When considering the cult of saints in the Middle Ages, we may not immediately associate it with ecclesiastical institutions. Rather, many other aspects may come to mind: the performance of the cult itself, the impact on daily life, relics, pilgrimages, the influences exerted on religious art and music, the production and dissemination of saints’ lives and religious literature, or the official and legal processes of the making of a saint. Similarly, when considering ecclesiastical institutions, we may not be inclined to specifically think of them as mediators of novelties and innovation, but more as bodies of preservation, characterized by firm traditions and conservative representatives. Nothing of the aforesaid is erroneous. It is true that the medieval cult of saints is full of nuances and could be approached and dealt with from various angles. It is also true that the institutions of the medieval Church tend to be highly conservative. In addition, the connection between the two may not be considered as the most important or, for

I am especially indebted to Haki Antonsson for revising my English and Stephan Borgehammar for commenting upon the text and for having discussed particular obstacles with me. I am also grateful to Christian Lovén, who kindly shared with me his as yet unpublished treatise on the cathedral church of Uppsala.

1 By ‘institution’, I refer to both offices like the papacy and the episcopacy and institutions like monasteries, cathedral chapters, and parochial churches. In some cases, Canon Law and other collections of legal texts may also be distinguished as ‘institutions’.

2 In many of the works referred to in this article there are indeed substantial reflections upon the connection of saints’ cults and the ecclesiastical institutions that promoted cults. A comprehensive examination of the cult of saints and medieval cathedral culture in Scandinavia and elsewhere is still lacking.
that matter, interesting part of the topic. Nonetheless, a saint’s cult could not exist without the approval, confirmation, and intervention of an ecclesiastical institution or its representatives. My point here is that the cult of saints and ecclesiastical institutions were inseparable in the Middle Ages; I would even maintain that one could not have existed without the other.

This chapter aims to illustrate the cathedral culture in Scandinavia before c. 1200 as an environment important to our understanding of the role played by the cult of saints in this region. By bringing together elements of both ecclesiastical organization and its practised ideology, I wish to put forward some ideas about the cathedrals as milieux of mediating, preserving, and creating cults of saints. The immediate purpose is to present an overview of Scandinavian cathedral churches before 1200 and the cult of saints affiliated to them. Therefore, neither all cults nor all cathedral churches will be thoroughly dealt with. Because of the state of documentation, a particular focus has been laid upon major patron saints in Denmark, of both foreign and local origin. The contemporary and indigenous sources do not permit far-reaching conclusions about the cult of saints pertaining to the Scandinavian cathedral churches before the turn of the twelfth century. In fact, the existing contemporary written evidence rarely provides much information about the cults, their establishment, growth, performance, or the performers. In addition, there are no major works dealing specifically with Scandinavian cathedral culture in relation to saints’ cults from this period. The results presented here should not be


4 See Table 1 at the end of this essay for a list of cathedral churches and the cult of saints in Scandinavia prior to c. 1200.


6 In her article on the early medieval saints’ cults in Scandinavia, the Danish scholar Thelma Jexlev briefly refers to the role played by monastic communities in the process of making a saint, not least by producing the hagiography. Elsewhere, she argues that the chapter clergy of Uppsala was the most fervent advocate for promoting the cult of St Erik. She does not, however, offer any further reflection upon this relationship. Thelma Jexlev, ‘The Cult of Saints in Early Medieval
considered more than an attempt at possible ways of categorizing the various saints’ cults identified and a small contribution to a relatively little explored field.

The Ecclesiastical Setting

As episcopal sees were established in Scandinavia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the northern fringes of Europe became incorporated into universal Christendom. Henceforth the newly converted areas came to be recognized as a part of an occidental ecclesiastical culture. Until 1103/04, when the bishopric of Lund was elevated to an archbishopric by Pope Paschal II and its bishop became the metropolitan over the whole of Scandinavia, including the Atlantic Isles and Greenland, the area was ecclesiastically subordinated to the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen. At the turn of the thirteenth century, three ecclesiastical provinces had been established in the north and episcopal sees were being founded all over Scandinavia.

Since the reign of King Sven Estridsen in the mid-eleventh century, the ecclesiastical province of Lund, which corresponded to the then kingdom of Denmark, had eight dioceses: Lund, Århus, Børglum, Odense, Ribe, Roskilde, Slesvig, and Viborg. The oldest — Ribe, Odense, and Roskilde — had all been founded in the late tenth century in the period when the Danish kings converted to Christianity.

Scandinavia’, in *St. Magnus Cathedral and Orkney’s Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. by Barbara E. Crawford (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 183–91 (pp. 183, 185). A project about the cults of saints and the Christianization of Scandinavia until c. 1300, with special reference to the institutions and individuals that promoted such cults, is currently being undertaken by Sara E. Ellis Nilsson of the University of Gothenburg. I owe her thanks for commenting upon a part of this chapter.


In the Norwegian kingdom the first steps towards a diocesan organization were also taken on royal initiative, especially during the reign of King Olaf Kyrre (d. 1093). At about 1100, three episcopal sees existed in the kingdom: Nidaros, Selja, and Oslo. A fourth episcopal see, Stavanger, was founded after 1112. In 1152/53, the ecclesiastical province of Nidaros — which included mainland Norway, Iceland, the Atlantic Isles, and Greenland — was established and became independent from the archiepiscopal see of Lund. In connection with these events, the four dioceses hitherto established were accompanied by Hamar. In Iceland, which officially accepted the Christian faith in the year 999/1000, there were two episcopal sees: Skálholt (1056) and Hólar (1106). The Orkney, Shetland, and the Hebrides (with Sodor and the Isle of Man) were until 1152/53 ecclesiastically subordinated to the archdiocese of York. A bishop was seated in Kirkwall from the mid-eleventh century. The Faroe Islands had had a bishop of their own from the late 1070s, and a bishop resided in Garðar in Greenland from 1126.

The ecclesiastical province of Uppsala — which included Sweden and parts of what is modern-day Finland — was established in 1164, as subordinated to Lund. Apart from the *Vita Anskarii* and Adam of Bremen’s chronicle of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen (c. 1070), only a handful of sources illuminate the situation before 1200. It is evident that Linköping, Sigtuna, (Old) Uppsala, Skara, (Eskils-)Tuna, Strängnäs, Västerås, and Växjö were established as episcopal sees in the course of the twelfth century. In Finland, an episcopal seat was likely

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12 Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, ed. by Georg Waitz, in MGH SRG, 55 (Hannover: Hahn, 1884), pp. 13–79; and *Adam Bremenensis gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontifici*, IV, ed. by Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH SRG, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1917). Most of the written sources about the Christianization of Sweden and its oldest ecclesiastical organization are found in records from elsewhere, and from Denmark in particular.

established in the vicinity of Turku towards the end of the century and was moved to Turku during the thirteenth century. It is hard, however, to pinpoint the dates when bishops became resident. Even so, we must envisage a situation where the ecclesiastical organization in Sweden, including residing bishops, was comparable to the rest of Scandinavia and Europe at about 1200.

