokala såväl som den universella kyrkan speglades i den liturgiska festgraden medan betydelsen för samhället i övrigt syns i festdagens firningsgrad. Ett exempel på detta är att en av Eskils festdagar, hans *translatio*, från och med början av 1200-talet i Strängnässtift skulle firas som *festum terrae* vilket innebar en fest för alla i stiftet. Festens liturgiska festgrad, *festum simplex*, var



inte den högsta möjliga, men inte heller den lägsta, då festen hade en unik liturgi. Festen var alltså lagom viktig för prästerskapet trots att dagen var en arbetsfri dag för hela befolkningen i Strängnässtift.

Helgonkult var ett sätt att legitimera och understödja kyrkans arbete. Bland annat understödde den geografiska placeringen av helgonskrin eller helgongravar skapandet av *loca sanctorum*. Sådana heliga platser kom ofta att fungera som pilgrimsmål, vilket bland annat också innebar inkomster för den lokala kyrkliga gemenskapen eller stiftet.

### **Nya inhemska helgonkulter och kristnandet: en jämförelse av kyrkoprovinserna**

De lundensiska och uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsernas inhemska helgonkulter uppvisar två generella skillnader. Den första är att den uppsaliensiska provinsen främjade kulter av inhemska helgon något senare än vad som var fallet i den lundensiska kyrkoprovinserna. Den andra var att etableringen av nya inhemska helgonkulter i den lundensiska provinsen huvudsakligen skedde under 1100- och 1200-talen för att sedan avta, medan främjandet av nya inhemska helgonkulter i den uppsaliensiska provinsen fortsatte fram till reformationen. Samtliga biskopsdömen i de båda kyrkoprovinserna, förutom Slesvig, skapade eller sanktionerade *loca sanctorum*, om än dock på olika sätt.

En annan relevant skillnad är att den lundensiska kyrkoprovinserna visade intresse för påvligt helgonförklaring redan innan det påvliga från dekret 1234, som förklarade att endast påven ägde rätten till att kanonisera någon. Det kom också att bli viktigt att hävda att vissa helgon blivit påvligt kanoniserade även då inget bevis på ett sådant godkännande verkar ha förelagat, till exempel i fallet med Thøger av Vestervig. Innan 1234 verkar den uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinserna ha tillämpat det vedertagna biskopserkännandet av helgon. Dock påstods Elin av Skövde vid slutet av 1200-talet vara påvligt kanoniserad redan under slutet på 1100-talet.

Etableringen och främjandet av inhemska helgonkulter var inte bara en kyrklig och liturgisk angelägenhet, det kunde också handla om politik. Också i detta avseende kan skillnader konstateras mellan de båda kyrkoprovinserna vad gäller världsliga aktörers aktiva stöd till olika helgonkulter. I Danmark är det tydligt att kungliga helgon kom att bli viktiga för de regerande familjerna från och med 1100-talet medan ett kungligt intresse gällande Sverige kan skönjas först från mitten av 1200-talet. Dessutom lyser de svenska kungliga helgonen

med sin frånvaro, då enbart Erik den helige kan anses tillhöra denna kategori. Ytterligare en skillnad mellan de båda kyrkoprovinserna gäller främjandet av kulter beträffande kvinnliga helgon. Trots att två kvinnor, Margareta av Roskilde och Magnhild av Fulltofta, firades som helgon i den lundensiska kyrkoprovinsen före 1300, kan ingendera av dessa kulter anses som särskilt lyckade på en högre kyrklig nivå och i ett längre perspektiv. I den uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsen fick dock Elin av Skövde, det enda kvinnliga inhemska helgonet före 1300, sitt eget *officium* och hennes kult var etablerad som både folklig och officiell hela medeltiden igenom och på vissa platser till och med efter reformationen.

När det gäller likheter mellan kyrkoprovinserna är en första iakttagelse att ett kyrkligt gynnande av helgonkulter inleddes under kristnandet i samband med att kyrkliga institutioner växte fram. Helgonkulter tjänade många syften; bland dessa var helgonens förmodade roll i kristnandet av landskap och samhälle. I andra fall bekräftades en plats helighet genom omnämmandet av själva platsen i missions- eller helgonberättelser. Dessa heliga platser, eller *loca sanctorum*, bidrog senare till att understödja etableringen av vissa institutioner som till exempel kloster. Exempel på sådana kopplingar inkluderar Thøgers koppling till Vestervig samt Eskils koppling till klostret i Tuna.

En annan viktig likhet är det aktiva samarbetet mellan biskopsdömena inom respektive kyrkoprovins. Under den period som studeras i avhandlingen etablerades i de flesta biskopsdömen kulturen av åtminstone ett inhemskt helgon. Det kunde vara antingen ett helgon som var lokalt till stiftet eller ett helgon från ett annat biskopssäte inom den egna kyrkoprovinsen. Flera biskopsdömen utvecklade en gemensam tradition vad gäller firandet av varandras helgonfester, avfattandet av avlatsbrev och delandet av relikier med varandra. I både den lundensiska och den uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsen kan det konstateras att inhemska helgonkulter var en viktig del av det heliga landskapet. Integration i kyrkans officiella liturgi bidrog i hög grad till att en kult blev framgångsrik och spreds.

Etablerandet av officiella kyrkliga institutioner påverkade huruvida ett inhemskt helgon skulle vördas och firas liturgiskt. Utan en någorlunda stabil kyrklig organisation i ett område var det förmodligen svårt, kanske omöjligt, att skapa eller etablera en officiell kult av en helig person.

Vad som kom att bli särskilt angeläget mot slutet av kristnandeprocessen var att skapa *loca sanctorum*. Processen att etablera heliga platser kan beläggas

i flertalet av biskopsdömena i de båda kyrkoprovinserna. I Växjö, Strängnäs och Uppsala användes helgon för att legitimera placeringen av ett biskopssäte. I andra fall, såsom Odense, blev ett *locus sancti* viktigare som vallfärdsort och ett sätt för den nyetablerade kyrkan att gynna sekulär politisk makt i gengäld mot understöd. Särskilt i den lundsiska kyrkoprovinzen användes helgon som brickor i ett kyrkopolitiskt maktspel, där kyrkliga företrädare kunde vägra att sanktionera kungamaktens försök till att skapa nya helgon.

Således har det visat sig att såväl rätta förutsättningar som centrala kyrkliga institutioner krävdes för att initiera etableringen av nya helgon och kulturer i Skandinavien, särskilt på officiell nivå med festdag och egen liturgi. Först senare kom inhemska helgon att användas som legitimering för kyrkliga institutioner eller, i Sveriges fall, kungliga dynastier. Etablerandet av dessa inhemska helgonkulturer spelade också en avgörande roll i skapandet av ett heligt landskap i den kristna periferin.

## Appendix One

### List of native saints included in this dissertation

#### **Ecclesiastical Province of Lund**

(Anders of Slagelse)<sup>1</sup>  
Erik Plovpenning  
Kjeld of Viborg  
Knud the Holy  
Knud Lavard  
Liufdag of Ribe  
Magnhild of Fulltofta  
Margrete of Roskilde  
Niels Knudsen of Aarhus  
Thøger of Vestervig  
Wilhelm of Æbelholt

#### **Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala**

Botvid of Södermanland  
David of Munktorp  
Elin of Skövde  
Erik the Holy  
Erik *peregrinus*  
Eskil of Tuna/Strängnäs  
Henrik of Turku/Finland  
Nicolaus of Edsleskog  
(Ragnhild of Tälje)  
Sigfrid of Växjö  
(Torger of Strand)  
(Torgils of Kumla)

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<sup>1</sup> No extant evidence of a pre-1300 cult exists for the saints whose names are in parentheses.



## Appendix Two

### TABLES 2a – Liturgical Material for the Ecclesiastical Province of Lund

#### 2.0 - Number of *proprium de sanctis* Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing Scandinavian Saints' Names according to Century from the Danish Material

	11 <sup>th</sup> century	11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> century	12 <sup>th</sup> century	12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century	13 <sup>th</sup> century	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>Universal Saints</b>	0	4	23	75	35	43
<b>Scandinavian Saints</b>	0	0	2	0	4	1
<b>Scandinavian Saint Names</b>	--	--	Knud the Holy Knud Lavard Kjeld of Viborg Thøger of Vestervig Wilhelm of Æbelholt Olav	--	Knud the Holy Knud Lavard Kjeld of Viborg Olavus Thøger of Vestervig	Erik the Holy
<b>Native Saints Ecclesiastical Province of Lund)</b>	--	--	Knud the Holy Knud Lavard Kjeld of Viborg Thøger of Vestervig Wilhelm of Æbelholt	--	Knud the Holy Knud Lavard Kjeld of Viborg Thøger of Vestervig	--

Source: Rigsarkivet, *Specialregister, Middelalderlige Håndskriftfragmenter: Aftagne Fragmenter, Omslag om Lensregnskaber; Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum; Lund University Library, St. Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library (Albrechtsen 1976, Jørgensen 1923-26, Weibull 1913, Weeke 1884-89, Nylander).*

**Table 2.1 – Medieval Danish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Knud the Holy (Feast day: July 10)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast and Day	Probable Provenance(s)
<i>Liber daticus Lundensis vestustior</i> , Mh7 <sup>1</sup> (12 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Late-12 <sup>th</sup> or early-13 <sup>th</sup> century addition	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (Martyr – July 10)	Lund Cathedral
<i>Necrologium Lundense</i> , Mh6	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Red initial – poss. <i>festum fori/terrae</i> (Martyr - July 10)	Lund Cathedral
Edon. Var. 52, 2 <sup>o</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> (July 10)	St Peder's Abbey, Næstved (Roskilde Bishopric)
GKS 849 2 <sup>o</sup> (Martyrology)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (Martyr - July 10)	Ribe (Poss. <i>Ecclesia cathedralis Ripensis</i> )
Thott 805 fol. 2 <sup>o</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> (July 10)	"Haunie" (?) ( <i>Ecclesie beate Marie uirginis Haunie</i> , Roskilde Bishopric)
<i>Kong Valdemars Jordebog</i> (Calender) Cod. Holm. A41	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> ( <i>translatio</i> - April 19) Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> ( <i>Passio</i> – July 10)	Privately owned, royal or noble family (possibly used in the royal chapel)
Sunesen Psalter (BL Egerton MS 2652) <sup>2</sup>	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> <sup>3</sup>	Roskilde (private ownership of the Sunesen family)
<i>NKS 275a 4<sup>o</sup></i> (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS.)	14 <sup>th</sup> century addition	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (July 10)	"Denmark" <sup>4</sup>

Source: *British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, *Lund University Library*, *St. Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library*; *Weeke and Weibull. Rigsarkivet, Specialregister, Midaldalerlige Håndskriftfragmenter: Aftagne Fragmenter, Omslag om Lensregnskaber; Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum.*

<sup>1</sup> The date of this manuscript has been set to 1146 by, among others, Brenggaard 1982: 27-28, 31, 33-34, 50-51. The more general view has previously been 1145. Gelting supports an even earlier date, 1137/1138, during Rico's episcopate in Lund. See Gelting 2004a: 212.



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<sup>2</sup> Sunesen Psalter Calendar contains several obits of, for example, Scandinavian royals. Many of these have been rubbed out. The Calendar has been produced in two parts, with slightly different formats and by two different hands (break at f. 5). Various hands have made additions and modifications after the Calendar's original composition. The Psalter hand is similar to the first part of the Calendar, not identical but also from the mid-thirteenth century. Although there is no musical notation for the psalms, they are preceded by what appears to be rough lines for musical notation. Anglo-Saxon saints such as Botulf, Etheldrida and Oswald are included in the Calendar's feast-days.

<sup>3</sup> In this manuscript, Knud the Holy is the third feast. *Septem fratrem. felicitis* ("The Seven Brothers and Felicitas") are written first.

<sup>4</sup> Jørgensen 1923-26: 420. Jørgensen attributes the calendar to Petrus of Dacia.

All post-1300 liturgical finds are given in italics in all tables. These are only mentioned in passing in this study's analysis.

**Table 2.2 – Medieval Danish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Knud Lavard (Feast day: January 7)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
<i>Necrologium Lundense</i> , Mh6	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> ( <i>Passio</i> , Jan. 7)	Lund Cathedral
<i>Liber daticus Lundensis</i> , Mh7 (12 <sup>th</sup> century MS.)	Early 13 <sup>th</sup> century addition	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (Martyr – <i>Passio</i> , Jan. 7)  Black – <i>festum chori</i> (Martyr – <i>translatio</i> , June 25) (3 separate entries)	Lund Cathedral
Edon. Var. 52, 2 <sup>o</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black and cross – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> (Martyr – <i>Passio</i> , Jan. 7)	St Peder's Abbey, Næstved (Roskilde Bishopric)
GKS 849 2 <sup>o</sup> (Martyrology)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (Martyr – <i>translatio</i> , June 25)	Ribe (Poss. <i>Ecclesia cathedralis Ripensis</i> )
Thott 805 fol. 2 <sup>o</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> (Martyr – Jan. 7 and <i>translatio</i> , June 25)	“Haunie” (Poss. <i>Ecclesie beate Marie uirginis Haunie</i> )
Sunesen Psalter (BL Egerton 2652)	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Gold – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> <sup>3</sup> (June 25)	Roskilde (private ownership of the Sunesen family)
<i>Kong Valdemars Jordebog</i> (Calender)  Cod. Holm. A41	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> ( <i>Passio</i> , Jan. 7)  Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> ( <i>translatio</i> , June 25)	Privately owned by royal family  (possibly used in the royal chapel)
<i>NKS 275a 4<sup>o</sup></i> (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS.)	Early-14 <sup>th</sup> century addition	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (Jan. 7 and <i>translatio</i> , June 25)	“Denmark”

Source: Lund University Library, St. Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library; Weeke and Weibull. Rigsarkivet, Specialregister, Middelalderlige Håndskriftfragmenter: Aftagne Fragmenter, Omslag om Lensregnskaber; Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum.

**Table 2.3 – Medieval Danish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Kjeld (Ketillus) of Viborg (Feast day: usually July 11)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
<i>Necrologium Lundense</i> , Mh6	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> ( <i>Memoria</i> – Sept. 27)	Lund Cathedral
Edon. Var. 52, 2 <sup>o</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red, cross – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> (confessor – July 11)	St Peder's Abbey, Næstved
GKS 849 2 <sup>o</sup> (Martyrology)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (confessor – July 11, City of "Wiburg")	Ribe (Poss. <i>Ecclesia cathedralis Ripensis</i> )
Thott 805 fol. 2 <sup>o</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (martyr – Oct. 27)	"Haunie" (Poss. <i>Ecclesie beate Marie uirginis Haunie</i> )
<i>Kong Valdemars Jordebog</i> (Calender)  Cod. Holm. A41	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (red initial) (July 11)	Privately owned by royal family  (possibly used in the royal chapel)

Source: Lund University Library, St. Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library; Weeke and Weibull. Rigsarkivet, Specialregister, *Middelalderlige Håndskriftfragmenter: Aftagne Fragmenter, Omslag om Lensregnskaber; Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum, Aakjær 1926–1943b: 20, Johansen 1933: 149–150.*

**Table 2.4 – Medieval Danish Liturgical Manuscripts containing reference to Margarete of Roskilde (Feast day: July 19)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Sunesen Psalter (BL Egerton 2652)	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black ( <i>translatio</i> – July 19, 1177)	Roskilde (private book)

Source: *British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*

**Table 2.5 – Medieval Danish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Thøger (Theodgarus) of Vestervig (Feast day: October 30)<sup>5</sup>**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
<i>Liber daticus Lundensis vestustior</i> , Mh7	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown – no feast day. (Mention of St Thøger's abbey in Vestervig (in 4 obituaries).	Lund Cathedral
GKS 849 2° (Martyrology)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (confessor – Oct. 30)	Ribe (Poss. <i>Ecclesia cathedralis Ripensis</i> )
NKS 3249 4° ( <i>Miracula</i> )	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown	Lund Archbishopric (Sølvborg County)
<i>Kong Valdemars Jordebog</i> (Calender)  Cod. Holm. A41	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black (with red initial) – <i>festum chori</i> (October 30)	Privately owned by royal family (possibly used in the royal chapel)

Source: *Lund University Library, St. Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library; Weeke and Weibull. Rigsarkivet, Specialregister, Middelalderlige Håndskriftfragmenter: Aftagne Fragmenter, Omslag om Lensregnskaber; Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum, Aakjær 1926–1943b: 20, Johansen 1933: 149–150. Provenance of NKS 3249 4°, see Gertz 1908–1912: 25–26, Møller Jensen 2012b. See, also, the DKB catalogue.*

<sup>5</sup> Patron of Børglum Diocese, Hygum Church and Vredsted Church. Patron of first parish church in Vestervig. Jørgensen 1909b: 53–54.

