



# LUND UNIVERSITY

## Churches and Centrality: Basilicas and Hall-Churches in Medieval Scandinavia and Livonia

Wienberg, Jes

*Published in:*  
Lübeck Style? Novgorod Style?

2001

*Document Version:*  
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*  
Wienberg, J. (2001). Churches and Centrality: Basilicas and Hall-Churches in Medieval Scandinavia and Livonia. In M. Auns (Ed.), *Lübeck Style? Novgorod Style? : Baltic Rim Central Places as Arenas for Cultural Encounters and Urbanisation 1100-1400 AD. transactions of the central level symposium of the Culture Clash or Compromise (CCC) project held in Talsi September 18-21 1998* (Vol. 3, pp. 269-303). (Reports; Vol. 3). Nordik.

*Total number of authors:*  
1

### General rights

Unless other specific re-use rights are stated the following general rights apply:  
Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

Read more about Creative commons licenses: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/>

### Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

LUND UNIVERSITY

PO Box 117  
221 00 Lund  
+46 46-222 00 00

# LÜBECK STYLE? NOVGOROD STYLE?

Baltic Rim Central Places as Arenas for Cultural  
Encounters and Urbanisation 1100 – 1400 AD

Transactions of the central level symposium of  
the Culture Clash or Compromise (CCC) project  
held in Talsi September 18-21 1998.

Gotland University College  
Centre for Baltic Studies  
Visby

(Ed) Muntis Auns.

CCC papers 5.

**nordik**  
Riga 2001

# Churches and Centrality: Basilicas and Hall-Churches in Medieval Scandinavia and Livonia

*Jes Wienberg*

## Central perspectives

Central perspectives, centre and periphery, central places, central place theory and central level! During the last decades there has been an immense focus in archaeology and history on manifestations at the central level. There has been a focus on people, places and constructions. The focus has been on chieftains, kings and nobility, on enclosures, hillforts and barrows, on religious places, market-places, proto-towns, manors, castles and churches.<sup>1</sup>

The concept of the central place originates from the famous work "Die Zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland" by the German geographer and economist Walter Christaller.<sup>2</sup> And for those who need definitions, Christaller presented a useful suggestion by writing that "centrality" means the relative importance of a place in relation to a hinterland. Central places are thus places where functions are concentrated.<sup>3</sup>

From economic geography the central place theory has invaded the historical study of urbanisation, and has become an important part of processual archaeology since the 1960s.<sup>4</sup> But where the concepts of central place and central level started in the 1930s as an abstract way of analysing relationships between places in the landscape, especially ranking the importance of places, it has now been transformed into a specific label for certain Iron Age settlements. However, the concepts of central place and central level are still relevant also outside the Iron Age.

The present interest in the central level correlates with the occupation with power structures during the last decades. At a less abstract level, the discovery of central places has its background in large surface excavations, also since the 1960s. Archaeological excavations have been so many, that it is both possible and necessary to organise

the chaos of post-holes not only into houses, farms and villages, but also into places with different functions and meanings. Furthermore, the increasing use of metal detectors, especially in Denmark among both amateurs and professionals, has glorified parts of an otherwise grey past. Where most settlements produce objects of iron and bronze when visited by an archaeologist with a metal detector, a minority called central places even yield objects of silver and gold.

For the archaeologist or historian the central level is worth working with because this level is associated with spectacular finds, monuments and texts. At the central level we find objects of gold and silver, runic stones, rich burials, major buildings and often thick occupation layers. Thus the central level is normally characterised by the accumulation of sources, while the periphery is left in the shadow. But we even have central places without gold, silver or written sources.

In the prolonged transition from prehistory to history we know of central places and impressive monuments about which contemporary sources are strikingly silent. Famous examples of places and monuments "without a history" are the settlements Gudme on Fuen and Uppåkra in Scania, and a number of fortresses, the Trelleborg fortresses in Denmark, Eketorp and Gråborg on Öland and Tingstäde Träsk on Gotland. To the same category of silence belong many Romanesque basilicas in the countryside.

In the Middle Ages we find a hierarchy within the best preserved and the best documented source material, namely the churches. Among hundreds of churches a minority stand out in terms of size

<sup>1</sup> Watt 1991; Fabeck & Ringtved 1995; Jørgensen 1995; Callmer & Rosengren 1997; Larsson & Hårdh 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Christaller 1933.

<sup>3</sup> Christaller 1933 pp. 16 f., 27.