Although the establishment of episcopal sees must be considered as one of the most crucial elements in the process of Christianization, the process itself was not completed by the appearance of resident bishops. There was also a need to establish a domestic organization with other ecclesiastical institutions, in order both to safeguard the achievements of the missionary work and to align the existing organization to international standards. Accordingly, the term ‘ecclesiastical organization’ involves not only institutional phenomena such as bishops, a diocesan and parochial organization, or ecclesiastical institutions and communities. The patterns of ‘organization’ or ‘institution’ inherited from abroad also entailed ideological aspects. In fact, it was only through practising traditions and customs — for example, the liturgy and the cult of saints — that the ecclesiastical organization was able to survive. Subsequently, the milieu around the diocesan bishop and his cathedral was crucial in this new ecclesiastical environment in Scandinavia. The cathedral church was the ecclesia maior of the diocese, its heart and its centre.

On the situation in Finland, see, for example, Jarl Gallén, ‘När blev Åbo biskopssäte?’, Historisk Tidskrift för Finland, 63 (1978), 312–24.


Cathedral Culture and Cathedral Chapter

What then is ‘cathedral culture’ and how can it be put in relation to, for example, ‘monastic culture’? The performance of the Daily Office was a distinctive mark for these ecclesiastical institutions. Likewise, both monastic and cathedral culture involved men who took vows in the service of God and were organized in a community for the purpose of fulfilling their duties. But there were differences too. Above all, the culture that evolved in and around the cathedral church was closely connected to the person of the diocesan bishop. In addition, the culture surrounding him involved not only those belonging to a clerical community or holding ecclesiastical offices. This milieu was the centre of the visible ecclesiastical organization that emerged during the period: the parochial organization. The power wielded at the cathedral church, the life lived there, and the rites performed served as an exemplar for the rest of the diocese. Subsequently, the episcopal and cathedral culture played a decisive part in the consolidation of the newly Christianized societies in the north. Together with the legal functions performed by the bishop and the clerical community, cathedral culture probably had a greater impact than monastic culture upon the laity.

Clerical communities emerged at an early stage in the development of the episcopal churches. When trying to define this institution in a European-wide context, however, the degree of independence vis-à-vis the diocesan bishop is fundamental. Initially, these communities should be identified as a part of the bishop’s familia. Gradually, however, they became increasingly more independent and were later also recognized as formally, that is, legally, independent of the diocesan bishop. At least from the reign of Charlemagne and onwards, those communities were in the western ecclesiastical tradition often recognized as institutions in their own right, that is, cathedral chapters. The level of organization, character, and functions varied from time to time and in some cases from place to place.

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What level of organization is needed for a body of clerics to be properly designated as a ‘cathedral chapter’? My contention is that the clerical community that served at a cathedral church and performed various functions should be designated as a ‘cathedral chapter’ as soon as there are indications of a corporate body, recognized and organized with its own regulations and leader, even though it is not explicitly referred to as a ‘chapter’ except in sources from a later date. Subsequently, it is the locality — that is, the cathedral church — and the variety of functions performed there that are the defining elements. With this overarching definition agreed upon, the following functions can be highlighted:

• to perform the daily liturgy of the cathedral church;20
• to counsel and assist the bishop in the diocesan government;21
• to act as guardians and executors of ecclesiastical law;22


19 It has been argued that the performing of specific functions or a certain level of organization are decisive; for example, that specific functions performed or a certain level of organization is crucial for the labelling of those communities. With reference to what can be concluded from Denmark and elsewhere, we should envisage some kind of organized clerical community serving at the cathedral church, at least as soon as the bishop became resident. It seems therefore futile to focus on a fixed date or this or that particular function in order to distinguish a proper ‘cathedral chapter’, and even more so as the documentation regarding the Scandinavian setting is scarce. The level of organization is, on the other hand, of more immediate interest.

20 Cf. Binski, ‘Liturgy and Local Knowledge’, p. 34: ‘Liturgy [...] has a certain self-sufficiency: it “is” the institution that performs it, rather than something which stands in relation to that institution.’

21 Cf. Pirinen and others, ‘Domkapitel’, col. 194, who argue that the most important function held by the cathedral chapters was to administer the diocese as well as the mensa episcopalis. In a situation of sede vacante, as a consequence of the death, elevation, or resignation of the bishop, the chapter had to perform episcopal duties, except those reserved to bishops, until a new bishop was elected and/or appointed. The First Lateran Council (1123) emphasized the importance of canonical elections (Can. 3); the Second Lateran Council (1139) decreed that an episcopal see should not be vacant for more than three months (Can. 28).

22 The most evident example is perhaps the participation in episcopal appointments: from being at the beginning of our period employed at best as an ‘advisory board’ to the king, who in accordance with the then prevailing custom executed the right to appoint bishops, to the twelfth century when the right to elect a bishop was exclusively reserved for the cathedral chapter or the papacy. Cf. cap. 16 of the customary employed by the chapter of Lund c. 1123, i.e. the *Consuetudines Lundenses*, which states that the election should be performed by clerics alone, without lay participation, Lund, Lund University Library, MS 6, fols 92v–123v; published in *Consuetudines...*
to function as an educational institution of the parochial clergy;
• to undertake pastoral and parochial work in the diocese;\textsuperscript{23}
• to function as guardians of the saints' shrines.\textsuperscript{24}

The earliest cathedral chapters of Scandinavia emerged in Denmark in the 1060s and 1070s, namely in Roskilde and Lund. The latest Danish cathedral chapter was established in Århus, c. 1190. The pattern familiar from the continent and the British Isles is observable in Denmark: there were houses of both regular and secular canons; some were Augustinians (Viborg), Benedictines (Odense), or Premonstratensians (Børglum), while others were a mixture of both regular and secular (Lund), secular (Århus and Slesvig), or secularized during the period (Ribe).\textsuperscript{25} By the turn of the thirteenth century, the ecclesiastical organization of Denmark was settled.