**Table 2.6 – Medieval Danish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Wilhelm (Wilhelmus) of Æbelholt (Feast day: June 16)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
<i>Liber daticus Lundensis vestustior</i> , Mh7	Addition c. 1230	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (Confessor – <i>depositio</i> , June 16)	Lund Cathedral
GKS 849 2°	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (Confessor – <i>translatio</i> , June 16)	Ribe (Poss. <i>Ecclesia cathedralis Ripensis</i> )
Thott 805 fol. 2°	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum terrae</i> (June 16)	“Haunie” (Poss. <i>Ecclesie beate Marie uirginis Haunie</i> )
Calendar (Fr 25600, Kal 8)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> Duplex (confessor – June 16)	South Sweden or Denmark (Lund Archbishopric)  (possibly in use in Lund until Reformation)
<i>Kong Valdemars Jordebog</i> (Calendar)  Cod. Holm. A41	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> ( <i>translatio</i> – June 16, 1238)	Privately owned by royal family  (possibly used in the royal chapel)

Source: Lund University Library, *St. Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library*; Weeke and Weibull. *Rigsarkivet, Specialregister, Middelalderlige Håndskriftfragmenter: Aftagne Fragmenter, Omslag om Lensregnskaber*; Det Kongelige Bibliotek, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*; “Fragment search 2006”. MPO-database, SRA. *Aakjær 1926-1943b: 20, Johansen 1933: 149-150.*

**Table 2.7 – Medieval Danish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Olav of Norway (Feast day: July 29)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Mh7	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (martyr – July 29)	Lund Cathedral
<i>Necrologium Lundense</i> , Mh6	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Red initial – poss. <i>festum fori/terrae</i> (martyr – July 29)	Lund Cathedral
Edon. Var. 52, 2°	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> (July 30)	St Peder's Abbey, Næstved
GKS 849 2°	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (martyr – July 30)	Ribe (Poss. Ecclesia cathedralis Ripensis)
Thott 805 fol. 2°	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> (July 29)	“Haunie” (Poss. <i>Ecclesie beate Marie uirginis Haunie</i> )
Sunesen Psalter (BL Egerton 2652)	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> ( <i>atque Olavi</i> )	Roskilde (private book)

Source: *British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, *Lund University Library*, *St. Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library*; *Weeke and Weibull. Rigsarkivet, Specialregister, Mid-delalderlige Håndskriftfragmenter: Aftagne Fragmenter, Omslag om Lensregnskaber*; *Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*.

**Table 2.8 – Medieval Danish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Erik the Holy, Sweden (Feast day: May 18)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Calendar (Fr 25600, Kal 8)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i>	South Sweden or Denmark (Lund's Archbishopric)
BR:30 (DRA, Frag. 3164-65, 3166-67)	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> (Poss. 14th century addition)	Black – <i>festum chori</i> (martyr)	Possibly Halmstad

Source: Rigsarkivet, Specialregister, *Middelalderlige Håndskriftfragmenter: Aftagne Fragmenter, Omslag om Lensregnskaber; MPO-database, 2006.*

No reference to Erik Plovpenning or Niels of Aarhus in the liturgical material



**Table 2.9 – Scandinavian Saints depicted in Church Art in the pre-1300 Danish Material**

Saint Name	Type of Art	Date	Provenance
Knud the Holy	--	--	--
Knud Lavard	Wall-painting	1268 or 1287-90 (Early Gothic)	St Benedict Monastery Church, Ringsted
Thøger of Vestervig	--	-- <i>(Late Gothic, post-1500)</i>	--
Kjeld of Viborg	--	-- <i>(Late Gothic, post-1500)</i>	--
Erik Plovpenning	Wall-painting	1260-80 or 1250-1300 (Early Romanesque)	Tømmerup Church near Kalundborg
	Wall-painting	c. 1268 or 1287-90 (Early Gothic)	St Benedict Abbey Church, Ringsted
Margarete of Roskilde	--	-- <i>(Late Gothic, 1475-1500)</i>	--
Wilhelm of Æbelholt	--	-- <i>(Late Gothic, post-1500)</i>	--
Olav the Holy of Norway	<i>Wall-painting</i>	<i>Early Gothic (1300-1325)</i>	<i>Farbult kirke (Skåne)</i>
	<i>Wall-painting</i>	<i>Early Gothic</i>	<i>Roskilde domkirke</i>
	Wall-painting (Legend)	1300-25 (Early Gothic) or 1275-1300	Åhus kirke
	Wall-painting	1150-1175	Hyllinge kirke (Sjælland)
Erik the Holy	--	-- <i>(Late Gothic, 1475-1500)</i>	--

Source: Catalogues: Banning et al. 1976: 114, Hastrup and Egevang 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1992, Banning et al. 1976, Ejlers 1992, Saxtorph 1986.

**Table 2.10 – Scandinavian Saints found on Seals in the pre-1300 Danish Material**

Saint Name	Seal Inscription	Date	Provenance
Knud the Holy OR Knud Lavard	“Sigillum Convivarum Sancti Kanuti in Aleburg”	c. 1275	Aalborg (St Knud’s Guild)
	“Sigillum Convivarum Sancti Kaluti (!) in Valsterbode”	c. 1300	Falsterbo (St Knud’s Guild)
	“S’ de Convivio Sancti Kanuti De Kolding”	c. 1300	Kolding (St Knud’s Guild)
	“--- [KA]NUTI LUNDI[S]”	c. 1250	Lund (St Knud’s Guild)
	“S’ Convivii Sancti Kanuti de Malmøhe”	c. 1300	Malmö (St Knud’s Guild)
	“Sigillum convivarum Othensium Sancti Kanuti de Rings (fortsat i Feltet) TAD”	c. 1250	Odense (St Knud’s Guild)
	“Sigillum DE CONVIVIO SANCTI KANUTI DE OTHENSLA”	c. 1300	Odense (St Knud’s Guild)
	“Sigillum Convivii SANCTI KANUTI DE RANDRUS”	c. 1300	Randers (St Knud’s Guild)
	“Sigillum DE CONVIVO SANCTI KANUTI DE RIPA”	c. 1300	Ribe (St Knud’s Guild)
	(missing, poss. inscription) “S’ Confraternitatis Sancti Kanuti de Heddinge Makle”	c. 1256	Storheddinge (St Knud’s Guild)
	“Sigillum Convivii SANCTI KANUTI IN TUMATHORP”	c. 1275	Tommerup (Skåne) (St Knud’s Guild)
“S’ Convivii Sancti Kanuti in Werdhinburc S[e]landie”	c. 1300	Vordingborg (St Knud’s Guild)	
“Sigillum Convivii Sancti Kanuti Ringstadensis”	c. 1275	Ringstad (uncertain guild)	
Knud the Holy	(missing) “Sigillum Sancti Kanuti Regis et Martiris de Othense”	c. 1183	Odense (St Knuds kloster og capitel)
	“Rex CANUTE DEI QUAESO ADESTO REO”	c. 1296	Odense (Diocese, Bishop)
Knud Lavard	--	--	--

Thøger of Vestervig	--	--	--
Kjeld of Viborg	--	--	--
Erik Plovpenning	--	--	--
Margarete of Roskilde	--	--	--
Wilhelm of Æbelholt	--	--	--
Olav of Norway	“S’ OLAVI [...C]ANONICI”	1287/1302	Roskilde (Diocese and Chapter)
Erik Plovpenning <sup>6</sup>	“S’ Convivarum Sancti Eri Regis in Kalwehav”  “S’ Convivii Beati Eri Regis de Røthinge”	1266/c. 1275  c. 1275	Kallehave (St Erik Guild)  Røddinge Paa Møen (St Erik Guild), Kalvehave?

Source: Grandjean 1937, 1948, 1953, Petersen 1886, Petersen 1917.

<sup>6</sup> The original identification of the iconography on these seals by P. B. Grandjean as being of Erik the Holy of Sweden is erroneous. Considering the location of these guilds, not to mention the dating of the seals, it is much more likely that they claimed Erik Plovpenning as their patron saint. Grandjean 1948: 19-20. Cf. Wallin 1975: 56-58.

**Tables 2b – Danish *diploma* dated 1100-1300 containing reference to Scandinavian saints**

**Table 2.11 – Early medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Knud the Holy**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
DD 1:2:26	1100	Pope Paschal II	?	Letter of canonization
DD 1:2:28	1102-1104	Pope Paschal II	?	Pallium given to the Archbishop of Lund. Date: July 10, Day of the seven brothers, Knud king and martyr's day: "... <i>Kanuti regis et martiris...</i> "
DD 1:2:31	1104-1117	?	?	Entry in <i>Historia sancti Kanuti regis et martyris</i> : Knud should be called "the holy".
DD 1:2:32	1104-1117	King Niels Svensen	Odense	Entry in "Odensebogen" Donation from King Niels to church in Odense as well as letter of privileges. "... <i>ecclesie s&lt;ancti&gt; Canuti quæ est Othensi et f]ratribus ibidem...</i> "
DD 1:2:34	1104-1134	King Niels Svensen	Odense (?)	Donation from King Niels to holy Martyrs Alban and Knud church in Odense for son's soul (royal witnesses) "... <i>necnon beatorum martyrum Alboni atque Canuti, quæ est in Othense...</i> "
DD 1:2:35	1104-1134	King Niels Svensen	Odense (?)	Donation from King Niels to St Knud Church in Odense. "... <i>ecclesie sancti Canuti quæ est Othensi, et monachis ibidem...</i> "
DD 1:2:71	1137-1146	King Erik III Lam	Odense ?	To Livo, Dean at St Alban's in Odense (and priests) regarding an agreement between St Knud's and St Alban's in Odense (monks of St Knud have a right to St Alban's church). (a) "... <i>a monachorum s&lt;ancti&gt; Canuti dominio...</i> "

DD 1:2:77	Aug. 8, 1139	Archbishop Eskil of Lund	Lund	Confirms privileges of St Knud's monastery in Odense. <i>"...filiis et fratribus in Othense Deo sanctoque Canuto militantibus..."</i> Witnessed by bishops
DD 1:2:81	Dec. 7, 1141	King Erik III Lam	Odense	Donation to the Knud Brothers in Odense - 30 marks from the island of Sild. Agreement reached in front of the altar in St Knud's church. <i>"Actum in ecclesia s&lt;ancti&gt; Canuti coram sacro altari."</i>
DD 1:2:85	1142-1146	King Erik III Lam	?	Confirms privileges of Knud brothers of fishing at Lønborg by forbidding Eskil and Ebbe (ombudsmen) to hinder them (mention of saint). (1) <i>"...sodalibus Canutiis..."</i> (2) <i>"... in bona s&lt;ancti&gt; Canuti..."</i>
DD 1:2:86	1144-1145	Thomas, prior of Knud	?	Witness to accounts about property on Sjælland that was donated to Knud Brothers in Odense and 5 marks of gold are given in security to Bishop Asser of Roskilde. <i>"...sodalium Canutiorum."</i> <i>"prior Canutius"</i>
DD 1:2:99	April 17, 1147	Bishop Rikulf of Odense	Odense	Donation of the village of Geltote (Gentofte?) to the Knud Brothers in Odense. (6 versions of letter survive) (1) <i>"...Canutiis dedit Otthonia villam Giallato&lt;f&gt;te..."</i>

DD 1:3:19	1171, January to October	Archbishop Eskil of Lund	Lund	<p>Confirms property rights and privileges of the brothers in St Knud's Monastery, Odense. Bishop's rights are limited over the monastery, have right to chose prior and vote on bishop.</p> <p>Confirms have right to alms from Jutland, Zeeland, Lolland, etc offered to St Knud the martyr by bishops and congregations (laymen).</p> <p><i>"...et fratribus in Othense deo sanctoque Kanuto militantibus salutem et fraternam dilectionem."</i></p> <p><i>"...et populis sancto martiri Kanuto antiquitas donatas/annuatimque reddendas apostolice pariter et nostre auctoritatis confirmatione imminutas semper possideatis..."</i></p>
DD 1:3:49	June 25, 1175	King Valdemar I "the Great"	Søllested	<p>Rights and privileges of St Knud's Monastery in Odense.</p> <p>Date: (St Knud Lavard's Day) <i>"xxvi septima kalendas iulii in die sancti Canuti martyris, regnante domino nostro Ihesu Christo."</i></p>
DD 1:3:92	Oct. 21, 1180	Pope Alexander III	Tusculum	<p>St Knud's monastery in Odense under papal protection and confirmation of its privileges.</p> <p><i>"...monachis monasterii sancte Marie sanctorumque martirum Kanuti atque Albani..."</i></p>

DD 1:3:116	Nov. 20, 1183	Knud, son of Duke Prizlav	?	Expresses wish to be buried in front of Our Lady's altar in Odense church. Donation now of 2 "bol" and his inheritance at his death to the monks: <i>"tam nostri quam sancti Kanuti sigilli inpressione ad memoriam presencium."</i> <i>"deo sanctisque eius martiribus Kanuto atque Albano."</i> Monastery's seal: <i>"Sigillum Sancti Kanuti Regis et Martyris"</i> .
DD 1:3:134	May 12, 1186	King Knud VI	Lund	Confirms St Knud rex's founding of the Cathedral Chapter in Lund, gifts of land and removal of royal rights (with exceptions) but under royal protection. <i>"Sancte igitur memorie rex Kanutus."</i>
DD 1:3:189	Jan. 22, 1193	King Knud VI	Nyborg (Odense Bishopric)	Confirms St Knud Monastery's privileges (Odense) Summaries in Hamsfort: a) <i>"...dederit monachis sancti Canuti..."</i> <i>"... in monachorum sancti Canuti..."</i> b) - no mention of Knud c) <i>"...sodalibus Canutiis..."</i>
? DD 1:3:198	After 1193- before 1200	?	?	St Knud's monastery register from 1548: <i>"Maglaxsbreff emellom sancti Knutz closther och Dalum closther paa Nundeborig och Nundeborig hfang."</i>
DD 1:3:199	After 1193- 1310	?	?	St Knud's monastery register from 1548: Change of ownership of property in Hunderup and Ejby between St Knud's monastery and Dalum monastery