<sup>4</sup> Andersson 1972; Jensen 1983; Grant 1986.

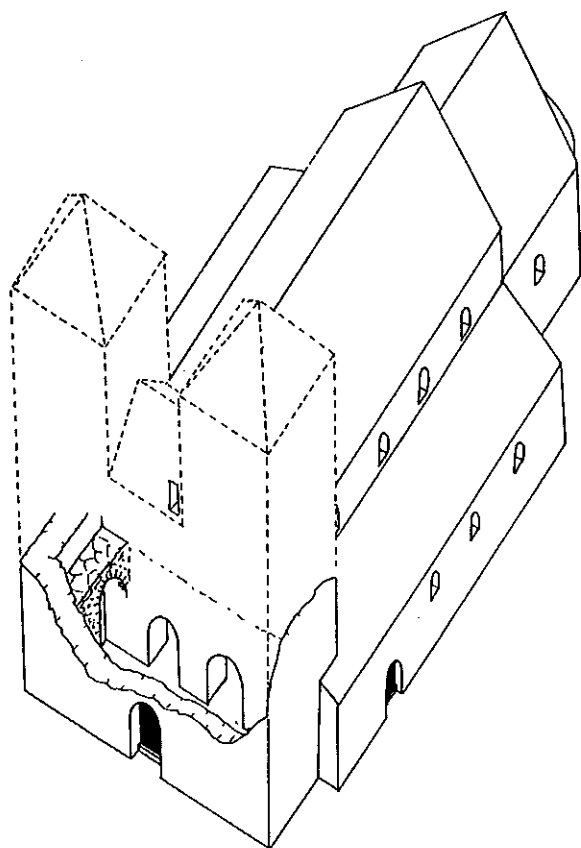


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the church of Hulterstad. According to studies by Ragnild Boström, the church was a Romanesque basilica from c. 1170, changed into a hall-church c. 1240. Drawing from Boström 1967.

and architecture. Where most churches are rather small and plain with a chancel and a nave, maybe even an apse and a tower, a small minority are larger and more elaborated. Where the smaller churches are normally parish churches, the larger churches are often cathedrals, town churches, monastery churches or pilgrimage churches. However, some of the larger churches have remained a mystery. Ignored by the written record, they attract folklore, creative speculation and academic dispute.

The mysterious churches are first and foremost the Romanesque basilicas in the countryside, situated where nobody would expect a large church. The churches now stand as relics of lost central places – places where the original function, status or context is unknown because the importance of the place has declined, and because the place never found its way to the parchment. The churches have become mysterious because they are without the normal context of written sources, which could

reveal that these places were once the seat of a bishop, a town, a monastery or the location of a holy shrine. Outside the light of the texts, the past becomes enigmatic.

The mysterious Romanesque churches are many. As examples I can mention Hulterstad (Fig. 1) and Köping on Öland. But if we continue up into the Gothic period the large churches in the countryside are many more. In Dalarna and on Gotland, in Finland and in parts of Estonia and Latvia we find parish churches where the building is a large three-aisled hall. But as the large churches are so numerous, they are no longer conceived of as mysteries.

Now as my next step in the project “Culture Clash or Compromise? The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea Area 1100–1400 AD” (abbreviated CCC) I intend to investigate churches on the central level. The larger medieval churches of Scandinavia, Estonia and Latvia are selected to compare the chronological development and geographical differences around the Baltic Sea. The topography of churches is used as a material measure in line with the so-called “comparison-machine” sketched by Nils Blomkvist to serve for analysis and synthesis in the CCC project.<sup>5</sup>

In this article I will present different methods or ways to work with questions at the central level using churches as a source material. I will use examples collected from the work of other scholars and from my own previous work to demonstrate ways of thinking and working within the sub-discipline of church archaeology. Finally I will give an overview of the larger medieval churches in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Estonia and Latvia: Where do we have central places in the early and later Middle Ages according to the churches? What is the geographical pattern of larger churches? What is the course of development from the early to the late Middle Ages? And is it possible to compare churches from different regions regardless of their local function or context?

### Central churches

All churches are central places. The cathedral is centre of hundreds of churches in the diocese. The church of the rural dean is the centre of a district with several churches. The parish church is, of

<sup>5</sup> Blomkvist 1998.