One would have expected the situation to have been similar in Norway and Iceland, as both were Christianized not long after Denmark. It is true that the diocesan organization with resident bishops, which was a prerequisite of the formation of chapters, seems to have come into being around the turn of the millennium.\textsuperscript{26} The first explicit references to cathedral chapters in Norway are, however, from a much later date or from the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{27} To date, scholars dealing with Norway are rather uncertain about how to interpret younger references and indeed how to deal with the problem of ‘cathedral chapters’ in general. In relation to the establishment of the ecclesiastical province of Nidaros in 1152/53, a papal letter of a later date refers to how a dean and three archdeacons were designated for the province. Some have argued that prior to this point in time there were no chapters but mere regular, clerical communities serving at the cathedral churches. Others have opposed this idea and have argued that only secular chapters existed.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} In the Middle Ages the cathedral church, with a few exceptions, did not serve as a parish church. The institution of prebends, however, entailed to its holder the duties of a vicar. In addition, the Augustinians and Premonstratensians were by their vows obliged to fulfil duties of pastoral care.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Cf. \textit{De vita beati Nicolai Arusiensis}, ed. by Martin Clarentius Gertz, in VSD, pp. 398–403 (pp. 402, 405).
\item \textsuperscript{25} Pirinen and others, ‘Domkapitel’, cols 185–95.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Tore Nyberg, \textit{Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800–1200} (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 38 and 77; and Bagge and Nordeide, ‘Kingdom of Norway’, pp. 149–50.
\item \textsuperscript{27} DN, II, no. 9.
\end{itemize}
in Norway, from the 1250s and onwards. These institutions were in turn assisted by regular (Augustinian) communities in the vicinity of the cathedral, for example, in Trondheim and Bergen. In Iceland the situation was somewhat different. The traditional view is that there were no cathedral chapters organized in Iceland until the later Middle Ages. The advocates of this interpretation point to the lack of documentation, for there are no immediate references to ‘cathedral chapters’ in the preserved sources from the period. Moreover, the episcopal elections were conducted differently in Iceland, where this normal function of a cathedral chapter cannot be observed. There are, however, scattered references to organized clerical communities existing at the cathedral churches of Hólar and Skálholt prior to 1200. In some of the so-called bishops’ sagas there are references to persons holding offices — for example, *magister*, *archipresbyter*, and *custos* — that are often associated with ecclesiastical foundations like cathedral chapters; elsewhere there are references to canonical hours being observed at the cathedral. In this context, it is especially interesting that some of these references coincide with references to the sanctity of the two local saints of twelfth-century Iceland, bishops Þórákr Þórhallsson of Skálholt and Jón Ögmundarson of Hólar. There is no reason to believe that the pattern recognized in the rest of Scandinavia does not apply to the ecclesiastical province of Uppsala. Again, however, documentation is in short supply. The situation in Uppsala has recently been thoroughly examined by Christian Lovén. He argues that (Old) Uppsala was established as an episcopal seat c. 1123 and that there are various indications of how the regular cathedral chapter was established before 1164 and perhaps as early as the 1150s, before the death of King St Erik of Sweden. Furthermore, Lovén concurs with Jarl Gallén and argues that the oldest cathedral chapter of Uppsala was Benedictine, and not Augustinian or Cistercian as has also been argued. In Strängnäs


31 The oldest explicit reference to a regular cathedral chapter in Uppsala is from 1188–97; see Jarl Gallén, ‘De engelska munkarna i Uppsala – ett katedralkloster på 1100-talet’, *Historisk
there was a cathedral chapter already in the twelfth century. In the beginning of the thirteenth century secular cathedral chapters were officially recognized in Skara and Linköping. As episcopal sees they were both older than Uppsala and there are indications that there was some organized clerical activity there before the turn of the century, perhaps as early as the first half of the twelfth century when a cathedral was erected. The later official confirmations may then have concerned the secular chapters alone.32

In Finland, a first cathedral chapter was founded in the first half of the thirteenth century, perhaps during the episcopate of Bishop Thomas. Even so, the cult of St Henrik was likely established already in the late twelfth century; and as he was buried in Nousis, the episcopal seat at that time, his cult may have been supported by the bishop and his clergy. There is, however, no written evidence of a connection between an organized cathedral clergy and the cult.33

The Cult of Saints and Cathedral Culture

Where, then, does the cult of saints fit into cathedral culture? And in what way did the cathedral culture provide a milieu for creating, preserving, and mediating cults of saints? Fundamental was the idea and act of dedication; that is, the consecration


33 Jarl Gallén, ‘Regulära domkapitel i Sverige och Finland under medeltiden’, Historisk Tidskrift för Finland, 23 (1938), 137–50 (pp. 146–50); Gallén, ‘När blev Åbo biskopssäte?’, pp. 314 and 318; and Lovén, ‘Kloster’, pp. 245 and 262.
of a church, chapel, or altar in honour of Christ, the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, the Archangels, or a saint. By this act, a church and those affiliated to it were placed under that saint’s patronage and protection. Apart from the solemn rites in connection with the consecration itself and its anniversary, this act established a certain relationship — spiritual and physical — between the holy person, the edifice, and those gathering there. The presence of relics visualized and manifested this bond. Subsequently, the clergy of the particular church had a responsibility for preserving and performing both the anniversary of the consecration and the anniversary of the patron saint and his or her day of translation, as well as guarding the shrine. In connection with the consecration, or more often after some time, the key patron(s) were in some instances accompanied by additional patron saints who had gained popularity. As will be shown below, this frequently occurred in Scandinavian cathedral settings.

How, then, were the patron(s) of the church chosen? And what impact did the cult have in general? As regards the first question, there are indeed patterns and traditions that evolved over the centuries and in which the Scandinavian church founders participated. However, the frequency of the dedication to a specific
patron often varied between periods, although dedications to Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Holy Trinity, or the Apostles are found throughout the Middle Ages.\footnote{Cf. Helander, ‘Liturgical Profile’, pp. 131–33; Fröjmark, ‘Från Erik pilgrim till Erik konung’, pp. 410–14; and Fredriksen, ‘Helgener og kirkededikasjoner’, pp. 51–93.}

In terms of mediating and establishing a saint’s cult, the ritual aspect of cathedral culture, such as the cathedral liturgy, played a crucial part. In this process, the bishop and the clerical community of the cathedral church must have exerted great influence, and not only upon how the cult was performed and spread. Of certain importance to the early period is also the fact that the first bishops and their clergy were of non-Scandinavian origin and by their very presence mediated ecclesiastical traditions and saints’ cults from abroad. One can mention, for example, the tradition of bishops (and indeed kings) returning to Scandinavia from pilgrimages with precious relics.\footnote{On the influence of the English Church on the Swedish Church, see Gallén, ‘De engelska munkarna’; and Lovén, ‘Upplands tidigaste stiftsorganisation’. The Danish chronicler Saxo refers to how relics were brought from Jerusalem and Byzantium by Bishop Svend of Roskilde and King Erik Ejegod. Saxo Grammaticus, Gesta Danorum, XII.1 5 and XII.7.4, ed. by Karsten Friis-Jensen, 2 vols (Copenhagen: Det danske sprog- og literaturselskab, 2005).}