DD 1:4:45	(Dec. 25, 1202) Dec. 24, 1203	King Valdemar II Sejr	Lund	Confirms King Knud rex's foundation of Lund Cathedral Chapter, gifts, fees, royal right to land, etc. <i>"Sancte igitur memorie rex Kanutus. cuius uenerandis reliquiis Feonensis ecclesia..."</i>
DD 1:4:56	1202-1214	King Valdemar II Sejr	?	St Knud's monastery in Odense freed from certain obligations and receive same rights as predecessors had, etc. <i>"...quod religiosos ecclesie beati Kanuti Otthense..."</i>
DD 1:6:62	Nov. 14, 1226	Pope Honorius III	Lateran Palace (Rome)	St Knud and St Alban's monastery in Odense under papal protection, confirmation of rights and privileges, underlines that the monastery is under the jurisdiction of the bishop. <i>"...filiis priori monasterii beate Marie sanctorumque martirum Kanuti &lt;et&gt; Albani eiusque fratribus..."</i>
DD 1:6:148	1232-1241	King Erik IV Plovpenning	?	Letter of privilege to St Knud's church in Odense. Confirms father's diploma (Valdemar II Sejr). <i>"...ecclesie beati Kanuti Otthense..."</i>
DD 1:6:149	1232-1241	Duke Abel of Jutland	?	Letter of privilege to St Knud's church in Odense. Confirms father's diploma/privileges (Valdemar II Sejr). <i>"...religiosos ecclesie beati Kanuti Otthense..."</i>
DD 1:6:152-161	1232-1439	King Erik (unknown which one)	?	Donations and confirmations of privileges. St Knud's monastery (10 diploma).
DD 1:6:162	1232-1439	King or Duke Erik	?	Letter of immunity for St Knud's monastery in Odense.
DD 1:7:32	Nov. 12, 1239	Åstred (squire)		Donation to St Knud's monastery in Odense. From the register of Odense house's letters (16th century) <i>"sancti Knutz closther y Otthens"</i>

DD 1:7:104	Nov. 11, 1242	Erik Plovpenning	Odense	Confirmation of privileges and immunities for St Knud's church (Odense). <i>"ecclesie beati Kanuti Otthense"</i>
DD 1:7:164	Feb. 17, 1245	Pope Innocent IV	Lyon	St Knud monastery under papal protection, confirmation of rights and privileges (including BVM donation and St Knud donation). <i>"...priori monasterii sancti Kanuti..."</i> <i>"...monasterium sancti Kanuti Otthoniense..."</i> <i>"...qui dicuntur denarii sancte Marie..."</i> <i>"...redditus qui dicuntur denarii sancti Kanuti..."</i> and where: Fyn, etc
DD 2:1:342	Nov. 25, 1261	Erik I Abelsen, Duke of Jutland	Sønderborg (Slesvig Bishopric)	St Knud's monastery in Odense placed under duke's protection and confirms donations.
DD 2:1:241	1257	Town of Odense	Odense	Town of Odense witnesses that the meadow "Aagesmade" belongs to the Benedictine Monastery in Odense (ie "St Knudsbrødrene"). <i>"ad monachos Canutios"</i> (copy) <i>"fratrum..."</i> (original fragment)
DD 2:1:501	1265-68	Pope Clement IV	?	Mentions Pope Clement IV's confirmation of Odense Knud Monastery's privileges. (St Knud's Monastery mentioned) <i>"Qui confirmauerunt priuilegia possessiones indulgentias monasterii sancti Canuti pontifices Romani: Gregorius x Clemens iiii Nicolaus v"</i> .

DD 2:2:152	Jan. 13, 1270	Kristine, Chamberlain Niels' widow		Lady Kristine, widow of Chamberlain Niels ( <i>camerarius</i> ) testament of property to Dalum monastery.  Witnesses include Valdemar, Prior of Knud's Monastery in Odense.  “... <i>Waldemaro priore Canutiorum.</i> ”
DD 2:3:144	June 29, 1285	Bishops Brynolf of Skara, Bo of Linköping, Amund of Strängnäs	Gulbergshede (Skara Bishopric)	Grant indulgence to all who visit or support St Knud's Church in Odense (Church and brothers).  “ <i>iii Kalendas iulii Gulbergisbethe, Brynolphus Scarensis, Bouo Lyncopensis, Amundus Strengeensis, episcopi concedunt indulgentias iis, qui basilicam Canutiam uisitaurent causa Canuti et in ecclesiam et sodales Canutios liberales fuerint.</i> ”
DD 2:3:215	Aug. 17, 1286	King Erik V Glipping	Odense	To Prior, Brothers and Chapter at St Knud's Church in Odense: won't interfere in Chapter's elections of bishops.  “... <i>ecclesie sancti Kanuti Othonie...</i> ”
DD 2:3:325	Nov. 18, 1288	King Erik VI Menved	Odense	To Prior of St Knud's Monastery, Odense, and his messengers: do not need to pay tolls for trips within Denmark.  “... <i>priorem ecclesie sancti Kanuti Otthonie et omnes suos nuncios.</i> ”
DD 2:3:326	Nov. 18, 1288	King Erik VI Menved	Odense	To prior and monks at St Knud's monastery in Odense: don't have to pay tolls at “Bælt” (Great or Little Belt).  “... <i>ecclesie sancti Kanuti Otthoniensis...</i> ”
DD 2:3:327	Nov. 23, 1288	King Erik VI Menved	Odense	To St Knud's monastery, Odense, confirms privileges and freedoms enjoyed by the monastery and bestowed by predecessors.  “... <i>in Christo ecclesie beati Kanuti Othonie...</i> ”

DD 2:3:92	May 14-20, 1284	Bishop Tyge of Aarhus	Nyborg (Odense Bishopric)	40 days of indulgence granted everyone who helps St Knud's church in Odense (and all who visit the church on Sundays, the Apostolic holy days and days mentioned above (missing). Mass, piety and pious works. <i>"... ad ecclesiam beati Canuti in Othensø diebus dominicis apostolorum solennitatibus ac aliis diebus interfuerint supradictis..."</i>
DD 2:4:3	March 14, 1291	Lave Lavesen	Kalundborg (Roskilde Bishopric)	Will with donations to churches and religious houses, including "St Knud's Church" in Odense (others dedicated to "universal" saints). <i>"Item ecclesie sancti Kanuti in Othensø..."</i>
DD 2:4:163	April 1, 1295	Niels Hamundsen	Husaby (Skara Bishopric)	Will with donations to churches and pilgrimage. 1) St Knud's church 2) St Knud's Chapter (witness of will among others, with seal) Seals: Hammund Lille, Franciscans in Odense, Niels Priest, Jens Tagesen, Niels Hamundsen. 1) <i>"...ecclesie beati Kanuti..."</i> 2) <i>"capituli sancti Kanuti... una cum sigillis dominorum."</i> etc.
DD 2:4:170	July 10, 1295	King Erik VI Menved	Ribe	Commands Estonians who have taken goods from wrecked Lübeck boats to return these by next feast for St John the Baptist (nativity). Date: St Knud King and Martyr's day. <i>"...in die beati Kanuti regis et martiris."</i>

**Table 2.12 – Early medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Knud Lavard**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
DD 1:2:65	1135	King Erik II Emune	Ringsted (Roskilde Bishopric)	Foundation of monastery by Our Lady Church in Ringsted in memory of his brother “Knud Lavard” where he is buried (plus donation). <i>“Fratre meo felicis memorie Canuto crudeliter en &lt;e&gt;cato,...”</i> (NB. Not yet a saint, regular donation).
DD 1:2:122	1157-1160	King Valdemar I	Esrom (Roskilde Bishopric)	Entry in “Esrombogen”: Donation of gold to the monastery for plating of “Vor fader Knuds skrin” ( <i>DRB</i> 1:2, p. 123); gold plating on Knud Lavard’s shrine. Bishop is witness. Confirms donation of land to Esrom Monastery.
DD 1:2:190	Nov. 8, 1169	Pope Alexander III	?	Message to the Danish church regarding canonization of Knud Lavard. Addressed to Eskil, Archbishop of Lund. Reply to letters from King Valdemar (Knud Lavard’s son) and Archbishop Stefan of Uppsala. Feast day is June 25.
DD 1:3:107	1182-1193	King Knud VI	King Knud VI places all “brothers” in St Knud’s guild in Flensborg under his protection. (Slesvig Bishopric)	(Danish translation from ca. 1400): <i>“...alle Knvts gild brøther hyælsvm...”</i> <i>“...alle mææn witlicth thær ær i sænte Knuts gilde...”</i> (most likely refers to Knud Lavard)

DD 1:3:135	May 12, 1186	King Knud VI and Duke Valdemar	?	Donation of part of the inheritance from their mother Queen Sofie to Our Lady and St Knud's Church in Ringsted. <i>"...ecclesiae sanctae Mariae et Sancti Kanuti martyris, quae Ringstath est..."</i> <i>"...deo et sancto Kanuto obtulit nisi forte ante diem extremum aliquid horum immutare uoluerit."</i>
DD 1:3:15	June 25, 1170	King Valdemar I "the Great"	?	Confirms Ringsted monastery's privileges (including being free of royal demands). <i>"Igitur uniuersitati uestrae notificandum duximus, quod ad honorem dei et beatae Mariae uirginis ad reuerentiam etiam Sancti Kanuti martyris regali edicto simul et donatiuo collatum confirmamus..."</i>
DD 1:3:49	June 25, 1175	King Valdemar I "the Great"	Søllested	Rights and privileges of St Knud's Monastery in Odense. Date: (St Knud Lavard's feast day) <i>"xxvi septima kalendas iulii in die sancti Canuti martyris, regnante domino nostro Ihesu Christo."</i>
DD 1:3:62	May 23, 1177	King Valdemar I "the Great"	?	Confirms earlier privileges given to St Maria and St Knud's church in Ringsted, including the running of the church in Halsted by Abbot Pain ( <i>"abbatis de Ringstathe"</i> ) as long as church exists. <i>"...ecclesiae beatae Mariae et sancti Kanuti martyris ob honorem et reuerentiam sanctorum..."</i>

DD 1:3:63	1177	King Valdemar I “the Great”	?	King wants to belong to the Gotland merchant guild in Ringsted (“ <i>Gotlandsfærernes St Knuds gilde</i> ”). Annual earnings to be partly used for the monastery and church where Knud lies and partly to finish building a house that the guild members had started. Applies to all members on Gotland and other cities in Valdemar’s realm. “... <i>quam in honore sancti Kanuti martyris slaubri consilio atque utili&lt;ssi&gt;ma prouidentia incoastis...</i> ” “... <i>ubi conuiuium beati Kanuti celebratur, ad locum eiudem martyris per fideles homines transferantur,...</i> ” “ <i>introitus eiusdem coniuuii ad ædificationem domus fratrum, donec consummetur, deferatur.</i> ”
DD 1:3:18	1170-1178	Bishop Absalon of Roskilde	?	The bishop’s tithe for Benløse given to St Knud’s Church in Ringsted. “... <i>ecclesie beati Kanuti Ringstadis in usus fratrum ibidem...</i> ”
DD 1:3:68	1177-1178	Bishop Absalon of Roskilde	?	Supports monks in Ringsted monastery that have traditionally collected the “ <i>Knuts scut</i> ” from all districts (“ <i>sysler</i> ”/ <i>susle</i> ) and “ <i>Maria scut</i> ” from “ <i>Vester</i> ” and “ <i>Middel</i> ” districts (“ <i>sysler</i> ”) on Sjælland. “... <i>in coenobio sanctæ Mariæ semper uirginis et beati Kanuti martyris conuersantibus Rinstade super illas duas collectas nummorum, quas appellamus Knuts scut, ... scilicet sanctæ Mariæ scut...</i> ”
DD 1:3:181	1192-1201 or 1216-1225	Bishop Peder Sunesen (1192-1214) or Jakobsen (1216-1225)	?	Bishop Peder of Roskilde gives the tithe of Benløse to St Knud’s church in Ringsted (for fee of 2 marks silver annually). “... <i>ecclesie b&lt;e&gt;ati Kanuti Ringstadis...</i> ”

DD 1:3:192	Feb. 26, 1193	Pope Celestine III	Lateran Palace (Rome)	<p>Benedictine monastery in Ringsted under papal protection and confirms rights and properties, including right to “<i>Maria scut</i>” from 2 districts on Sjælland, “<i>Knuts scut</i>” from Sjælland and Halland, gifts/offerings to St Knud’s grave/shrine, offerings to the martyrs St Margrete and St Knud (free from royal rule and tithes).</p> <p>“...<i>schot sancte Mariæ de duabus partibus Selandi&lt;æ&gt;... et de indulgentia aduenientum ad sepulchrum sancti Kanuti cum oblationibus et elemosynis et de schot sancti Kanuti in Selandia et Halandia et de oblatione sanctæ Margaretæ et sancti Kanuti martyris...</i>”</p>
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**Table 2.13 – Early medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Knud the Holy or Knud Lavard**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
DD 2:2:321	Jan. 7, 1278 or July 10, 1278	Bishop Tyge of Ribe	Løgum Monastery (Ribe Bishopric)	<p>Announcement that Abbot Jens and convent at Løgum Monastery in his presence have accepted Daler Parish’s wish to pay the tithe with “<i>tærsket</i>” grain, on the condition that they pay a silver coin’s (“<i>ørtug</i>”) worth of rye per “<i>otting</i>” to the Abbot every year on St Martin’s day.</p> <p>Date: on the Blessed Knud Martyr’s day.</p> <p>“... <i>in die beati Canuti martyris...</i>”</p>



**Table 2.14 – Early medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Kjeld (Ketillus) of Viborg**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
DD 1:3:150	June 9, 1188	Pope Clement III	Lateran Palace (Rome)	<p>Instructions to Archbishop Absalon of Lund to investigate miracles that have taken place after Dean Kjeld of Viborg's death and have his vita written. If miracles/life are acceptable, Absalon can canonize Kjeld and with apostolic authority decide how he is to be remembered.</p> <p><i>“...quod bonæ memoriæ Ketillus, uir religiosus, præpositus ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ Viburgensis, dum uiueret, apud uos uirtutibus multis emicuit.”</i></p> <p><i>“si tibi congruum uidebitur et honestum, cononized ipsius memoriæ, et sicut hominis sancti celebrationem habendam futuris seculis apostolica autoritate decernas.”</i></p>
DD 2:2:31	Sept. 1, 1266	Cardinal Guido (papal legate)	Slesvig	<p>60 days indulgence to those who visit Viborg Church/Cathedral on the feasts for the BVM, the holy Kjeld (July 11), and the holy Augustine (Aug. 28).</p> <p><i>“...ecclesiam Wibergensem in solemnitatibus... sancti Ketilli...”</i></p>
DD 2:2:37	Sept. 28, 1266	Cardinal Guido (papal legate)	Slesvig	<p>60 days indulgence to all who visit Viborg Cathedral on the feast days for the Apostles and St Kjeld or send gifts.</p> <p><i>“...ecclesiam Wibergensem in festiuitatibus apostolorum et Ketilli uisitantibus...”</i></p>
DD 2:2:117	Aug. 6, 1268	Pope Clemens IV	Viterbo	<p>100 days of indulgence to those who visit the place where Kjeld's relics lie (i.e. Viborg Cathedral) on his feast day.</p> <p><i>“Idem papa omnes hortatur ad frequentandam ecclesiam Uibergensem, in qua corpus beati ketilli quiescit: in cuius festiuitate illac deuote uenientibus centum dies indulgentiarum concedit...”</i></p>

DD 2:2:187	July 11, 1272	Bishop Esger of Ribe	Løgum	Announcement that Frelle Thomsen has given land in Borg Mark (except where he's living) to replace another croft he'd promised to Løgum Monastery. Date: on St Kjeld's day. "...in die sancti Ketilli."
DD Reg. Dan. Nr. 434	June 24, 1283	Ten bishops (" <i>decem episcopi</i> ")	Ribe	Indulgence for visiting Ribe Cathedral on the feasts of Kjeld and Thøger among others, or help build Ribe Church/Cathedral. 40 days indulgence. "...in festis sanctorum Ketilli, Thodgari..."
DD 2:4:14	July 11, 1291	Bishop Lars of Viborg	Viborg	Certification of Bishop Svend's will. Date: Blessed Kjeld confessor's day. "... in die beati Ketilli confeszoris [sic]."