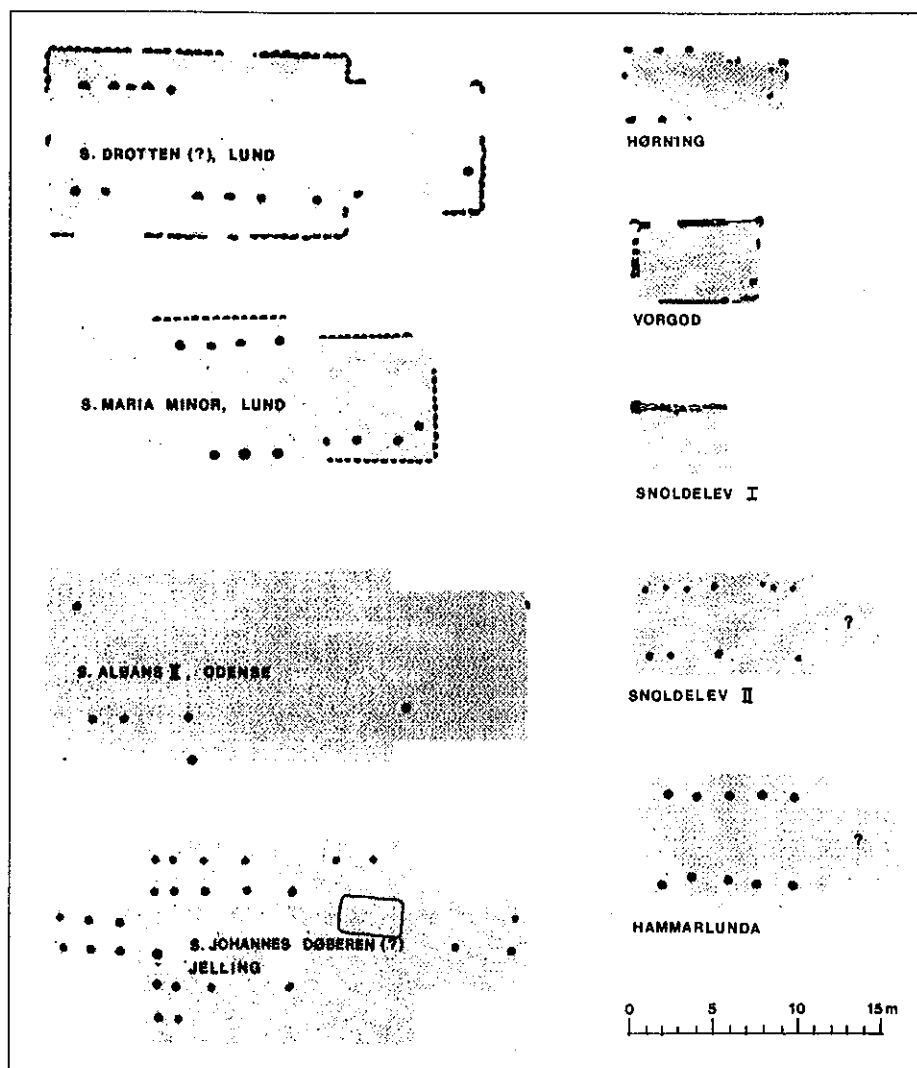


Fig. 2. Large public and small private wooden churches from the 10th–12th centuries in medieval Denmark. Drawing from Nyborg 1986.

course, the centre of the parish. And even the chapel is the religious centre for people in a castle, market-place or fishing village. Again, all churches are central places, but some churches are more central than others.

In Anglo-Saxon England an early church hierarchy is well-known. Minster churches served at the central level. The minster churches were greater than other churches and had several priests.<sup>6</sup> In Norway, which was influenced from England, a system of district churches is known from medieval laws. The district churches (*fylkeskirker*) were erected in stone by order of the king and the archbishop.<sup>7</sup> Some of the district churches can be identified by analysing their income. Those parish churches that once had the status of district churches had a part in the tithe of other parish churches in the district.<sup>8</sup> Attempts to identify a similar organi-

sation of district churches, looking at the Romanesque churches in Denmark and Sweden, have in my opinion not been convincing so far.<sup>9</sup>

However, the Danish wooden churches of the 11th century can be divided into two groups: large three-aisled stave churches, and much smaller and simpler stave churches (Fig. 2). This division might reflect early organisation into large public churches and small private chapels, which was blurred when the churches were “petrified”, i.e. transformed from wood into stone. As an example, the wooden churches at the royal seat of Jelling in Jutland were larger than the present stone church from c. 1100.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Blair 1988.