It is true that liturgical uniformity to some extent was prompted by the ecclesiastical authorities in the twelfth century. Moreover, the episcopal duty of visitation and the annual clerical synods both brought with them revisions of the liturgical books.\footnote{In 1187/88, Archbishop Absalon of Lund summoned a meeting in Lund for the purpose of standardizing the liturgy of the (arch)diocese. Cf. Helander, ‘Liturgical Profile’, pp. 131–35 and 164–65; and Pahlmblad and others, ‘Summaries’, pp. 211 and 213–14.} Even so, the production of hagiographical literature and liturgical books was most likely located in the scriptorium in the vicinity of the cathedral church or in any of the ecclesiastical institutions affiliated to it.\footnote{It has been suggested that the monastery of All Saints in Lund, which was affiliated to the cathedral chapter of St Lawrence by bonds of confraternity, may have produced some of the books that were employed by the cathedral clergy. On the situation in Uppsala, see Gallén, ‘De engelska munkarna’, pp. 13–14; and Lovén, ‘Upplands tidigaste stiftsorganisation’.} Michael Gelting has suggested that the establishment of a cathedral chapter guaranteed that the history of the cathedral church and diocese was written down, archived, and handed down. Thus, a process of creating, mediating, and preserving took place in the immediate vicinity of the Scandinavian cathedral churches from the turn of the twelfth century onwards, or in some cases even earlier.\footnote{Gelting, ‘Elusive Bishops’, pp. 169–70. Cf. Sigurd Kvaerndrup and others, ‘Saints’ Lives’, in Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano, Garland Encyclopedias of the}
schools established at cathedral churches in this period and closely affiliated to the cathedral chapters should be mentioned. In this milieu generations of clerics were educated. In the years of formation, the ritual practice and ideological training probably came to the fore. Gradually, however, legal and administrative training became fundamental to the cathedral chapters as educational institutions while not leaving the original curriculums behind. The mediating and preserving element in this process is evident. When new cults materialized at the cathedral church, they were transmitted to the rest of the diocese as new clerics began their duties within parochial work and pastoral care. Sven Helander summarizes this element as follows:

It became a major task of the cathedral chapter to function as a liturgical corporation because of its leading role in worship at the cathedral. The continuing development of cultic practices was in the hands of the chapter. Its resources — economic and personal — also provided the means for a corresponding development of the cathedral itself, with new chantries and chapter being added for new devotions [...]. The liturgical ideal, clearly, was conformity with the cathedral.

It is also important to recall the close association from the early days of Christianity of saints’ cults with the episcopacy. This reciprocity between the diocesan bishop and the cult of saints was of a legal nature and can be illustrated by the fact that until the mid-twelfth century the right to approve of a saint’s cult was the preserve of the local bishop. Thereafter the act of canonization became more and more dependent upon the politics of Rome.

Middle Ages, 1 (New York: Garland, 1993), pp. 562–65. The most evident examples from Scandinavia before 1200 are the Roskilde Chronicle from c. 1138 and the Odense literature composed in favour of King St Knud of Denmark. According to Gelting, the chronicle was written by a canon of Roskilde with the context of a specific political and ecclesiastical situation, i.e. the episcopal election of Lund in 1137.


Pope Alexander III (1159–81) admonished bishops who acted independently in this matter in order to enhance its control. It was over the processes of making saints, and it was decreed what parts of the process pertained to the Holy See. Even so, the local bishop, the cathedral church, and the local cathedral culture remained fundamental to promoting the cult of saints throughout the Middle Ages. Cf. DuBois, ‘Introduction’, pp. 21–22; and John Blair, ‘The Making of a Local Saint’, in Local Saints and Local Churches, ed. by Thacker and Sharpe, pp. 45–73 (pp. 66–71). On the undertakings of the local bishops and the cathedral chapter in the making of a saint, cf. below on the cult of Provost Kjeld of Viborg, St Niels of Århus, and Bishop Liefdag of Ribe.
Finally, socio-political and financial aspects of saints’ cults can also be identified in the Scandinavian setting. The making of royal saints was the most evident example of how such aspects materialized in cathedral culture. The promotions of saints like King Olaf of Norway, King Knud and Duke Knud Lavard of Denmark, King Erik of Sweden, and Earl Magnus of Orkney are the most prominent examples of how socio-political action was intimately related to the making of saints and the forging of national identities. Apart from the situation in Denmark, where the translations of the princely saints — King Knud IV and Duke St Knud Lavard — took place in Odense and Ringsted, this notion becomes even more manifest as the shrines of those particular saints were located to the cathedral church highest in rank, the archiepiscopal cathedral or, as in the case of Orkney, the local cathedral. Even at a lower level, there are indications of how the making of a local saint was significant to the local community as well as to the identification of the clergy serving at the cathedral church. This became especially evident as pilgrims brought vast offerings to the saint’s shrine and thereby provided considerable income for the local cathedral church and its servants.

Another element crucial to our understanding of saints’ cults is how to categorize the saints venerated at cathedral churches in Scandinavia in the Middle Ages. The tradition represented in the liturgical books of the Church was mandatory: apart from the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, the Archangels, the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and the Apostles and Evangelists — who all represent the biblical tradition — we also find martyrs, confessors, and virgins, who represent the sanctity of the people of God. The general method employed by Scandinavian scholars dealing with saints’ cults is to organize the saints with reference to what

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44 On the situation in Denmark, where King St Knud IV was translated to Odense instead of Lund, the metropolis, see Carsten Breengaard, Muren om Israels hus: Regnus og sacerdotium i Danmark 1050–1170 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1982); Nyberg, Monasticism, pp. 55–56 and 59–63; and Michael H. Gelling, ‘Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop av Roskilde: Roskildekrøniken, Liber daticus lundensis og det danske aерkeresædes ophævelse 1133–1138’, in Ett annat 1100-tal: Individ, kollektiv och kulturella mönster, ed. by Hanne Sanders and others, Centrum för Danmarksstudier, 3 (Göteborg: Makadam, 2004), pp. 181–229.

kind of function or social status they had in Church or society before achieving their sainthood; namely, as missionary bishops, diocesan bishops, abbots, kings or princes, or ordinary people. There are indeed good reasons for categorizing saints in this manner. This method has, however, a certain inherent risk, as it can focus too much on 'national' and 'local' saints' cults and the shaping of a national and/or local identity, potentially at the cost of universal and mutual patterns in saints' cults. Instead, I wish to draw attention to the fact that the saints venerated in medieval Scandinavia had both foreign and local origins and represented different things to different categories of devotees, institutions or individuals alike. It is true that many scholars have observed and analysed both foreign and local features in the saints' cults established in the period. I believe, however, that new ways of identifying saints' cults will also provide new information about how cults were created, mediated, and preserved. One may distinguish new patterns, for example, of foreign influences and contacts that were decisive in the formation of an ecclesiastical organization and particular ecclesiastical institutions.