**Table 2.15 – Early medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Margarete of Roskilde**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
DD 1:3:69	1177-1178	Bishop Absalon of Roskilde	?	Absalon's donation to Sorø Abbey consisting of a third of the donations to St Maria Abbey to the memory of the Blessed Margaret in Roskilde. <i>“Inter cetera beneficia que uenerabilis dominus pater Absalon fecit monasterio sore tempore episcopatus sui multum memorabile est quod tertiam partem oblationis que cadit in monasterio beate Marie Roskildis apud memoriam beate Margrete, atque multas episcopales decimas dedit in usus monasterii ad possessionem perpetuam.”</i>
DD 1:3:100	Jan. 25, 1182	Pope Lucius III	Lateran Palace (Rome)	Cistercian monastery of Sorø under papal protection and confirms all rights and privileges. Mentions Blessed Margareta at Our Lady Convent in Roskilde (in memory of). <i>“Preterea tertiam partem oblationis quam apud memoriam beate Margarete in monasterio sancte Marie Roskildis prefatus episcopus inre episcopali habebat...”</i>
DD 1:3:140	1186-1197	Archbishop Absalon of Lund	?	Confirms Sorø abbey's privileges. A third of the offerings to the memory of St Margrethe in Our Lady church in Roskilde go to the abbey. <i>“Ad hec portionem nostram tertiam uidelicet partem oblationis apud memoriam beate Margarete in ecclesia sancta Marie Roskildis...”</i>

DD 1:3:192	Feb. 26, 1193	Pope Celestine III	Lateran Palace (Rome)	Benedictine monastery in Ringsted under papal protection and confirms rights and properties, including right to “ <i>Maria scut</i> ” from 2 districts on Sjælland, “ <i>Knuts scut</i> ” from Sjælland and Halland, gifts/offerings to St Knud’s grave/shrine, offerings to the martyrs St Margrete and St Knud (free from royal rule and tithes).  “... <i>schot sancte Mariæ de duabus partibus Selandi&lt;æ&gt;... et de indulgentia aduentum ad sepulchrum sancti Kanuti cum oblationibus et elemosynis et de schot sancti Kanuti in Selandia et Halandia et de oblatione sanctæ Margaretæ et sancti Kanuti martyris...</i> ”
DD 1:3:241	Nov. 23, 1198	Pope Innocent III	Lateran Palace (Rome)	Cistercian abbey in Sorø under papal protection and confirms its rights and possessions on Sjælland and in Halland and its privileges, including incomes from the “remembrance” of St Margrethe in Our Lady Convent in Roskilde.  “... <i>et illud quod habetis in prouentibus apud memoriam sancte Margarete ecclesie sancte Marie Roskildis.</i> ”
DD 2:1:229	1257	Pope Alexander IV	Viterbo	Pope Alexander IV confirms Archbishop Absalon’s gift to St Maria Abbey in Roskilde (Cistercian), which includes his share of tithes from certain hundreds as well as a third of the donations made to St Margrethe’s shrine by the sea.  “... <i>et tertiam partem oblationum [que ad] sepulturam sancte Margarete iuxta mare offeruntur prout spectabat ad eum de assenu Roskildensis capituli pia et profuida] deliberation concessit.</i> ”

DD 2:1:234	1257	Pope Alexander IV	Viterbo	<p>Alexander IV takes St Marie Abbey (monastery) in Roskilde under his protection and specifies how property is distributed, as well as the relief of payment of the bishop's tithes. Includes mention of the rent called "Saint Margrethe's Collect" owed the abbey and the abbey's right to a third of the donations to St Margrethe's shrine by the sea.</p> <p><i>"...redditus qui collecta sancte Margare[te] uocantur..."</i></p> <p><i>"...tertiam partem oblationum que in ecclesia sancte [M]argarite posita iuxta mare..."</i></p>
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**Table 2.16 – Early medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Niels Knudsen (of Aarhus)**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
DD 1:5:65	1215-1224 (Ebbe's episcopacy)	Bishop Ebbe of Aarhus	[Aarhus]	Ebbe donates the bishop's (his) portion of the donations to St Niels to the emergency building work on the cathedral (2/3) and the cannons (1/3).  <i>“Quamuis de oblationibus que intuit beati Nicolai cathedral ecclesie offeruntur aliquam partem percipere antecessores nostri consueuerunt. nos stamen considerata maxima necessitate edificii cathedralis ecclesie que multis retro temporibus usque ad tempora duorum antecessorum nostrorum quasi neglecta fuerat. ...”</i>
DD 1:5:108	Jan. 31, 1217	Pope Honorius I	Lateran	Pope Honorius confirms the rights of the Aarhus Chapter to a third of the donations to St Niels.  <i>“... Eapropter dilecti in domino filii uestri iustis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu terciam partem oblationum que intuit beati Nicolai cathedral ecclesie offeruntur preter uictualia delata ibidem que omnia canonicorum sunt usibus deputata.”</i>
DD 2:1:146	July 25, 1254	Pope Innocent IV	Anagni	Instructions to Bishops Eskil of Slesvig and Niels II of Viborg and Abbot Oluf (Abbot of Cistercian monastery Øm in Aarhus Diocese) to investigate miracles by Knud III's (or V's) son Niels.  Originally reported to the pope by King Kristoffer and Danish prelates (including Archbishop Jakob of Lund).  Possible canonization.

DD 2:1:169	Dec. 13, 1255	Pope Alexander IV	Lateran Palace (Rome)	<p>To Bishop Niels II of Viborg, Abbot Oluf of Øm, Dominican prior in Aarhus (in place of Slesvig bishop).</p> <p>Continue investigations into Niels' life and miracles when pray to him.</p> <p><i>"...et deum timentibus de uirtute morum et ueritate signorum operibus uidelicet et miraculis pie memorie Nicholai nati clare memorie Kanuti regis Dacie diligentissime inquirentes que inueneritis eidem predecessor uestris studeretis litteris fideliter intimare."</i></p>
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**Table 2.17 – Early medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Thøger (Theodgarus) of Vestervig**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
DD 2:2:339	July 21, 1278	Bishop Jens II of Børglum	Aghøs (Aghøj?)	40 days indulgence to all who contribute to the erection of Our Lady Church in Bækkeskov (Sjælland, Roskilde Bishopric), in deference to God and on the authority of the BVM, Apostles Peter and Paul and St Thøger (letter invalid after 5 years).  <i>“Nos uero de omnipotentis dei misericordia, beate Marie uirginis matris eius apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sancti Theothgari auctoritate...”</i>
Reg. Dan. Nr. 434 <sup>7</sup>	June 24, 1283	Ten bishops (“ <i>decem episcopi</i> ”)	Ribe	Indulgence for visiting Ribe Cathedral on the feasts of Kjeld and Thøger among others, or help build Ribe Church/Cathedral. 40 days indulgence.  <i>“...in festis sanctorum Ketilli, Thodgari...”</i>
DD 2:4:273	Oct. 30, 1297	King Erik VI Menved	Ribe	Statement: Bishop of Ribe Diocese decides punishment for crimes of clerics in Ribe Diocese. It is forbidden by Canon Law for Bailiffs (“ <i>Fogeder</i> ”), Officials (“ <i>Officieler</i> ”) or Laity (“ <i>Lægfolk</i> ”) to judge these people.  Date: Blessed Thøger Confessor’s Day.  <i>“...quandoque per aduocatos nostros seu officiales!... per alios laicos...”</i>  <i>“... in die beati Thedgari confessoris.”</i>

<sup>7</sup> <http://diplomatarium.dk/dd/supplement/1283-06-24.html>



**Table 2.18 – Early medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Wilhelm of Æbelholt**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
DD 1:4:152	1208-1214	Archbishop Anders Sunesen of Lund	?	<p>Mentions Abbot Wilhelm as a saint with relics when confirming where donations should be placed (gifts to shrine go to the monks).</p> <p>Confirmation of Bishop Peder Sunesen of Roskilde's donation of 3 bishop's tithes and Roskilde bishop's share of the gifts donated to St Wilhelm's relics to Æbelholt canons.</p> <p>(referred to as a saint before his canonization).</p> <p><i>"reliquas sancti Willelmi abbatis"</i> (DD, 287)</p> <p>However, the monastery is still called <i>"...sancti Thome de Paraclito..."</i></p>
DD 1:4:91	After 1203	Gunhild Bosdatter	?	<p>Donation of property in Nejlinge to the canons of Æbelholt monastery with the agreement of her brothers, Peder Bosen and Agge Bosen.</p> <p>(referred to as a saint before his canonization).</p> <p><i>"... uiris religiosus canonicis sancti Willelmi de Paraclito..."</i></p>
DD 1:5:141	May 28, 1218	Pope Honorius III	Rome	<p>Instructions for Archbishop Anders Sunesen of Lund, Bishop Peder Jakobsen of Roskilde and Abbot of Herrisvald (Cistercians) to collect witness/testimonies about Wilhelm's life and miracles so the pope can decide whether or not to grant the archbishop's request for canonization.</p> <p><i>"... Willelmus abbas de Paraclito uixerit in hoc mundo/quantaque sanctorum suorum mirabilis splendor deus..."</i></p>

DD 1:6:5	Jan. 21, 1224	Pope Honorius III	Lateran Palace (Rome)	Canonization letter: Wilhelm of Æbelholt canonized after request from Archbishop Anders Sunesen, Bishop Nikulas of Oslo ( <i>Absolensi = Asloensi</i> ), Bishop Bengt of Skara ( <i>Scariensi</i> ). Includes life, deeds, miracles. <i>“cum ergo iam dudum sancte recordationis Willelmus abbas monasterii sancti Thome. Quod dicitur de Paraclito... et canonizarem eundem et sanctorum annumerari cathalgo faceremus.”</i>
DD 1:6:7	Jan. 29, 1224	Pope Honorius III	Lateran Palace (Rome)	To all believers in realms of Denmark and Sweden. 40 days indulgence to all who visit St Wilhelm’s Church in Æbelholt on the saint’s feast-day (June 16) and 8 days afterwards (also known as St Thomas de Paraclito Church). <i>“Cum igitur sancte recordationis. W...”</i> <i>“usque ad octauum ipsius ad dictam ecclesiam accentibus. Quadraginta dies. De iniuncta sibi penitentia. Misericorditer relaxamus.”</i>
DD 1:7:73	May 23, 1241	Duke Otto of Brunsvig (Braunschweig)	Roskilde	Donation to St Wilhelm’s monastery of the Paraclete from Duke Otto of Brunsvig with the King’s permission. <i>“scotauimus cenobio beati Willelmi de Paraclito...”</i>
DD 1:7:81	July 29, 1241	Mogens Ovesen	Halmstad (Lund Archbishopric)	Donation to the canons at St Wilhelm of Paraclete for his soul. Date: <i>“...die beati Olaui regis.”</i> (July 29) <i>“sancti Willelmi de Paraclito”</i>
DD 1:7:90	Nov. 3, 1241	Gunder Jensen	Søborg (Roskilde Bishopric)	Donation to St Wilhelm of Paraclete’s canons in memory of his wife and for his soul, with his parents’ consent. <i>“canonicis sancti Willelmi de Paraclito”</i>

DD 1:7:100	June 24, 1242	King Erik Plovpenning	Copenhagen (Roskilde Bishopric)	Reconfirmation of king's approval of a donation to St Wilhelm's monastery in Æbelholt from Duke Vitslav of Rügen. <i>"Sancti Willelmi in Ebbelholt"</i>
DD 1:7:278	June 24, 1248	Svend Gødesen	Helsingø (Roskilde Bishopric)	Donation to Æbelholt monastery (and canons) Date: Nativity of St John the Baptist <i>"canonis sancti Willelmi de Paraclyto"</i>
DD 1:7:288	Oct. 23, 1248	Esbern Ovesen	Æbelholt	Donation on behalf of himself and parents in purgatory to the canons at St Wilhelm of Paraclyte at Æbelholt. Date: St Severinus' day. <i>"canonicis regularibus sancti Willelmi de Paraclyto in Ebbelholt"</i>
DD 1:7:303	May 30, 1249	Ludger Hågensen	Nellerød (Roskilde Bishopric)	Donation to canons at St Wilhelm of Paraclyte. Date: Trinity Sunday. <i>"canonicis sancti Willelmi de Paraclyto..."</i>
DD 1:7:321	Nov. 11, 1249	Asmund Svendsen	Copenhagen (Roskilde Bishopric)	Donation for souls of his wife, ancestors and himself, to St Wilhelm's monastery in Æbelholt (Skovlunde) Date: St Martin, bishop and confessor's day. <i>"abbati et conuenti monasterii sancti Willelmi in Ebbelholt..."</i>
DD 2:1:18	Nov. 11, 1250	Tokke Nielsen	Roskilde	Donation to Æbelholt monastery and canons. <i>"...canonicis regularibus sancti Willelmi in Ebbelholt..."</i>
DD 2:1:75	Aug. 14, 1252	Aute Pedersen of Ølskøb in Strøherred	Æbelholt	Donation of all his property in Ølskøb to Æbelholt monastery and canons. <i>"uiris religiosis canonicis regularibus monasterii sancti Willelmi in Ebbelholt"</i>
DD 2:1:134	Dec. 6, 1253	Margrete Madsdatter of Hald	Æbelholt	Donation of property in Hald and Haagendrup to Æbelholt monastery's canons. <i>"religiosis canonicis sancti Willelmi de Ebbelholt..."</i>

DD 2:1:159	April 27, 1255	Agate Nielsdatter of Sigerslevøster	Slangerup (Roskilde Bishopric)	Donation of all her property in Sigerslevøster to the men, canons, abbot and abbey of St Thomas and Wilhelm in Æbelholt (plus wants to be a sister at the convent towards end of her life). <i>“monasterii sanctorum Thome et Willelmi de Paraclito in Ebbelolt”</i>
DD 2:1:232	Aug. 4, 1257	Vinder Torbensen	Slangerup (Roskilde Bishopric)	Donation of all property in Skævinge to Æbelholt monastery. <i>“monasterii sancti Willelmi in Ebbelolt”</i>
DD 2:1:340	July 17, 1261	Peder Hvid	Esrom (Roskilde Bishopric)	Donation of property in Mynge to Æbelholt monastery. <i>“uenerabilibus uiris et honestis abbati et conuenti sancti Willelmi in Ebbelolt...”</i>
DD 2:1:431	June 16, 1264	Bishop Tyge I of Aarhus	Aarhus ?	Grants 40 days of indulgence to those who help (alms/support) St Agnes's church and convent in Roskilde. Date: Day of the Blessed Abbot Wilhelm. <i>“...in die beati Willelmi abbatis.”</i>
DD 2:2:112	June 29, 1268	Peder Esbensen	Æbelholt (Roskilde Bishopric)	Donation of property in Herlev in connection with entrance into abbey in Æbelholt as a brother. <i>“deo et ecclesie beatorum Thome et Willelmi monasterii Ebbelolt...”</i>
DD 2:2:188	July 20, 1272	Gunde Pedersen	?	Donation of farm in Hvidovre (“Awordhe”) to Æbelholt abbey - St Wilhelm of the Paraclete. <i>“...uiris religiosis canonicis sancti Willelmi de Paraclito in Ebbelolt...”</i>
DD 2:2:400	April 28, 1280	Rage Tuesen and Niels Jensen	Roskilde	Sale of property in Ubberup to Æbelholt Abbey (“St Thomas and St Wilhelm”). <i>“...et conuentui sancti Thome et beati Willelmi de Paraclito...”</i>