Taking into consideration the approach recently applied by British scholars, I wish here to distinguish various types of saints' cults established at Scandinavian cathedral churches before c. 1200: first, universal saints, universally venerated; second, foreign saints, locally venerated; and finally, local saints, locally venerated. In the first category I include saints that were part of the communicantes prayer of the Canon; that is, the list of saints who were commonly and liturgically venerated

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47 For example, this method may establish what type of saint was the most frequently venerated within specific contexts in Scandinavia and may also indicate variations in establishment and spread of a specific type over time and within the Scandinavian setting. On patroni regni, see Kilström and others, ‘Patronus’, col. 146, who argue that the term patroni regni is not uniform but generally entails the joint traditions of the various diocesan churches.

in the West. The word ‘universal’ therefore indicates, firstly, that the saint and his/her cult were of non-Scandinavian origin; secondly, that the cult at the time was recognized and performed in the major part of Latin Christendom and in many cases in the Christian East. The second category is less obvious. By ‘foreign’, I refer here to a saint that was of non-Scandinavian origin, whose cult was established outside Scandinavia and recognized and performed in a Scandinavian context prior to 1200. The term ‘locally’ is here used extensively and refers first and foremost to the frequency and spread of the cult at the original site and/or within a Scandinavian setting. The third group of saints’ cults identified consists of saints who originated in the ecclesiastical provinces of Scandinavia and were first and foremost venerated there at a specific cathedral church, in a certain ecclesiastical province, or in the whole of Scandinavia.49

Universal Saints, Universally Venerated

First, I wish to exemplify cults of ‘universal’ saints that can be observed at cathedral churches in Denmark before 1200. The cult of a universally venerated saint can be considered as a sign that both the cathedral church and the diocese were in a real and conscious communion with the rest of Christendom. As these saints were part of the universal ecclesiastical tradition, a specific mediator or promoter can rarely be identified. Nonetheless, as the majority of these dedications and cults can be identified in the early part of our period, it is probable that these were introduced into Scandinavia by missionary bishops, monks, or clerics of foreign origin.

The most noteworthy example of how the cult of ‘universal’ saints was established in Scandinavia is St Lawrence, one of the patron saints of the cathedral of Lund. According to Ellen Jørgensen, it is plausible that St Lawrence was already affiliated with Lund when the oldest cathedral church was built in the 1060s.50 The oldest preserved document about the patronage of the cathedral church of Lund is, however, a copy from c. 1100 of the so-called Deed of King St Knud IV from 1085. In this document the King bestows property on the community, which serves St Lawrence under the leadership of a provost. This royal benevolence in all likelihood stimulated and nourished the internal as well as external life of the


50 Jørgensen, Helgendyrkelse i Danmark, p. 11.
community: with this patronage the community had been provided with the essential financial and legal impetus needed by an institution of this kind. In 1103/04, Lund became the metropolitan see of Scandinavia. This called for a new cathedral, the elaboration of the episcopal administration, and capable clerical service. A glimpse of the liturgical life at the cathedral of St Lawrence is provided by the customary, the Consuetudines Lundenses, from c. 1120. In the instructions for the office of cantor, it refers to the days of, for example, St Lawrence, St Martin (of Tours), and the Feast of Dedication of the then cathedral church as feasts of the highest liturgical rank.

On 30 June 1123 the crypt church was consecrated to St John the Baptist and all the Patriarchs and Prophets; on 1 September 1145 the high altar was solemnly consecrated and dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the great martyr St Lawrence (in honore beatae Mariae perpetuae virginis, et Sancti Laurentii, eximii martiris). The contemporary obituary list refers to a number of relics associated with Christ himself, like the Holy Rood and the hair of and a piece of cloth worn by the Virgin Mary. In addition, there were pieces from the tomb of Lazarus and of the skull of John the Baptist. Also mentioned are the relics of St Lawrence himself and his coal, de carbonibus eius. An interesting point regarding the universal saints’ cult and cathedral culture is that apart from the opening paragraphs of the obituary list, there is no obvious indication of an affiliation either to Lund or to Scandinavia. One would have expected that at least King St Knud IV of Denmark (d. 1086) would have been remembered in Lund, if only because of his previous benevolence


53 The list of relics from the inauguration of the high altar on 1 September 1145 is too extensive to give a detailed account of. Regarding the inauguration of the crypt church on 30 June 1123 and the consecration of St Lawrence on 1 September 1145, see the Memoriale fratrum in Necrologium Lundense, Lund, Lund University Library, MS 6, fols 124r–174v (fol. 147v and 156r–157r), printed in Necrologium Lundense: Lunds domkyrkas nekrologium, ed. by Lauritz Weibull (Lund: Berlingska boktryckeriet, 1923), pp. 80 and 90–92, and in DD, I.2, no. 46. See also St Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library, <http://www.ub.lu.se/projekt/st-laurentius-digital-manuscript-library> [accessed 7 November 2008].
towards St Lawrence and its clergy, but also due to the fact that the consecration in 1145 was a manifestation of the independence achieved from Hamburg-Bremen.54 Neither St Anskar nor St Olaf of Norway is included. In the mid-twelfth century, the cult of St Olaf had spread not only throughout Norway and Scandinavia, but over the whole of northern Europe.55 Instead, it is striking how many of the relics listed belong to the Apostolic and Patristic Ages, and how Jerusalem and Rome are foremost represented.

How is this to be explained? An initial step is to identify the prototype of the list. According to Jørgensen both the relics included and the arrangement of the list points to an influence from Cologne. As there are no known connections between Lund and Cologne at this point, one still has to ask: who decided that this list, presumably with all the relics included, would be chosen for the metropolis of Scandinavia in 1145? Ellen Jørgensen confined herself to pointing out that there was a greater tradition of venerating Roman saints than German saints in Scandinavia. Moreover, she observes that direct contact was established between Denmark and Rome from the mid-eleventh century and the reign of King Sven Estridsen onwards.56 Other indications point to a certain Carolingian influence. One indication is that the Rule of Aachen (816) was employed by the cathedral chapter in Lund.57 It has also been suggested that the use of the word *capitolium* instead of *capitulum* in the customary of Lund, written in the early 1120s, points to such an influence. It is futile, however, to speculate how and when such elements of Carolingian tradition were mediated to Lund. No reliable conclusions can be made regarding this problem.58