**Table 2.19 – Early medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Olav the Holy of Norway**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
DD 1:3:216	March 31, 1196	King Knud VI	Grønhult (Lund Archbishopric)	Allows change from Cluniac to Cistercian order at St Michael's in Slesvig. Mentions property rights in several parishes in Slesvig including St Olav's parish (16 properties). <i>"... in parrochia sancti Olavi xvi areas..."</i>
DD 1:4:82	Nov. 14, 1203	Bishop Peder of Århus	Threlthorp (Aarhus Bishopric)	Will of goods and property mentions St Olav's Church in Århus (prebends given). <i>"...ecclesia sancti Olavi de Arus..."</i>
DD 1:5:7	1211-1214	Niels, son of viceroy ("vicegrev") Niels	Esrom (Roskilde Bishopric)	Donation to Esrom monastery to be able to undertake a pilgrimage. Altar to be raised in Esrom in honour of these saints: Apostle Jacob, Bishop Nicholas, King Olav and the holy virgins Gertrude and Juliana.
DD 1:6:243	Sept. 12-16 1237	General Chapter of the Cistercians	Citeaux	Cistercian's general chapter received an application from abbots in Denmark, Sweden and Norway to celebrate St Olav's feast (July 29) with 12 lessons. <i>"Petitio abbatum Daciae, Suasciae, Nor&lt;ueg&gt;iae de faciendo festo Sancti Ola&lt;u&gt;i cum duodecim lectionibus in suis abbatiis tantum exauditur."</i>

DD 2:1:7 (SDHK 641, DS 845)	May 17, 1250	Abel, King of Denmark and Duke of Jutland	Roskilde	Inhabitants of Væ released from payment of tolls and debt of service, in Abel's kingdom. Instead, on St Olav's day all inhabitants shall pay the king a mark (coin) per "fjerding" and keep horses when king or queen are personally present (tax on St Olav's day).  See also: DD 2:1:90  " <i>...quæ tenent, solvant nobis annuatim marcham denariorum festo sancti Olai.</i> " (DS 845)
DD 2:1:90	Jan. 10, 1253	King Kristoffer I	Helsingborg (Lund Archbishopric)	Town of Væ released from paying tolls in kingdom, etc. Inhabitants of every "firken" (fjerding) pay a mark every St Olav's day to the king (tax on St Olav's day).  See also: DD 2:1:7  " <i>Iterum uolumus ut coloni nostri ibidem de singulis suis fyarthing que tenant. Soluant nobis annuatim marcham denariorum in festo sancti Olai.</i> "
DD 2:2:80	Aug. 1, 1267	Queen Margrete of Denmark (Sambiria)	Nykøbing (Roskilde Bishopric)	Gives St Olav's Church in Reval to the Cistercian nunnery in Reval with all rights as a parish church (on condition parish priest is given some compensation).  " <i>...per presentes [ecclesiam] beati Olai ibidem...</i> "
DD 2:2:378	July 30, 1279	King Erik V Glipping	Roskilde	Forbids foreigners to sell cloth in "Alenmaal".  Date: Day after St King Olav's day.  " <i>Datum Roskildis. Anno domini m<sup>o</sup>.lxx<sup>o</sup>.ix. In crastino beati Olai regis.</i> "
DD 2:3:46	July 29, 1282	King Erik V Glipping	Nyborg (Odense Bishopric)	Charter signed by king at beginning of his reign (handbinding)  Date: on St Olav's day.  " <i>in die beati Olai</i> "

DD 2:4:67	March 4, 1292	Gyde, daughter of Skjælm Bang	Broby (Sjælland, Roskilde Bishopric)	Will with donations to religious institutions. 1) Æbelholt monastery (no mention of saints) 2) St Olav - 3 sterling shillings (church?) 3) land to Broby Church to pay for 3 continuously burning votive candles: one on BVM's altar, one on St Nicolas' altar and one on St Margreta's altar (Antioch). 1) "... <i>clauastro Æpløholt...</i> " 2) " <i>Item ad sanctum Olauum tress olidos sterlingorum.</i> " 3) " <i>Thill Braabye kirke... iii wax lius, ith paa wor frue altber, ith paa s. Nicolai aoch ith paa S. Margrethe althere ibidem...</i> " (from translation, c. 1600, in Langebeks diplomatarium, DD 2:4, p 47).
DD 2:4:262	July 29, 1297	King Erik VI Menved	Søberg (Roskilde Bishopric)	Confirmation of Viborg Chapter's privileges. Date: Blessed king and martyr Olav's day. "... <i>in die beati Olawi regis et martyris...</i> "
DD 2:4:285	Jan. 16, 1298	Parish priests of St Olav's Church and St Michael's Church	Roskilde	Land dispute with Agneta Convent. Mogens, Deacon in Roskilde, is the judge. Church dedication: St Olav and St Michael, churches in Roskilde. "... <i>sancti Olawi et... Sancti Michaelis Roskildis ecclesiarum rectoribus...</i> "

No medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Anders (Andreas) of Slagelse

No medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Erik Plovpenning as a saint except DRB Supplement-Breve (see Chapter Two and Three)

Only late *diploma* containing reference to Magnhild of Fulltofta (see Chapter Two)

No medieval Danish *diploma* containing reference to Erik the Holy of Sweden





## Appendix Three

### TABLES 3a – Liturgical Material for the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala

**Table 3.1 - Number of *proprium de sanctis* Liturgical Fragments and Scandinavian Saints' Names according to Century from the Swedish Material**

	11th century	11th-12th century	12th century	12th-13th century	13th century
<b>Universal Saints Ref.</b>	9 fragments (5 codices)	11 fragments (11 codices)	593 fragments	200 fragments	c. 4826 fragments
<b>Scandinavian Saints Ref.</b>	2 references/ fragments	0	19 fragments (17 codices)	7 fragments (6 codices)	67 fragments (51 codices)
<b>Scandinavian Saint Names</b>	Olav, Erik (late addition)	0	Olav, Knud the Holy, Botvid/ Bothwithi.  <i>Later additions:</i> Erik, Eskil, Knud Lavard	Knud Lavard, Erik, Olav, Knud the Holy, Botvid	Sigfrid, Botvid, Eskil, Elin of Skövde, David of Munktorp, Erik, Knud Lavard, Knud the Holy, Olav
<b>Native Saints (Uppsala Archbishopric)</b>	Erik	0	Botvid/ Erik, Eskil	Erik	Sigfrid, Botvid, Eskil, Elin of Skövde, David of Munktorp, Erik

*Source: MPO-database.*

**Table 3.2 - Number of proprium de sanctis Liturgical Fragments and Scandinavian Saints' Names according to Century from the Finnish Material**

	11th-12th century	12th-13th century	13th century	13th-14th century
Scandinavian Saints Ref.	0	0	4 fragments	6 fragments
Scandinavian Saint Names	0	0	Olav the Holy, Erik the Holy, Knud the Holy	Knud the Holy, Erik, Eskil, Olav, Elin of Skövde
Native Saints (Uppsala Archbishopric)	0	0	Erik	Erik, Eskil, Elin

Source: Toivo Haapanen and the National Library of Finland.

**Table 3.3 – Medieval Swedish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Botvid (Feast-day: July 28)<sup>8</sup>**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Liturgical Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Missal (Fr 4549, Cx 620)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	“+” = <i>festum fori or terrae</i> Unknown # lessons (Calendar entry)	Dalarna (Västerås Bishopric)
Missal (Fr 9635, Cx 1379)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown # lessons (in Litany of the Saints)	Tuna or Strängnäs (Uppsala Province) (Possibly used in Turku by end of Middle Ages)
Rituale (Fr 28049, CCM Rit 4) <sup>9</sup>	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown # of lessons (in Litany of the Saints)	Småland/Jönköping Probably Linköping Bishopric
Vallentuna Calendar	1198	“+” = <i>festum fori or terrae</i> (July 28)	Vallentuna, Uppsala Archbishopric
Calendar (Fr 25621-25622, CCM Kal 29) (12 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, late-12 <sup>th</sup> or early-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori Simplex</i> (9 l. liturgy) Martyr (July 28)	1) Strängnäs <sup>10</sup> 2) Linköping
Calendar (Fr 25624, CCM Kal 31) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, late-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> 9 lessons (martyr)	Västerås Bishopric (Poss. Dalarna)
Calendar (Fr 25598, CCM Kal 6)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori or terrae</i> 9 lessons (martyr)	Poss. Stockholm Uppsala Archbishopric

<sup>8</sup> All post-1300 liturgical finds are given in italics in all tables. These are only mentioned in passing in this study's analysis.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Schmid 1931b: 107-108.

<sup>10</sup> Due to the provenance of the account book it covers, the MPO-database lists Linköping as this fragment's most likely provenance; however, the Calendar contains Eskil's translation feast (not related to the translation of relics to Linköping in the thirteenth century). Therefore, the likely provenance is Strängnäs first and then Linköping by the end of the Middle Ages. See Chapter Three for further discussion.

Breviarium cum missali (Fr 30838, CCM Br mi 1) <sup>11</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Officium</i> (early prose version) 9 lessons (Martyr)	<i>Liber ecclesie Torsan</i> Torsund, Södermanland (Strängnäs Bishopric)
Calendar (Fr 25601, CCM Kal 9) (12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, c. 1300	Black – <i>festum chori</i> 9 lessons (martyr)	Uppsala Province Poss. Uppland
Breviary BL Add. 40146 <sup>12</sup> (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, late-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in List of Lessons Calendar addition Black – <i>festum duplex</i> <sup>13</sup>	Uppsala Province 1) Uppsala Archbishopric 2) probably Strängnäs Diocese <sup>14</sup>
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25620, CCM Kal 28)	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> century	Red, “+” – <i>festum fori or terrae</i> 9 lessons (martyr)	Småland (Poss. Jönköping) (Linköping Bishopric)
<i>Antiphonarium</i> (Fr 29694, CCM Ant 273)	Early 14 <sup>th</sup> century	(Martyr)	Värmland (Nykröppa?) (Skara Bishopric)
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25599, Kal 7) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, c. 14 <sup>th</sup> century or early 15 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> <i>Simplex</i> (martyr)	Linköping Bishopric Poss. Östergötland: Lysing, Dal and Aska hundred

Source: MPO-database. *Liber ecclesiae Vallentunensis*.

<sup>11</sup> Edited in Önnersfors 1969. Photo in Nilsson 2005: 193, 195.

<sup>12</sup> This Breviary was produced in the second-half of the thirteenth century. The Calendar includes Eskil, Elin, David (later addition), as well as Botvid and Birgitta (both later additions). The initial discovery and rudimentary analysis was made by Ellen Jørgensen. It has not been analyzed further. See Jørgensen 1933a: 190-193. Based on my own analysis, the Calendar can be seen to have had multiple hands from different centuries, demonstrating continued use. The List of Lessons and the Breviary text, although both written in the thirteenth century, were in two or more different hands. St Martin's Day is celebrated on November 10, the eve of the proper feast. Several English saints are found in the Calendar and Breviary, such as Botulf and Oswald. Only universal saints are found in the Litany of the Saints (f. 65).

<sup>13</sup> An additional hand from the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century added *festum duplex* to his feast. This same hand added the appropriate rank to feasts throughout the Calendar.

<sup>14</sup> The Calendar appears to have been moved to a third provenance after 1300: Västerås. This final provenance is based on the fact that the Breviary agrees with the Breviarium Arosiensis in many places as well as the moving of Eskil's feast from the Strängnäs observation to that of outside Strängnäs. See BL Catalogue online for BL Add. 40146.

**Table 3.4 – Medieval Swedish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to David of Munktorp (Feast day: June 25)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
<i>Breviary</i> <i>BL Add. 40146</i>	<i>Addition, 14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Not in List of Lessons</i> <i>Calendar addition: June 25</i>	<i>Uppsala Province</i> <i>1) Uppsala Archbiscopric</i> <i>2) probably Strängnäs Diocese</i>
<i>Missal</i> <i>(Fr 27029–27032, CCM Mi 372)</i> <i>(13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century MS)</i>	<i>Addition, late-14<sup>th</sup> or early 15<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown # lessons</i> <i>(mass on July 15)</i> <i>Officium</i>	<i>Uppland (Uppsala?)</i> <i>(Uppsala Archbiscopric or Västerås)</i>
<i>Calendar</i> <i>(Fr 25624, Kal 31)</i> <i>(13<sup>th</sup> century MS)</i>	<i>Addition, Late-14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Black – festum chori</i> <i>9 lessons</i> <i>(confessor)</i>	<i>Västerås Bishopric</i> <i>Poss. Dalarna</i>

*Source: MPO-database. British Library Manuscripts Catalogue.*

**Table 3.5 – Medieval Swedish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Elin (Helena) of Skövde (Feast day: July 31; in Skara: July 30)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Missal (Fr 26890, CCM Mi 336)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Officium</i> (red title) <sup>15</sup> <i>Collecta, etc.</i> (unknown number of lessons)	Västergötland (Vadsbo hundred?) (Skara Bishopric)
Missal (F.m.I.115) <sup>16</sup> (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, later-13 <sup>th</sup> century <sup>17</sup>	Black (missing feast info, fragment cut off) Added to Calendar: July 31 <sup>18</sup>	Turku Bishopric (Dominicans)
Breviary BL Add. 40146 (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, late-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Not in List of Lessons Calendar addition: July 31 <sup>19</sup> ( <i>Helene vidue et martiris</i> )  Black (Red decoration on “H”)	Uppsala Province 1) Uppsala Archbishopric 2) probably Strängnäs Diocese
Breviarium (Fr 1504, Cx 224) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, Late-13 <sup>th</sup> or early-14 <sup>th</sup> century	Red, “+” – <i>festum fori or terrae</i> prayer (Unknown number of lessons) (martyr)	Västergötland (Skara Bishopric)
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25624, CCM Kal 31) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	14 <sup>th</sup> century addition	Black – <i>festum chori</i> 3 lessons	Västerås Bishopric Possibly Dalarna
Missal (Fr 25981, CCM Mi 7) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Late-14 <sup>th</sup> century addition	“+” – <i>festum fori or terrae</i>	Skara Bishopric
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25599, Kal 7) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	14 <sup>th</sup> -early 15 <sup>th</sup> century addition	Black – <i>festum chori Simplex</i>	Linköping Diocese Poss. Östergötland: Lysing, Dal and Aska hundred

Source: MPO-database. *Finnish Material (FI)*, Toivo Haapanen. *Abukhanfusa 2004a*: 63.

<sup>15</sup> In this Missal, all titles for the different parts of the liturgy, or their subjects, are in red. It does not seem to have any other significance.

<sup>16</sup> <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0115> National Library of Finland 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Photo of the relevant folio at <http://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/viewer/fragmenta.html?item=fd2011-fra0115&handle=10024/395#page=3>

<sup>18</sup> No influence from Skara Bishopric on this feast day (feast usually on July 30 in Skara).

<sup>19</sup> Same hand as Botvid.

**Table 3.6 – Medieval Swedish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Erik the Holy of Sweden (Feast day: May 18)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Breviarium (Fr 22220-22512, CCM Br 266 and Br 426) <sup>20</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Officium</i> Unknown number of lessons (but at least 3) Hymn <i>Historia rhytmica: Assunt Erici</i> (martyr)	Kalmar (Småland) (Linköping Bishopric)
Vallentuna Calendar	1198	“+” – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> Unknown # lessons Feast day: May 18 Added later: “ <i>festum</i> ”	Vallentuna, Uppsala Archbishopric
Calendar (Fr 25598, CCM Kal 6)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> 9 lessons (martyr)	Uppland? Poss. Uppsala Archbishopric (Stockholm)
Calendar (Fr 25621-25622, CCM Kal 29) (12 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, 13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> Unknown # lessons Feast day: May 18	1) Strängnäs 2) Linköping Bishopric?
Calendar (Fr 25624, CCM Kal 31)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> Unknown # lessons (martyr)	Västerås Bishopric (Strängnäs Bishopric?) Poss. Dalarna
Missal (Fr 26233, CCM Mi 62) <sup>21</sup>	Addition, later 13 <sup>th</sup> century	Mass (red title) <sup>22</sup> 3 lessons (martyr)	Uppland Uppsala Archbishopric
Missal (F.m.I.120) <sup>23</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Litany of the saints	Turku Bishopric

<sup>20</sup> These two fragments are actually only one fragment from a Breviary. The online version of the MPO-database mentions this error and cross-references the fragments; however, it still has the erroneous eleventh-century dating for Fr 22220.

<sup>21</sup> Schmid 1959: 165.

<sup>22</sup> All titles in red. No significance. <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0120> National Library of Finland 2013.

<sup>23</sup> <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0120> National Library of Finland 2013.

Calendar (Fr 25601, Kal 9) (12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, c. late-13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> <i>Totum duplex</i>	Uppsala Province Possibly Uppland
Breviary BL Add. 40146	Second half of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century	List of Lessons: 3 lessons Original Calendar entry <sup>24</sup> : May 18, Red – <i>festum terrae</i> or <i>fori</i> ( <i>Later addition: totum duplex</i> ) <sup>25</sup> <i>Officium</i> <sup>26</sup>	Uppsala Province 1) Uppsala Archbishopric 2) probably Strängnäs Diocese
Missal (F.m.I.115) <sup>27</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Calendar entry Red – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> Simplex (martyr)	Turku Bishopric Dominicans
Calendar (Fr 25606, Kal 14) (12 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, late-13 <sup>th</sup> or early 14 <sup>th</sup> century	Red, “+” – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> 9 readings (martyr)	Possibly Västergötland, Skara Bishopric
Calendar (Fr 25640, Kal 50) (First-half of 13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, c. late-13 <sup>th</sup> or early-14 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> Unknown # lessons (martyr)	Linköping Bishopric? Dominicans? Possibly Östergötland
<i>Missal</i> (F.m.I. 65) <sup>28</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> century, probably 14 <sup>th</sup> century	Red title <sup>29</sup> <i>Sequence for mass (ad missam)</i>	<i>Turku Bishopric</i>
<i>Breviarium</i> (F.m.I. 68) <sup>30</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> century (probably 14 <sup>th</sup> century)	<i>Officium</i> Unknown # lessons	<i>Turku Bishopric</i> ( <i>Southern Finland</i> )

<sup>24</sup> Although early, and probably one of the original hands, Erik was added in a slightly different hand than that of Knud the Holy.

<sup>25</sup> The text, “festum terrae totum duplex”, was added in red in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century. Jørgensen 1933a, Schmid 1959.

<sup>26</sup> Jørgensen 1933a: 191. The officium is found on 239v-241r.

<sup>27</sup> <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0115> National Library of Finland 2013.

<sup>28</sup> <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0065> National Library of Finland 2013.

<sup>29</sup> The ink colour is possibly a decorative or format choice in this instance.

<sup>30</sup> <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0573> National Library of Finland 2013.



<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25593, Kal 2) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>Addition, c.</i> <i>14<sup>th</sup> century</i> <i>addition</i>	<i>Black – festum chori</i> <i>9 lessons</i> <i>(martyr)</i>	<i>Skara Bishopric</i> <i>Possibly Värmland</i>
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25630, Kal 38) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>Addition,</i> <i>c. early 14<sup>th</sup></i> <i>century</i>	<i>Duplex</i>	<i>Uppsala Province</i> <i>Strängnäs Bishopric, if</i> <i>additions after 1290</i>
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25637, Kal 47) <sup>31</sup> (First-half of 13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>Addition, 14<sup>th</sup></i> <i>century</i> <i>(in 3<sup>rd</sup> hand)</i>	<i>Black, “+” – festum fori or terrae</i> <i>Unknown # lessons</i>	<i>Småland?</i> <i>Probably Linköping</i> <i>Bishopric</i>
<i>Missal</i> (Fr 2842)	<i>14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown</i> <i>(martyr)</i>	<i>Uppsala</i> <i>Uppsala Archbishopric</i>
<i>Antiphonarium</i> (Fr 20052)	<i>14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown</i> <i>(martyr)</i>	<i>Småland</i> <i>Linköping Bishopric?</i>
<i>Breviarium</i> (Fr 22267, CCM Br 288)	<i>14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown</i> <i>(martyr)</i>	<i>Turku Bishopric</i>
<i>Breviarium cum</i> <i>missali</i> (Fr 25019, CCM Br mi 5)	<i>14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown</i> <i>(martyr)</i>	<i>Uppland</i> <i>Uppsala Archbishopric</i>
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25599, Kal 7) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>14<sup>th</sup>-early</i> <i>15<sup>th</sup> century</i> <i>addition</i>	<i>Black – festum chori</i> <i>Duplex</i> <i>(martyr)</i>	<i>Linköping Archbishopric</i> <i>Poss. Östergötland: Lysing,</i> <i>Dal and Aska hundred</i>

Source: MPO-database. Finnish material (FI), Toivo Haapanen. *Liber ecclesiae Vallentunensis*. British Library Manuscripts Catalogue.

<sup>31</sup> If this manuscript was produced in the Uppsala province, it shows heavy influence from England. The English saints included in the original hand could instead reflect an English production.

**Table 3.7 – Medieval Swedish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Eskil of Tuna/Strängnäs (Feast day: June 12; original feast day and in Strängnäs: June 11)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Missal (Fr 9635, Cx 1379)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Litany of the Saints	Uppsala Province (Tuna or Strängnäs) <sup>32</sup>
Calendar (Fr 25621-25622, CCM Kal 29) (12 <sup>th</sup> century MS.)	Addition, early 13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black, but states <i>festum terrae Translatio</i> - October 6 (martyr)	1) Strängnäs Bishopric 2) Linköping Bishopric
Vallentuna Calendar	Slightly later addition, 13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> 9 lessons June 11 (martyr)	Vallentuna, Uppsala Archbishopric
Calendar (Fr 25624, CCM Kal 31)	13 <sup>th</sup> century (original hand)	Red – <i>festum fori/terrae</i> (unknown number of lessons) (martyr)	Västerås Bishopric Possibly Dalarna
Calendar (Fr 25598, CCM Kal 6)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> 9 lessons (martyr)	Uppland (probably) Uppsala Archbishopric Stockholm
Breviary BL Add. 40146 (13 <sup>th</sup> century)	List of lessons from 2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 13 <sup>th</sup> century  <i>14<sup>th</sup> century addition to calendar</i>	List of Lessons: 3 lessons <sup>33</sup> Calendar: Addition (late-13 <sup>th</sup> century) June 11: <i>festum simplex</i> Feast moved from June 11 to June 12 (in 14 <sup>th</sup> century) still as <i>festum simplex</i> <sup>34</sup> High status and 2 feasts: <i>Passio</i> – June 11/12 Red – ( <i>festum terrae/fori</i> ) <i>simplex</i> <i>Translatio</i> – added in early-14 <sup>th</sup> century to October 6	Uppsala Province 1) Uppsala Archbishopric 2) probably Strängnäs Bishopric

<sup>32</sup> Possibly used in Turku by the end of the Middle Ages.

<sup>33</sup> All the saints in the List of Lessons have red ink on their initials. BL Add. 40146, f. 104.

<sup>34</sup> The move reflects a move from the Strängnäs observation to that of another diocese within the Uppsala province. Eskil's feast was moved to June 12 by an earlier hand to that which added Botvid and Elin. The original feast was crossed out when Barnabus the Apostle's feast was added to June 11.

LUB Fragment 117 (Missal?)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> <sup>35</sup> Unknown # lessons	Uppsala Archbishopric Gävle (“Gieffle”)
<i>Missal</i> (F.m.I. 115) <sup>36</sup> (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>Addition, 14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Black – festum chori Simplex</i>	<i>Turku Bishopric (Dominicans)</i>
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25601, Kal 9) (12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>Addition, c. early 14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Black – festum chori 9 lessons</i>	<i>Uppsala Province Possibly Uppland (Uppsala Archbishopric)</i>
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25630, Kal 38) (2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>Addition, c. early 14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Black – festum chori Unknown # lessons</i>	<i>Uppsala Archbishopric (Strängnäs if additions after 1290)</i>
<i>Missal</i> (Fr 4540) 13 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Addition, c. 14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown # lessons Officium for translatio  2<sup>nd</sup> feast, important saint</i>	<i>Dalarna Västerås Bishopric</i>
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25596, Kal 4) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>c. late 14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Confessor, black</i>	<i>Strängnäs or Västerås Bishopric</i>
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25599, Kal 7) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>Addition, 14<sup>th</sup> –early 15<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Black – festum chori Simplex (martyr)</i>	<i>Linköping Bishopric (Possibly Östergötland: Lysing, Dal and Aska Hundred)</i>
<i>Missal</i> (Fr 27682, CCM Mi 759) (Fr 2043, Codex 318)	<i>15<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown # lessons Translatio</i>	<i>Västergötland Skara Bishopric</i> <sup>37</sup>

Source: MPO-database. Finnish Material (FI), Toivo Haapanen. Lund University Library (LUB) “Fragmentsamling”. British Library Manuscripts Catalogue. Jørgensen 1933a: 190

<sup>35</sup> See Chapter Three for further discussion.

<sup>36</sup> <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0115> National Library of Finland 2013.

<sup>37</sup> Other possible bishoprics have been suggested elsewhere: Västerås, Strängnäs, Linköping. Cf. MPO-database.

**Table 3.8 – Medieval Swedish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Henrik of Turku/Finland (Feast day: January 19)<sup>38</sup>**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
LUB fragment 106 (Breviarium)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Officium</i> 2 lessons/responsorials (unknown if more)	Uppsala Province (Uppsala or Turku)

Source: Lund University Library (LUB) “Fragmentsamling”.

**Table 3.9 – Medieval Swedish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Sigfrid of Växjö (Feast day: February 15)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Breviarium (Fr 7015, Cx 880)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown colour/rank Unknown number of lessons <i>Officium</i> Laudes, <i>Collecta</i> , Vespers	Småland 1) Växjö Bishopric <sup>39</sup> 2) Linköping Bishopric <sup>40</sup>
Antiphonarium (Fr 20315, CCM Ant 123)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red <sup>41</sup> <i>Collecta</i>	Uppland Uppsala Archbishopric
Breviarium cum missali (Fr 25013, CCM Br mi 1) <sup>42</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> 9 lessons <i>Officium vetus</i> Hymns Legend	<i>Liber ecclesie Torsan</i> Toresund, Södermanland Strängnäs Bishopric

<sup>38</sup> It is possible that the relative lack of liturgy from the Turku Bishopric for Henrik before 1300 is in part due to the *lacuna* in the Calendar of F.m.I. 115. It is missing the month of January. However, there is no entry for his *translatio* in June. Cf. <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0115> National Library of Finland 2013.

<sup>39</sup> See discussion in Chapter Three.

<sup>40</sup> The account book is from an area of Småland (Aspeland och Sevede) originally within the Linköping Bishopric's jurisdiction.

<sup>41</sup> All titles are in red in this Antiphonary. It does not indicate any particular observance or feast day.

<sup>42</sup> Edited in Önnersfors 1968: 64–80.

Breviarium cum missali (Fr 25020, Br mi 6)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown # lessons Sequence, <i>Collecta, Secreta</i> (Confessor)	Linköping Bishopric Östergötland (Memnings hundred?) <sup>43</sup>
Breviary BL Add. 40146	Second half of the 13th century	List of lessons: 9 lessons <sup>44</sup>  Not in Calendar (missing Jan- Feb)  <i>Officium</i> (Feb. 15) “ <i>De sanctis</i> ” includes legend <sup>45</sup>	Uppsala Province 1) Uppsala Archbishopric 2) probably Strängnäs Bishopric
<i>Breviarium</i> (Fr 22453, CCM Br 399)	14 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Unknown # lessons</i> <i>Officium</i>	<i>Linköping Bishopric</i> <i>Östergötland, Norrköping</i>
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25637, Kal 47) (First-half of 13 <sup>th</sup> century MS.)	<i>Addition, 14<sup>th</sup> century</i> (in 3 <sup>rd</sup> hand)	<i>Black, but “+” – festum fori or terrae</i>	<i>Växjö or Linköping</i> <i>Bishoprics</i> <i>Småland?</i>

Source: MPO-database. British Library Manuscripts Catalogue.

<sup>43</sup> Brunius 2008: 139.

<sup>44</sup> Sigfrid is mentioned with other saints, all who had nine lessons, BL Add. 40146, f. 104r.

<sup>45</sup> Although the Calendar is missing Jan-Feb, Sigfrid is most likely there as his office is included in *De sanctis*. Jørgensen 1933a: 190-192.

**Table 3.10 – Medieval Swedish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Olav of Norway (Feast day: July 29)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Breviarium (Fr 23657, CCM Br 1269)	11 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown # lessons (martyr)	Östergötland
10 fragments	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Usually red – <i>festum fori or terrae</i> (Martyr)	Västergötland, Dalarna, Västmanland, Småland
Vallentuna Calendar	1198	Unknown # lessons “+” – <i>festum fori or terrae</i> (July 29)	Vallentuna, Uppsala Bishopric
3 fragments	12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown # lessons (martyr)	Västergötland, Sala, Dalsland
48-50 fragments: Breviarium Missal, Calendar, Antiphonarium.	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Martyr (usually)	All bishoprics.
Missal (FI 120)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown	Unknown (Finland?)
Gradual (FI 16)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Martyr	Finland (Turku Bishopric)
Breviarium (FI 61)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Martyr	Finland (Turku Bishopric)
Breviary BL Add. 40146	Second-half of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century	List of lessons: 3  Calendar: Red – <i>festum terrae/fori</i> July 29 <sup>46</sup> Later added: <i>totum simplex</i>  <i>Officium</i> (f. 104v) Hymn: “Rex Olauus Gloriosus”	Uppsala Province Probably Strängnäs Bishopric
Missal (Fm.I.115) (13 <sup>th</sup> c. MS)	Addition, 14 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Simplex</i> (added in red) (martyr)	Turku Bishopric Dominicans

<sup>46</sup> Early hand, possibly one of original, but not the same as first hand which wrote Knud the Holy.

<i>Breviarium (F.m.I. 43)</i>	<i>13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown # of lessons</i>	<i>Turku Bishopric Southern Finland</i>
<i>Breviarium (F.m.I. 65)</i>	<i>13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown # of lessons Liturgy</i>	<i>Turku Bishopric? (Finland?)</i>
<i>Breviarium (F.m.I. 68)</i>	<i>13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown # of lessons Liturgy</i>	<i>Turku Bishopric Southern Finland</i>

*Source: MPO-database. Finnish material, Toivo Haapanen. National Library of Finland. Liber ecclesiae Vallentunensis. British Library Manuscripts Catalogue.*

**Table 3.11 – Medieval Swedish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Knud the Holy (Feast day: July 10)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Missal (Fr 25951, CCM Mi 3)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown # lessons Liturgy	Västerås Bishopric Västmanland (Väsby?)
Missal (Fr 27366, CCM Mi 575)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown # lessons Liturgy	Skara Bishopric Västergötland
Calendar (Fr 25602, CCM Kal 10)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Red, “+” – <i>festum fori or terrae</i>  (martyr)	Linköping Bishopric  (Primary provenance: Lund Province)
Vallentuna Calendar	1198	Black – <i>festum chori</i> Unknown # lessons (July 10) (martyr)	Vallentuna, Uppsala Archbishopric
Calendar (Fr 25621-25622, CCM Kal 29)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Blue (decoration, not rank) <i>Duplex</i> (July 10)	1) Strängnäs 2) Linköping
Breviarium (Fr 5649)	12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> Unknown # lessons	Småland Linköping or Växjö Bishopric
Breviarium (Fr 3150)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown # lessons Liturgy	Närke Strängnäs Bishopric
Breviarium (Fr 6496)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red title <sup>47</sup> Prayers (liturgy)	Småland Linköping or Växjö Bishopric
Calendar (Fr 10060)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori or terrae</i> (martyr)	Småland Linköping or Växjö Bishopric

<sup>47</sup> The use of red here is probably just a matter of format or decoration rather than rank.