55 For an overview of the research on St Olaf and his cult, see Haki Antonsson, “The Cult of St Ólafr in the Eleventh Century and Kievan Rus”, *Middelalderforum*, 1–2 (2003), 143–60.
57 Buus, ‘Indledning’, pp. 11–45; and Ciardi, ‘Consuetudines Lundenses’.
58 It would, however, be interesting to look deeper into the fact that St Lawrence was somewhat of an ‘imperial saint’. Constantine the Great is said to have been the first to observe the cult of St Lawrence, but more interesting is the fact that St Lawrence was ‘imperial’ in that he was the patron saint of the Ottonians. St Lawrence was rather frequently venerated in Scandinavian cathedrals throughout our period; cf. Bengt Ingmar Kilström, ‘Laurentius’, in *Kulturbistoriskt lexikon*, ed. by Granlund and others, X, cols 348–53; Kilström and others, ‘Patronus’, cols 144–45; Raasted and others, ‘Helgener’; and Fredriksen, ‘Helgener og kirkededikasjoner’, pp. 90 and 139.
Other examples of ‘universal’ saints’ cults being established at cathedral churches in Denmark before 1200 are the dedications to St Nicholas and St Clement in Århus. Both the older cathedral in Århus and the newer one, erected in the 1190s, were affiliated to these ‘maritime’ saints. With regard to archaeological evidence, it has been suggested that a cathedral church was dedicated to St Nicholas already in the late 1080s and that it might have been endowed with relics of St Nicholas of Myra by the Danish king Erik Ejegod. The written evidence of such an early dedication is, however, from the thirteenth century. In the episcopate of Peder Vognsen, a church of St Clement was built in Århus, which replaced St Nicholas as its cathedral church. It is uncertain whether the cathedral clergy in Århus played a significant role in this process.

**Foreign Saints, Locally Venerated**

In two cases, foreign saints who were not universally venerated are observed; namely, St Alban in Odense and St Lucius in Roskilde. These cults required a more immediate link to other communities and places. As is the case with the aforementioned


60 De vita beati Nicolai, ed. by Gertz, p. 400. Cf. below.

61 According to Hans Bjørn, the change of patron saint of the cathedral from St Nicholas to St Clement is somewhat unique: in this period St Nicholas enjoyed more popularity than St Clement. Elsewhere, he seems to have ‘replaced’ St Clement as a popular patron saint in this period, whereas the opposite seems to be the case in Århus. Bjørn and Gotfredsen, Århus domkirke, pp. 29–32. On the cult and dedications of St Clement, see Erick Cinthio, ‘The Churches of St Clemens in Scandinavia’, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, 3 (1968), 103–16; and Barbara Crawford, ‘The Churches Dedicated to St. Clement in Norway: A Discussion of their Origin and Function’, Collegium Medievale, 17 (2004), 100–31.

‘universal’ saints, and considering the nature and the scarcity of the sources, it is sometimes hard to identify the process of transmission or mediation.

It is rather well established that the cult of the English protomartyr St Alban was brought to Denmark from the British Isles in the days of King St Knud IV, who was assassinated in 1086. As a new cult evolved after Knud’s martyrdom, the cult of St Alban was established, with his relics kept in both the older St Alban church and the cathedral church. According to Jørgensen, the Danish tradition was to some extent influenced by a German cult of St Alban, as the preserved breviaries note 21 instead of 22 July as his feast day. Others have argued that the clerical service at Odense cathedral — which was from the late eleventh century organized by Benedictine monks from Evesham — played a significant role in promoting the new saint of Odense, King St Knud IV of Denmark. From his death in 1086, and even more after his translation to Odense in 1101, the cathedral was known as the resting place of the national saint of Denmark and the clergy were the guardians of his shrine. Although the original patron saint was henceforth accompanied by a local saint and a national symbol, which must have had a great impact on the setting and the performance of the cult, the cathedral church was in the period nevertheless recognized as St Alban’s, or as St Alban’s and St Knud’s, and not St Knud’s alone.

Compared to the cult of St Alban, the cult of St Lucius in Roskilde is shrouded in mystery. In fact, not even the object of the cult has been satisfactorily identified. The question is, which Lucius was venerated and when was his cult established in Roskilde? Some scholars have argued, according to the chronicler Ælnoth, who wrote in the first quarter of the twelfth century, that the translation of St Lucius’s skull took place in the early 1080s and that it was a gift from Pope Gregory VII. Others have suggested the turn of the twelfth century, or even after 1100, as a more plausible date. In the last third of the twelfth century the obituaries of Lund

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63 On St Alban, see John Blair, ‘A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints’, in Local Saints and Local Churches, ed. by Thacker and Sharpe, pp. 496–565 (p. 510). A Benedictine monastery dedicated to St Alban was also founded on the island of Selja in the twelfth century; cf. Gallén, ‘De engelska munkarna’, pp. 6–7.

64 Jørgensen, Helgendyrkelse i Danmark, pp. 17–18.


exclusively refer to the canons of Roskilde as canons ‘at St Lucius’, rather than ‘at the Holy Trinity’, which indicates that he had been added as patron saint of the cathedral church and its chapter by that time.  

Local Saints, Locally Venerated

Finally, three examples of the third category suggested should be noted. The first question is, why local saints? Was it not enough to venerate universal saints in order to incorporate remote parts of the Christian world with the ecclesiastical tradition of the universal Church? The answer to this question is no: the making of local saints and promoted cults was an integral ancient part of the history of Christianity. Above all, the making of a local saint was part of ecclesiastical tradition that stretched back to the local veneration of the Roman martyrs. In addition, the making of local saints in later periods seems to have been considered as crucial in the shaping of an ecclesiastical or national identity. It is true that universal saints provided a crucial link to the rest of Christendom and were also popular as intercessors. Even so, local cathedral culture both urged for and was itself favoured by the cult of a local saint, and even more if the saint himself had been part of this culture. The fate of a locally promoted cult was, however, precarious.

The best example from Denmark is the successful campaign of making a local saint, St Kjeld, out of the former provost at the cathedral chapter. His cult emerged shortly after his death in 1150 and soon gained official approval. This happened already in 1188/89, and the cult of Kjeld was propagated all over Denmark and abroad. The legend tells how he at one point was forced to resign his office as provost because the brethren deemed him too liberal with the property of the priory. As St Kjeld visited Rome, Pope Eugene III instructed him to return to his legally acquired office and admonished his brethren in Viborg to withdraw their dismissal of their provost. On 27 September 1150, Kjeld died in office as provost

of Viborg.\textsuperscript{70} The petition that was sent to the pontiff regarding the sanctity of Kjeld was not the mere outcome of a local wish but of ‘the official Danish church’, with Archbishop Absalon and King Knud VI as promoters, supporters, and signers.\textsuperscript{71} In June 1188, Pope Clement III submitted the case back to Absalon, who was exhorted to undertake further investigations and, if it yielded the results required, to render his official approval of the cult of St Kjeld.\textsuperscript{72} The translation took place in Viborg on 11 July 1189, perhaps on the occasion of a synod.\textsuperscript{73}

Something brief should also be said about another person who gained local sainthood in Jutland, namely St Niels of Århus (d. 1180). It is rather certain that the emerging cult of the second St Nicholas of Århus was prompted by the cathedral chapter there. This particular urge for a local saint was, however, dismissed by the papal authorities in 1254/55. As the cult of St Niels was not diffused outside of the diocese of Århus, it is reasonable to speak of St Niels as a ‘local’ saint in the proper sense of the word.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{70} DD, i.2, no. 100; and Vita et miracula sancti Ketilli, ed. by Gertz, pp. 260–71. On the synod in Lund, cf. above.