Missal (Fr 26917, CCM Mi 344)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i>	Värmland Skara Bishopric
Missal (Fr 27029, CCM Mi 369)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Unknown # lessons Liturgy	Uppland (Uppsala?) Uppsala Archbishopric
Missal (Fr 25981, CCM Mi 7)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> 9 lessons (martyr)	Skara Bishopric (1200s)  (Västergötland or Småland by 1500s)
Calendar (Fr 25599, CCM Kal 7) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> <i>Duplex</i> (martyr) (Feast on July 9) <sup>48</sup>	Linköping Bishopric Possibly Östergötland: Lysing, Dal and Aska hundred
Calendar (Fr 25640, CCM Kal 50) <sup>49</sup> (First-half of 13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Additon, c. later 13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> (July 10) (martyr)	Linköping? Dominicans? Possibly Östergötland and thereby Linköping Bishopric
Calendar (Fr 25637, Kal 47) (First-half of 13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, mid- 13 <sup>th</sup> century (in 2 <sup>nd</sup> hand)	Red, “+” – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> (10 lessons)	Småland Växjö or Linköping Bishopric <sup>50</sup>  (Primary provenance: Lund province)
Breviary BL Add. 40146	Second-half of the 13th century	List of lessons: 9 (f. 104)  Calendar (original): July 10 Red – <i>festum fori</i> or <i>terrae</i> Later added: <i>festum duplex</i>  No <i>officium</i> included.	Uppsala Province 1) Uppsala Archbishopric 2) probably Strängnäs Diocese

<sup>48</sup> Moved to July 10th in a different hand from about the 14th century.

<sup>49</sup> Knud Lavard's translation is usually celebrated on June 25 and, therefore, the entry for "*Kanuti regis*" ("*Translatio sancti kanuti regis*") on that date in this calendar is either a mistake for "ducis" or a confusion as to the correct date of Knud the Holy's *translatio*. It is probably evidence of some confusion between the two Knud-cults. The feast day on July 10 to celebrate Knud the Holy's death is ascribed correctly.

<sup>50</sup> Probably Linköping, due to Sigfrid and Erik's feast being added in the 14th century; however, these additions could just have been made at the time the manuscript was acquired. Therefore, either bishopric is a likely candidate before 1300.

Calendar (Fr 25601, CCM Kal 9) (12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	Addition, c. 1300	Black – <i>festum chori</i> Unknown # lessons	Uppsala Province
Missal (F.m.I. 51) <sup>51</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Officium</i> <sup>52</sup> Unknown # lessons Mass for Knud's feast Hymns, responsorials (martyr)	Turku Bishopric <sup>53</sup>  (Primary provenance: Lund province)
Calendar (Fr 25620, Kal 28)	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> century	Black – <i>festum chori</i> 3 readings	Småland Possibly Jönköping Linköping Bishopric
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25601, Kal 9) (12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>Addition, c. early 14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Black – festum chori</i>	<i>Uppsala Province Possibly Uppland and Uppsala Archdiocese</i>
<i>Calendar</i> (Fr 25620, CCM Kal 28)	<i>14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>3 lessons</i>	<i>Småland (Jönköping?) Linköping Bishopric?</i>
<i>Breviarium</i> (Fr 4384, Cx 880) (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>Addition, 14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown (martyr)</i>	<i>Västmanland Västerås Bishopric</i>
<i>Breviarium (F.m.I. 61)</i> (13 <sup>th</sup> century MS)	<i>Addition, c. 14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown Red Title</i> <sup>54</sup> (martyr)	<i>Turku Bishopric</i>

Source: MPO-database. Finnish Material, Toivo Haapanen. National Library of Finland. *Liber ecclesiae Vallentunensis*. British Library Manuscripts Catalogue. Brunius 2008: 174, *Abukhanfusa 2004a*: 63.

<sup>51</sup> Knud rex was not added to another Missal, F.m.I.115, beside “Septem fratrem” on July 10, but as the Calendar is missing January, it is unknown if he was entirely absent from this Missal. However, it seems likely.

<sup>52</sup> The title for Knud rex's office is in red; however, it is a matter of format in this Missal.

<sup>53</sup> See <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0051> National Library of Finland 2013.

<sup>54</sup> All titles in this Breviary are in red; therefore, the colour does not indicate a special feast or observance.

**Table 3.12 – Medieval Swedish Liturgical Fragments and Manuscripts containing reference to Knud Lavard (Feast day: January 7)**

Fragment/MS. Type (nr)	Date	Rank of Feast	Probable Provenance(s)
Missal (Fr 7987, Cx 1110)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Red – <i>festum fori or terrae</i>	Stockholm Linköping Bishopric
<i>Missal</i> (Fr 25979, CCM Mi 6) (12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century MS.)	<i>Addition, 14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown # lessons Officium</i>	<i>Unknown Uppsala Province?</i>

Source: MPO-database.

Missing from the early Finnish fragment material found in the Finnish archives:

Knud Lavard, Botvid of Södermanland, David of Munktorp, Sigfrid of Växjö, Henrik of Turku/Finland.

**Tables 3b – Swedish *diploma* dated 1100-1300 containing reference to Scandinavian saints**

**Table 3.13 – Early medieval Swedish *diploma* containing reference to Botvid**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
SDHK 1234 (DS 759)	Jan. 1, 1283	King Magnus Ladulås	Bjälbo	Letter of privilege releasing certain churches from “patroncy right”. St Botvid’s Church and church in Salem in Södertörn (Tör) given to Church in Strängnäs. Bishop of Strängnäs can connect these churches to a canonry within the cathedral.  <i>“...in ecclesia beati Botwidi et in ecclesia slēm in Tör transferimus in ecclesiam Strengensem.”</i>
SDHK 1552 (DS 1061)	Feb. 15, 1292	Bishop Isar of Strängnäs	Tälje	Relics of Botvid given to Bishop Lars of Linköping upon request so that veneration of this saint would expand.  40 days indulgence (with Bishop Lars’ approval) to those who come to pay reverence to Botvid’s relics.  Dating: St Sigfrid Confessor’s day.  <i>“...a nobis reliquias beati Botwidi martiris cum magnis instanciis sibi et ecclesie sue tribuj postulavit.”</i>  Date: “...die beati Sigfridi confessoris.”

**Table 3.14 – Early medieval Swedish *diploma* containing reference to Erik the Holy**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
SDHK 740 (DS 435)	Oct. 23, 1256	Pope Alexander IV	Anagni (Italy)	40 days indulgence to those who visit Uppsala cathedral on St Erik's (Henricus) day (grave/tomb).  (to Cathedral Dean and Chapter in Uppsala)  <i>"Cum igitur sicut asseritis ad sepulchrum beati Henrici Regis cuius corpus in uestra requiescit ecclesia..."</i>
SDHK 866 (DS 523)	Oct. 21, 1266	Pope Clement IV	Viterbo (Italy)	40 days indulgence to those who visit Uppsala Cathedral annually on King Erik the Holy's feast-day  (to Archdeacon and Chapter in Uppsala)  <i>"Cupientes igitur ut ecclesia uestra in qua corpus beati Erici martiris ut asseritis requiescit..."</i>
SDHK 882 (DS 533)	June 9, 1268	Pope Clement IV	Viterbo (Italy)	To Cathedral Chapter in Uppsala granting 100 days indulgence to those who annually visit Uppsala cathedral on St Laurence and St Erik's (" <i>henric</i> " for " <i>eric</i> ") feast days.  40 days of indulgence to those who visit the cathedral on the octaves of these saints.  <i>"... in honore beatorum laurentii et henrici martirum..."</i>
SDHK 901 (DS 546)	Sept. 22, 1270	King Valdemar Birgersson	Söderköping	Decision together with churchmen and nobles to move Uppsala Cathedral, with retention of name and privileges.  <i>"... et beati laurencij et beati Erici regis et Martiris progenitoris nostri..."</i>
SDHK 911 (DS 553)	Sept. 9, 1271	Bishops Henrik of Linköping, Finvid of Strängnäs, Erik of Skara, Karl of Västerås, Kettil of Åbo and Asker of Växjö	Uppsala	40 days indulgence to those who yearly visit Uppsala Cathedral on feast days of St Laurence and St Erik, as well as their octaves.  <i>"... in festiuitatibus beati Laurencij, ad cuius honorem fundata est et beati erici regis et martiris..."</i>

SDHK 932 (DS 570)	July 28, 1273	King Valdemar Birgersson of Sweden	Stockholm	<p>Donation of mill, land (“4 markland”) and church in Husby (“patron right”) to Uppsala Cathedral.</p> <p>Donation in honour of mother and the Archbishopric of Uppsala and is made at the time of the translation of St Erik’s relics.</p> <p>All property to be connected to Jakob Israelsson’s canonry.</p> <p><i>“eidem ecclesie in translacione reliquanium beati erici regis et martiris gloriosi...”</i></p>
SDHK 1037 (DS 876)	c. 1278	Björn, Cathedral Dean (Uppsala?)	?	<p>Donations to churches, religious houses, etc, including 1 mark of silver to “St Erik’s church in Uppsala”.</p> <p><i>“Ecclesie sanctj ericj in arusia. Marcam. argenti.”</i></p>
SDHK 1191 (DS 731)	Oct. 2, 1281 (a)	Archbishop Jakob of Uppsala	Hanholmen	<p>20 days indulgence to those who help the mendicants in Sigtuna with the building of a church dedicated to the BVM and other buildings.</p> <p>Written with the authority of God and St Laurence and Erik.</p> <p><i>“Nos enim de omnipotentis dei misericordia et beatorum Laurentij et Erici martirum eius auctoritate confisi...”</i></p>
SDHK 1193 (DS 734)	Oct. 2, 1281 (c)	Archbishop Jakob of Uppsala	Hanholmen	<p>Permit for the prior and brothers of the mendicants in Sigtuna to grant 20 days indulgence to those who listen to one of the brothers’ sermons (when the prior or sub-prior order the sermon).</p> <p>Written with the authority of God and the blessed martyrs Laurence and Erik.</p> <p><i>“...auctoritate dei omnipotentis et beatorum martirum laurencii et Erici...”</i></p>

SDHK 1366 (DS 934)	March 7, 1287	Archbishop elect Magnus (Bosson) of Uppsala	Uppsala	Confirmation that has received a letter from Arvid (DS 933) from Lund and certifies it, announces that Arvid is under his and St Laurence's and St Erik's protections (because of the letter's contents). <i>"Nos igitur prefatum arwidum gracia predictorum sub beatorum Laurencij et Erii et nostram protectionem..."</i>
SDHK 1475 (DS 1011)	Jan. 29, 1290	Bishop-elect, Fr Johannes of Uppsala	Ragunda	Places Gjurd Bodakarl under St Laurence's and Erik's protection, as well as the protection of the Uppsala Church and Fr Johannes. <i>"prestantium exhibitorem sub beatorum Laurencij et Erii martirum..."</i>
SDHK 1480 (DS 1015)	June 17, 1290 (a)	Bishop Bengt of Linköping (Duke of Finland)	Uppsala	Dispute regarding a will (of deceased Archdean Johannes of Uppsala). Uppsala canon Gerhard's testimony refers to feast of St Eric. ("2 weekdays before the feast of St Erik..."). <i>"Ego Gerhardus a venerabile viro domino johanne archidiacono vpsalensi graui infirmitate laborante feria secunda ante festum beati erici regis et martyris parum ante pulsacionem vesperarum."</i>
SDHK 1493 (DS 1025)	Nov. 28, 1290	Bishop-elect, Fr Johannes of Uppsala	Uppsala	To mendicants in Sigtuna, "Maria Church". Indulgence letter for various visits to the church on different feast days, including "the holy cross". Written with the authority of God, Laurence and Erik. <i>"Missam ad altare sancte crucis audituri, conuenerint, viginti dies de iniuncta sibi penitencia, auctoritate dei omnipotentis et beatorum Martirum, Laurencij et Erii misericorditer relaxamus."</i>

SDHK 1509 (DS 1036)	March 27, 1291	Salomon, Uppsala canon	Uppsala	Will including prebendary to be created for a permanent vicariate at Uppsala cathedral. Donates farms and land to Church in Uppsala where he will be buried and in honour of saints Laurence and Erik. <i>“In primis enim ecclesie upsalensi apud quam eligo sepulturam, ad dei honorem et beatorum Martirum Laurentij et Ericij confero Lego et assigno bona infrascripta, videlicet curiam meam in Keldabergum...”</i>
SDHK 1522 (DS 1049)	May 19, 1291	Magnus Johansson	Sigtuna	Donation to create a vicariate ( <i>vicaria</i> ) in the convent in Sko, as he is to be buried there (paid for by land) Date: Day after St Erik King and Martyr’s day. <i>“Datum Siktunie, Anno Domini Millesimo Ducentesimo Nonagesimo Primo in Crastino Beati Erici Regis Et Martyris.”</i>
SDHK 1621 (DS 1743)	May 18, 1294	Cathedral Dean and Chapter in Uppsala	Uppsala	Confirmation of Pope Clement IV’s letter (mendicant order, DS 501) Date: Feast of Blessed Erik King and Martyr. <i>“In festo beati Erici Regis et Martiris.”</i>
SDHK 1675 (DS 1145)	Oct. 28, 1295 (c)	Pope Boniface VIII	Rome	1 year and 40 days indulgence to those who yearly visit Uppsala Cathedral on Holy Thurs., martyrs Laurence and Erik’s feast days, BVM’s feast days, All Saints’ Day and all of these feast days’ octaves. <i>“... que in honore beatorum Martirum Laurentij et Erici...”</i>



SDHK 1727 (DS 1187)	1297 (b)	Archbishop Nils Allesson of Uppsala	?	Synodal statutes for Uppsala diocese including rules for fasts and work during certain feast days, including St Erik and St Olav. Cease work and other pleasures before eating. <i>“In dominicis autem omnibus vel festiuitatibus precipuis, vt puta exaltacione crucis festiuitatibus beate virginis, michaelis archangeli natiuitatis beati johannis baptiste petri &amp; pauli apostolorum, laurencii erici et Olai martirum et die dedicacionis a laboribus omnibus vt consuetum est cessandum fore mandamus.”</i>
SDHK 1732 (DS 1189)	Feb. 15, 1297	Archbishop Nils Allesson of Uppsala	Ragunda Church	Letter inspector ( <i>“litteras inspecturis”</i> ), Toreð Gjurðsson, placed under the protection of St Laurence, St Erik, Uppsala Church and the archbishop. He has received land in the forest (from Uppsala) which is not allowed to be taxed or burdened. Date: St Sigfrid’s feast day. <i>“... in iæmpcia sub beatorum Laurencii et Erii martyrum...”</i> <i>“Die beati Sigfridi confessoris.”</i>
SDHK 1744 (DS 1200)	June 21, 1297 (a)	Bishops Lars of Linköping, Isar of Strängnäs and Magnus of Växjö (bishop’s synod)	Idö	40 days indulgence to those who visit Uppsala Cathedral on Holy Thursday, and other days up until after Easter, on St Laurence and St Erik’s days plus their octaves, BVM’s feast days and their octaves, etc. <i>“... in festis beatorum Laurencij et Erii Martirum ac per Octo...”</i>
SDHK 1785 (DS 1229)	April 19, 1298 (a)	Archbishop Nils Allesson of Uppsala	Arnö	40 days indulgence to those who visit the mendicant church in Sigtuna on certain feast days (no native, only mendicant saints). By the authority of St Laurence and St Erik. <i>“Laurencij et Erii Martirum eius Auctoritate confisi...”</i>