\textsuperscript{71} Peder Severinsen, Viborg Domkirke med Stad og Stift i 800 Aar: Festskrift ved Domkirkens 800 Aars Fest 1932 (Copenhagen: Lohse, 1932), pp. 154–56. According to Severinsen, there was probably a commission (in Lund) that undertook the preparatory work of canonization, most likely on the initiative of Bishop Niels of Viborg, the then eldest among the Danish bishops. The petition was signed not only by the local bishop, but also by Archbishop Absalon, the rest of the Danish bishops, and the Danish king Knud VI, as indicated by the wording in the papal response in DD, i.3, 1, no. 150. Furthermore, the somewhat swift compilation may indicate that there is a connection between the canonization of St Kjeld and the new liturgical order of the Danish church initiated by Bishop Absalon, c. 1187/88.


\textsuperscript{73} Memoriale fratrum (11 July), in Necrologium Lundense, ed. by Weibull, p. 96: ‘Item ex hoc mundo migravit bone memorie sanctus ketillus prelates sancte marie Wibergensis ecclesie.’ See also the commentaries on pp. 96–97, n. 7; Severinsen, Viborg Domkirke, pp. 154–56; Tue Gad, Legenden i dansk middelalder (Copenhagen: Dansk Videnskabs Forlag A/S, 1961), pp. 172–73; and Gad, ‘Kjeld’. Cf. Liber daticus lundensis vetustior, ed. by Christian Weeke, in Libri memoriales capituli Lundensis: Lunde domkapitels gavebøger: (‘Libri datici Lundenses’) (1889; repr., Copenhagen: Selskabet for udgivelse af kilder til dansk historie, 1973), pp. 1–335 (p. 248), where St Kjeld is referred to only on 27 September 1150, i.e. the anniversary of his death.

\textsuperscript{74} De vita beatti Nicolai, ed. by Gertz, p. 408. On the campaign of obtaining papal approval, see pp. 406–08; and DD, ii.1, nos 146 and 169. On the cult of St Niels of Århus, see Olrik, Danske Helgeneres Levned, pp. 293–94; and Jørgensen, Helgendyrkelse i Danmark, pp. 52–53.
Of a very different character is the cult of Bishop Liefdag of Ribe (d. c. 950). Here we find indications of a local cult that was turned down by all ecclesiastical authorities but the local bishop. In the second half of the twelfth century, Bishop Radulph of Ribe instigated an official confirmation of the cult of his predecessor, but in vain. Bishop Liefdag was the first Bishop of Ribe known by name. According to the Cronica ecclesiae Ripensis, which was likely composed by a canon at Ribe cathedral shortly after 1230, Liefdag was martyred in the town and buried ‘in the cemetery of the Blessed Virgin, where a shelter was built upon his tomb’ and soon afterwards he was venerated as saint. At a later date, presumably before 1162 and the death of Bishop Elias, Liefdag’s remains were transferred into the church, and miracles and signs occurred at his tomb. The chronicler then continues and tells of how Bishop Radulph, the immediate successor of Elias, put the shrine of the martyr bishop on the altar but without papal or archiepiscopal permission. As his shrine was severely damaged in the fire previously mentioned, this was considered to be a sign of Radulph as unworthy of being the saint’s guardian.
almost certainly some kind of cult of the elusive Liefdag at Ribe, and most likely already in the tenth century, as mentioned by Adam of Bremen and the *Annales Slesuicenses*. It is also plausible that his cult brought revenues to the cathedral and its staff, but it is impossible to draw any conclusions about the significance of the cult in the context of the building of the cathedral. In spite of the references to the holiness of Liefdag made by the chronicler, which reflects an emerging saint’s cult, he is not known to have been venerated as a saint outside of the diocese of Ribe. Why, then, was Liefdag not recognized as a saint? One reason would be if other ecclesiastical authorities but the local bishop had not recognized Liefdag’s sanctity. More plausible is, however, the fact that the promoter of this cult, Bishop Radulph, may not have been in the good books of the Archbishop of Lund. The story of the unsuccessful promotion of Liefdag’s sainthood also indicates a transition period: confirmation by the local bishop alone was no longer sufficient to establish a cult of a local saint.

According to Gelting, ‘the cult of German bishops as missionary saints [such as Liefdag] would hardly have been encouraged’ if there was not remembrance of their deeds. Gelting argues that the cathedral chapter may have had such a function. Evidently, the cathedral community and its members played a vital part in the cult of these local saints; in return, the cult was of great importance to the cathedral and its chapter, not least liturgically and economically. As elsewhere, the veneration of a local saint entailed vast offerings to his or her shrine and its servants. Indeed, the distribution of such an income often resulted in quarrels between the bishop and chapter, as both parties were legally entitled to lay claim to part of the offerings.

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81 On the troublesome personality and episcopate of Radulph alleged in some sources, see Gelting, ‘Ripa’, pp. 73–74.


84 Most likely the official petition for Provost Kjeld’s sanctity with the accompanying collection of miracles was collected by Bishop Niels and Provost Sven, but also signed by Archbishop Absalon, the other bishops, and the Danish king, Knud VI; see Olrik, *Danske Helgeners Levned*, pp. 251–52; and Jensen, ‘Sanctus Ketillus’.

85 DD, i.3, i, nos 11 and 150.
Finally, a note on the cult of St Olaf: apart from St Birgitta of Sweden (d. 1373), no saint of a Scandinavian origin was the object of a cult like St Olaf’s, at least not in terms of popularity and propagation. According to the definitions given above, St Olaf was a ‘local’ saint, but his cult must be recognized as a ‘universal’ one. In the context of this chapter, however, the interesting thing to note is the emergence of Olaf’s cult soon after he fell at Stiklestad in 1030. This has not been adequately put in relation to the question of who or which ecclesiastical institutions promoted him as a saint and preserved that tradition. It has been established that the cult was granted (archi)episcopal and royal support, but with regard to the rapid spread of his cult and the corpus of texts that must have existed already in the eleventh century, it is reasonably clear that the success of the cult also relied on its institutional promotion by erudite men affiliated with Olaf’s shrine in Nidaros.86

Conclusion

In sum, cathedral culture and its affiliated institutions were profoundly important in providing a milieu for mediating, preserving, and creating saints’ cults in Scandinavia before 1200. The formation of a cathedral culture in Scandinavia coincided closely with the process of Christianization and the adaptation of a common ecclesiastical culture that was inherited and imported from abroad, and in which the cult of saints played a prominent part. In this respect the cult of saints should not only be regarded as a product of cathedral culture, but rather as an element that was decisive in the establishment of Scandinavian cathedral chapters and their functioning. Indeed, there are indications that the veneration of a local saint was closely associated with the creation of an organized cathedral community or a cathedral chapter (in Odense and Uppsala).

The introduction of a saint’s cult was of course dependent not only upon representatives of cathedral culture, namely the local bishop and the cathedral clergy. In the early period at least, royal promotion and support played a significant part in the process of Christianization. The implementation of saints’ cults in a new setting required, however, more than royal favour. The bishop and the cathedral chapter acted both as mediators and innovators as they mediated general ecclesiastical traditions and established cults of local saints. But their mission did not end

with the introduction of a saint’s cult; of equal significance was their role in preserving the cult in its particular setting.

These processes involved various interlinking elements. I would contend that the liturgical celebration was the most significant one, in which the ideology, ritual practice, and the locality are all represented. Since the cathedral liturgy served as an exemplar to the rest of the diocese, its significance cannot be emphasized too strongly. Closely related to this dimension are other features that belong to cathedral culture and the cult of saints. One of them is the art of literacy, which includes the production of essential texts of historical, liturgical, or hagiographical nature, as well as the founding of a cathedral school and its impact on clerical training. Other dimensions are the legal and financial aspects related to saints’ cults, including the promotion of a saint and the offerings brought by lay people to the cathedral church. Finally, it should be noted that the making of local saints, royal or ecclesiastical, is likely to have helped to create a particular identity, local or national.

Finally, in Scandinavia some commonalities and regional variation can be stated in regard to the veneration of three types of saints and their cults: ‘universal saints, universally venerated’, ‘foreign saints, locally venerated’, and ‘local saints, locally venerated’. A common feature is that cathedral churches were all originally dedicated to universal saints; that is, saints who were familiar to and venerated by communities within Latin Christendom in general. In some cases, additional patron saints were added, either from the beginning or at a later date. In both Denmark and Norway, some foreign saints who had originally been locally venerated abroad were also venerated locally in their new context (St Alban and St Swithun). No such cases can be found in Sweden. Furthermore, local saints were locally venerated in all Scandinavian provinces. Two categories can be identified here: first, princely and national saints (St Olaf, St Knud, and St Erik); and second, those saints that had participated in local cathedral culture, where they were later recognized as saints (St Liefdag, St Kjeld, and St Henrik).

To conclude, from the missionary era until the turn of the thirteenth century the cults of saints in Scandinavia were reciprocally related to cathedral culture, and this relation was indispensable in mediating, preserving, and creating not only saints’ cults but also ecclesiastical tradition in general.

87 By ‘locality’ I here refer to the physical setting, i.e. the cathedral church and its patron saint(s), the collection of relics, and, if present, a saint’s shrine.
### Table 1. Cathedral churches and the cult of saints in Scandinavia prior to c. 1200.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cathedral church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>Additional dedication and/or local saint(s)</th>
<th>Dating of additional dedications and/or local saints’ cults</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LUND¹</td>
<td>Lund</td>
<td>V. Mary; Lawrence</td>
<td>c. 1060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Århus</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Clement; Nicholas [Niels] (d. 1180)</td>
<td>Clement, a. 1204; Niels, p. 1180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Århus</td>
<td>V. Mary, a. 1200</td>
<td>Thøger²</td>
<td>a. 1067/1117?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odense³</td>
<td>V. Mary; St Alban, a. 1101</td>
<td>Knud</td>
<td>p. 1101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribe</td>
<td>V. Mary</td>
<td>[Liefdag of Ribe, failed]</td>
<td>a. 1070s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roskilde</td>
<td>S. Trinitatis, a. 1000</td>
<td>Lucius; Margaret¹</td>
<td>Lucius, a. 1125; Margaret, p. 1176/77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slesvig</td>
<td>Peter, a. 1134</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viborg</td>
<td>V. Mary, a. 1166</td>
<td>Ketillus [Kjeld] of Viborg</td>
<td>a. 1188</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nidaros⁵</td>
<td>Nidaros</td>
<td>S. Trinitatis, a. 1100</td>
<td>Olaf, c. 1031</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bergen</td>
<td>S. Trinitatis, a. 1100</td>
<td>Sunniva</td>
<td>1170</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oslo</td>
<td>S. Trinitatis, a. 1100</td>
<td>Hallvard</td>
<td>a. 1070?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stavanger</td>
<td>S. Trinitatis, 1112/25</td>
<td>Swithun of Winchester</td>
<td>a. 1135?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hamar</td>
<td>S. Trinitatis ?, 1152/53</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skálholt</td>
<td>St Peter ?</td>
<td>Þorlákr of Skálholt</td>
<td>1198</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hólar</td>
<td>V. Mary and other(s)?⁶</td>
<td>Jón of Hólar</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkwall</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Magnus</td>
<td>p. 1135</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uppsala⁷</td>
<td>Uppsala</td>
<td>Lawrence, p. 1134</td>
<td>Erik;⁹ Olaf; Henrik Helena [Elin] of Skövde¹⁰</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skara</td>
<td>V. Mary, a. 1064⁹</td>
<td>Helena [Elin] of Skövde¹⁰</td>
<td>1164 ?/1281</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Peter &amp; Paul, 1100s ?</td>
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<td>Linköping</td>
<td>Peter &amp; Paul, a. 1150s</td>
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<tr>
<td>Västerås</td>
<td>V. Mary; John the Baptist, 1271</td>
<td>David of Munktorp¹¹</td>
<td>p. 1082/transl. 1436?</td>
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<td>Cathedral church</td>
<td>Dedication and/or local saint(s)</td>
<td>Additional dedication and/or local saint(s)</td>
<td>Dating of additional dedications and/or local saints' cults</td>
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<tr>
<td>Växjö</td>
<td>John the Baptist</td>
<td>Sigfrid&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>p. 1153 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åbo</td>
<td>V. Mary</td>
<td>Henrik;&lt;sup&gt;13&lt;/sup&gt; Erik</td>
<td>Henrik, transl. 1200s ?</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Finland)</td>
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*a. = ante; p. = post; transl. = translation

1 Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicæ occidentalis, II.


3 Cf. above.


5 A Norwegian cathedral church was, in spite of its dedication to the Holy Trinity, often referred to as a ’Christ church’. On the dedications of the cathedral churches of Norway, see Fredriksen, ’Helgener og kirkededikasjoner’, pp. 12 and 41–50; on Skåholt and Hólar, see Cormack, Saints in Iceland, pp. 194 and 219; Raasted and others, Helgener, col. 334.

6 There is a reference to a relic of St Martin of Tours in the Saga of Bishop Jón of Hólar, but it is uncertain whether he was a patron saint of the cathedral church of Hólar.

7 Kilström and others, ’Patronus’, col. 145.