SDHK 1786 (DS 1230)	April 19, 1298 (b)	Archbishop Nils Allesson of Uppsala	Arnö	10 days indulgence on Fridays for those who attend the mass of the cross. By the authority of St Laurence and St Erik. <i>"Laurencij et Eri Martirum eius auctoritate confisi..."</i>
SDHK 1799 (DS 1241)	April 19, 1298 (a)	Archbishop Nils Allesson of Uppsala	Arnö	40 days indulgence to those who visit BVM's chapel in Uppsala Cathedral on Saturdays during the whole year, donations, attend masses there. 20 days to those who participate in evenings prayers to BVM (Fridays). By the authority of St Erik and St Laurence. <i>"Laurencij et Eri Martirum eius auctoritate confisi..."</i>
SDHK 1822 (DS 1746)	1299- 1301 (d)	Archbishop Nils Allesson of Uppsala	?	Explanations and modifications of provincial rules/regulations issued by predecessors (provincial consilium in Södertälje). Special masses each year and at what liturgical hours, including for St Erik and St Henrik. <i>"... et tertiam de Sanctis Martiribus Erico Rege et Henrico Episcopo pro statu Carelie..."</i>  ( "...and terce for the saintly martyrs King Erik and Henrik, Bishop (for the place) of Finland..." )
SDHK 1930 (DS 1331)	Nov. 25, 1300	Archbishop Nils Allesson of Uppsala	Spånga Church	Monastery church of Sko was consecrated on Aug. 27, 1300. The date of celebration is to be changed to Sept. 9 due to a feast day conflict. 40 days of indulgence to those who visit the church on this day. By the authority of St Erik and Laurence (among others). <i>"... de omnipotentis dei misericordia et beatorum..., laurencij et Eri martirum eius, auctoritate confisi..."</i>

**Table 3.15 – Early medieval Swedish *diploma* containing reference to Eskil of Tuna/Strängnäs**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
SDHK 473 (DS 839)	Sept. 6, 1231	Pope Gregory IX	Reate	To prior and brothers of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (Knights Hospitaller) in Dacia. Confirms that St Eskil's Church in Tuna was donated by Bishop W. of Strängnäs.  Letter ratified by Archbishop S(tefan) of Uppsala, with consent of King K(nut) and patronacy holder, Jarl B(irger), as well as confirmation of property holdings in "Aby" and "Arby" received from Earl Birger.  <i>"Ecclesiam beati Eskilli Martyris et pontificis de Tunæ..."</i>
SDHK 1811 (DS 1252)	Oct. 7, 1298	Bishop Isar of Strängnäs	?	Certification of predecessor Anund's donation diploma (DS 765) to Abbot in Julita.  Date: Day following the translation of St Eskil.  <i>"... in crastino translacionis beatj eskilli martiris et pontificis."</i>

**Table 3.16 – Early medieval Swedish *diploma* containing reference to Elin of Skövde**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
SDHK 1542 (DS none)	Feb. 18, 1291	Pope Nicolaus IV	Rome	1 year and 40 days indulgence to those who visit St Elin's Church in Skövde in Skara Diocese on her feast day (July 31) and feast of BVM's Assumption (August 15), during the weeks after these two feasts (octaves) or on the anniversary of the church's consecration.

**Table 3.17 – Early medieval Swedish *diploma* containing reference to Henrik of Turku/Finland**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
SDHK 1822 (DS 1746)	1299-1301 (d)	Archbishop Nils Allesson of Uppsala	?	<p>Explanations and modifications of provincial rules/regulations issued by predecessors (provincial consilium in Södertälje).</p> <p>Special masses each year and at what liturgical hours, including for St Erik and St Henrik.</p> <p><i>“... et tertiam de Sanctis Martiribus Erico Rege et Henrico Episcopo pro statu Carelie...”</i></p> <p>(“...and terce for the saintly martyrs King Erik and Henrik, Bishop (for the place) of Finland...”)</p>

**Table 3.18 – Early medieval Swedish *diploma* containing reference to Nicolaus of Edsleskog**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
SDHK 388 (DS 193)	Nov. 4, 1220	Pope Honorius III	Lateran Palace (Rome)	<p>Letter to Bishop Bengt of Skara. Indulgence may be granted to those that visit the church built in honour of “the priest Nicolaus”, who was martyred and afterwards has performed miracles.</p> <p><i>“Tua nobis devotio supplicavit, ut cum quedam Ecclesia in tua Diocesi ad bonorem Dei, et bone memorie Nicolai presbiteri, qui dum quendam visitaturus infirmum Corpus Christi portaret ab impiis immaniter interfectus insignibus corruscat miraculis ceperit fabricari visitantibus eam aliquam suorum peccaminum indulgentiam concedere dignaremur.”</i></p>

**Table 3.19 – Early medieval Swedish *diploma* containing reference to Sigfrid<sup>55</sup>**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
SDHK 1552 (DS 1061)	Feb. 15, 1292	Bishop Isar of Strängnäs	Tälje	Relics of Botvid given to Bishop Lars of Linköping upon request so that veneration of this saint would expand. 40 days indulgence (with Bishop Lars' approval) to those who come to pay reverence to Botvid's relics. Dating: St Sigfrid Confessor's day. <i>"...a nobis reliquias beati Botwidi martiris cum magnis instanciis sibi et ecclesie sue tribuj postulauit."</i> Date: <i>"...die beati Sigfridi confessoris."</i>
SDHK 1732 (DS 1189)	Feb. 15, 1297	Archbishop Nils Allesson of Uppsala	Ragunda Church	Letter inspector ( <i>"litteras inspecturis"</i> ), Tore Gjurdsen, placed under the protection of St Laurence, St Eric, Uppsala Church and the archbishop. He has received land in the forest (from Uppsala) which is not allowed to be taxed or burdened. Date: St Sigfrid's feast day. <i>"... in iampcia sub beatorum Laurencii et Erici martyrum..."</i> <i>"Die beati Sigfridi confessoris."</i>
SDHK 1898 (DS 1304)	Feb. 15, 1300	Sune, Lawman of Närke	Riseberga	Letter of donation to Riseberga convent of farm, etc. for Lady Cecilia, Lord Verner Brunke's daughter (agreed to by sons of V.B. and Bishop Isar of Strängnäs). Signed by Sune, Dean Gerhard of Närke and parish priest Johannes of Örebro. Date: Feast day of St Sigfrid, confessor. <i>"jn die Beati sigfridi confessoris."</i>

<sup>55</sup>. The cult's geographical distribution is large; however, it is noteworthy that there are no letters from the Växjö Bishopric.

**Table 3.20 – Early medieval Swedish diploma containing reference to Olav the Holy of Norway**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
SDHK 1292 (DS 901)	1285 (before 1286)	Filip Karlsson	?	Will includes instructions that two of his servants are to undertake a pilgrimage to St Olav (Trondheim/Nidaros) at his expense. <i>“Item ordino quod duo de pueris meis vadant ad sanctum olauum in expensis meis.”</i>
SDHK 1704 (DS 1167)	July 30, 1296	Canon Karl Erlandsson of Uppsala	Uppsala	Will with donations mostly to churches and religious houses. Date: day after St Olav’s day. <i>“... in crastino beatj Olaui regis et Martyris.”</i>
SDHK 1727 (DS 1187)	1297 (b)	Archbishop Nils Allesson of Uppsala	?	Synodal statutes for Uppsala diocese including rules for fasts and work during certain feast days, including St Eric and St Olav. Cease work and other pleasures before eating. <i>“In dominicis autem omnibus vel festiuitatibus precipuis, vt puta exaltacione crucis festiuitatibus beate virginis, michaelis archangeli natiuitatis beati jobannis baptiste petri &amp; pauli apostolorum, laurencii erici et Olau martirum et die dedicacionis a laboribus omnibus vt consuetum est cessandum fore mandamus.”</i>
SDHK 1747 (DS 1197)	July 14, 1297	Bishops Brynolf of Skara and Isar of Strängnäs	Arboga	40 days indulgence every year to those who visit St Olav’s Church in Arboga in Västerås diocese on BVM’s 4 feast days, the church’s consecration day, St Olav’s day, Peter and Paul’s day (as long as the diocese approves). <i>“... ut Ecclesia Beati Olavi in Arbuga, Dioecesis Arosiensis...”</i> <i>“...ac in Festo Beati Olavi Martyris...”</i>

SDHK 1840 (DS 1278)	July 16, 1299	Nils Sigridsson, Lawman of Värend (Småland, Växjö Diocese)	Ringshult	Will with donations, including 3 marks of silver to St Olav's Church in Trondheim (Nidaros) if cannot visit it before his death. <i>"Ecclesie in nidaros tres marchas puri argenti si ante mortem meam beati Olai limina non potuero uisitare."</i>
SDHK 1182 (DS 1719)	July 29, 1281	King Magnus Ladulås	Söderköping	Confirmation of freedoms and privileges that were granted at the crowning of himself and his wife. Date: St Olav's day (i.e. day of the crowning). <i>"...som war sancte oloffs konungxdagh."</i>
SDHK 466 (DS 1708)	c. 1230 (b)	German and Gothlandic merchants	?	Merchants' rights when trading with Novgorod (presumed) and suggest continue to apply. St Olav's Church mentioned. <i>"curia gotensium cum ecclesia et Cimiterium sancti Olai et prata adiacentia in omnibus libera emat secundum iusticiam habitam ab antiquis."</i>
SDHK 965 (DS 871)	1275 (g) (1275-1291)	Dean Björn of Bälinge		Will containing donations including one mark of silver to Olav the Holy. (Also mentions Eskilstuna) <i>"ad sanctum olauum vnam Marcham."</i>
SDHK 1016 (DS 625)	April 8, 1277	Bishop Henrik of Linköping	?	Nuns of Solberga convent on Gotland and parishoners in Hellvi (and pastor) in agreement about incomes and offertory gifts that day before and on St Olav's day go to Åkergarn's Chapel, half for the nuns and half for the parishoners. (etc) <i>"oblacionibus prouenientibus in capella hakergarn jn vigilia et die beati Olai Regis et martiris..."</i>
SDHK 1142 (DS 702)	July 8, 1280	Bishop Henrik of Linköping	?	Makes decision in DS 625 permanent. <i>"... de oblacionibus et prouentibus percipiendis in vigilia et die beati Olai in akirgarnum..."</i>

SDHK 1239 (DS 763)	June 13, 1283	Magnus Johansson (Ängel)	Kalmar	Record of sale of a farm in Höjentorp to Bishop Brynolf of Skara. Payment instructions include reference to St Olav's day. <i>"...alioquin mihi eadem pecunia in festo beati olavi post proximum pascha est soluenda..."</i>
SDHK 1346 (DS 918)	Sept. 9, 1286 - Sept. 14, 1286	Elisabet Geresdotter	Sigtuna	Will containing donations including to St Olav's Church in Enköping, 1 "öresland" (c. 3 acres). <i>"Ecclesie sancti olavi in siktonia vnam oram terre ibidem."</i>
SDHK 1380 (DS 943)	July 29, 1287	King Magnus Ladulås	Söderköping	Donation of land to chapel in Skara for its upkeep (St Nicolaus's chapel). Date: St Olav's feast day. <i>"die Sancti Olavi regis et martiris."</i>
SDHK 1517 (DS 1042)	April 24, 1291	Ingeborg Olofsdotter, widow of Anund Haraldsson	Fröshammar	Will containing donations to monastery in Julita on condition that annually in week after St Olav's day have a "donation meal" for the convent and celebrate requiem masses for her husband and both their sets of parents during her lifetime, celebrate her death, etc. <i>"...vna solempnis pitancia septimana proxima post festum beati olavi, annuatim..."</i>
SDHK 1572 (DS 1078)	July 30, 1292	Bishop Lars of Linköping	?	Witness of land exchange. Date: Day after St Olav's day. <i>"... die proxima post Olavi."</i>
SDHK 1616 (DS 1103)	April 10, 1294	Jakob, Lord Bengt Bosson's man	Frövi	Will containing donations including to St Olav's Church in Sigtuna. <i>"item lego ecclesie beati olavi sictonie vnam Marcham den., vt ibidem fiat aliquid ad honorem sancti olavi et ad soluendum predictam Marcham..."</i>
SDHK 1733 (DS 1190)	March 10, 1297	Rörik Birgersson	Åby	Payment to take place on St Olav's day. <i>"... in festo sancti Olavi redimendos..."</i>



SDHK 576 (DS 336)	August 15, 1246	Bishop Lars of Linköping	Visby	Informs the priests and people on Gotland that the nuns in Solberga Convent in Visby have the right to the offertory gifts given to St Olav's altar in Åkergrarn (plus are in charge of the altar). <i>"Altare S. Olavi in Åkergrarn..."</i>
SDHK 616 (DS 362)	May 25, 1248	Bishop Vilhelm of Sabina	Visby	Confirmation and certification of DS 336. To the prioress and nuns of Solberga Convent in Visby that they have been "given" the altar of St Olav in Åkergrarn, including any offertory gifts (income). <i>"Altare S. Olavi in Åkergrarn..."</i>
SDHK 1181 (DS 725)	July 29, 1281	King Magnus Ladulås	Söderköping	Confirmation of freedoms and privileges for priests. Date: The day of the king's coronation (clearly/obviously) of St Olav (i.e. St Olav's day). <i>"die coronacionis predicta dilecte coniugis nostre. Videlicet beati Olavi regis et Martiris."</i>
SDHK 1548 (DS none)	Feb. 5, 1292 (a)	Pope Nicolaus IV	Rome	1 year and 60 days indulgence to those who annually visit St Olav's Church in Falköping (Skara Diocese) on St Olav's, St Pancratus', St Vitus' and St Modestus' feast days, feast of Assumption of BVM and octaves of these feasts.

**Table 3.21 – Early medieval Swedish *diploma* containing reference to Knud the Holy or Knud Lavard**

DIPLOMA	DATE	ISSUER	LOCATION	CONTENTS
SDHK 762 (DS 855)	1258-1281 (b)	Krinstina Fastesdotter	?	<p>Will containing donations of farms, land and money to monasteries, churches and individuals.</p> <p>Image of St Canute on the tooth of a walrus has been commissioned for the monks of Alvastra.</p> <p><i>“Et ymaginem beati Kanuti de dente cetino facta cum pixide argentea sancti michaelis quam monachis de aluastro prius promisi.”</i></p> <p>“And [an] image [of] Blessed Canute on(?) a tooth of walrus/ whale has been made with [a] reliquary [box] of silver of Saint Michael which I previously promised the monks of Alvastra.”</p>
SDHK 1626 (DS 111)	June 28, 1294	Bishop Lars of Linköping	Linköping	<p>Statutes concerning celebration of masses, etc. when a bishop, cathedral dean, archdeacon, deacon, or canon at Linköping Church dies (plus punishments if do not follow these rules).</p> <p>Mention rules for the day directly following the feast of St Canute.</p> <p><i>“... proximo die post festum beati Kanuti in ecclesis suis celebrent, annuatim, pronunciantes, die Dominica, dictum festum precedente...”</i></p> <p>“...the next day after the feast of Blessed Canute in the same church they should fill, every year, proclaiming, on the day of the Lord [ie Sunday], having been declared a holiday/feast [from the] preceding.”</p>

-No medieval Swedish *diploma* contain reference to David of Munktorp before 1300

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During the medieval period, the introduction of a new belief system brought profound societal change to Scandinavia. One of the elements of this new religion was the cult of saints. This thesis examines the emergence of new cults of saints native to the region that became the ecclesiastical provinces of Lund and Uppsala in the twelfth century. The study examines the earliest, extant evidence for these cults, in particular that found in liturgical fragments. By analyzing and then comparing the relationship that each native saint's cult had to the Christianization, the study reveals a mutually beneficial bond between these cults and a newly emerging Christian society.

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