<sup>7</sup> Sandnes 1993.

<sup>8</sup> Skre 1995; 1998 pp. 64 ff.

<sup>9</sup> cf. Anglert 1989; Brink 1990.

<sup>10</sup> Nyborg 1986 pp. 28 ff.; 1998 pp. 203 ff.

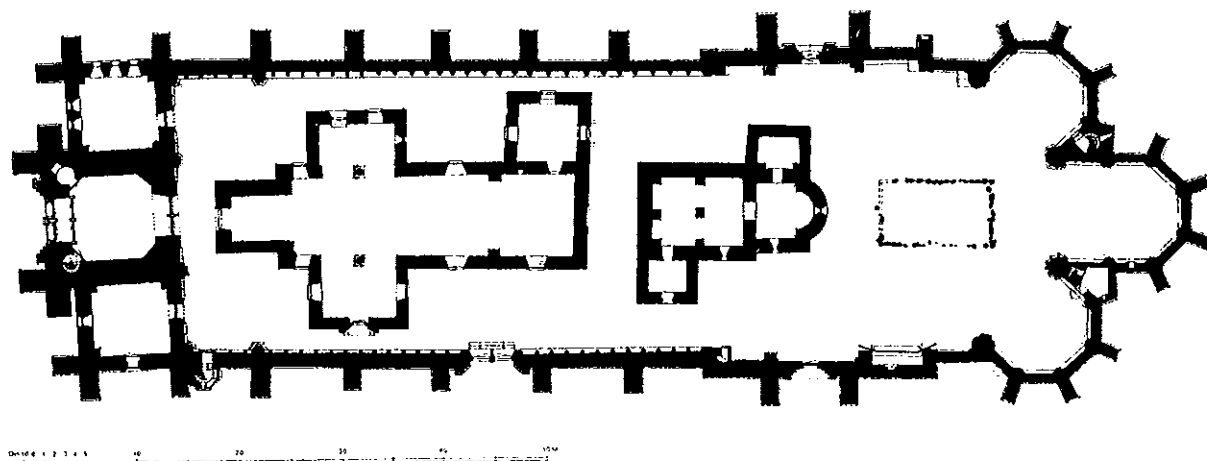


Fig. 3. The ecclesiastical hierarchy in the diocese of Linköping reflected in the size of the cathedral of Linköping, the dean's church of Gärdslösa on Öland, the parish church of Egby, also on Öland, and the chapel of Pata in Møre. Drawn to the same scale after plans in SvK 163 (1975), 177 (1978), 200–201 (1986–87) and Klackenberg 1992.

The division of the first generation of wooden churches might be an example of cultural and social continuity transcending Christianisation. Before Christianisation we know from documents and now also from some excavations, of public temples and private "hofs". After Christianisation we find large public churches and small private chapels.

Up into the Middle Ages the ecclesiastical hierarchy with its administrative levels of bishop, dean, rector and curate, from the centre to the periphery, are normally reflected in the architecture, that is in the size and quality of the churches. The levels are exemplified by the decline in size from the cathedral of Linköping to the church of Gärdslösa, where the rural dean of Öland had his residence, to the small parish church of Egby, also on Öland, and finally down to the chapel of Pata in Møre (Fig. 3).

Cathedrals and pilgrimage churches have attracted people from great distances. Most famous is perhaps the pilgrimage to the grave of Saint James in Santiago de Compostela in Spain. People from all over Europe travelled to this geographical corner bringing back scallop shells as signs of their pilgrimage. Most famous in Scandinavia was the shrine of Saint Olaus at Trondheim in Norway, which attracted pilgrims from far away. Both the spread of pilgrimage badges and written records on miracles reveal how people from all parts of Sweden, and also from Denmark and Norway, travelled to the shrine of Saint Bridget and her daughter Saint Catherine in Vadstena.<sup>11</sup> In the same way written sources make it possible to define the local

region from which the church of Gettorp in southern Jutland attracted pilgrims.<sup>12</sup> Important market-places were often established at pilgrimage churches, so that trade and religion united. Thus, pilgrimage churches are good examples of central places. And the religious hinterland could be the whole of Europe as in the case of Saint James, mostly Scandinavia as with Saint Olaus and Saint Bridget, or it could be a minor region as in the case of Gettorp.

Every parish church has been a centre for living and dead people over centuries. The church was and is the focus of faith. Here people have been baptized, confirmed, married and buried. They have been examined and forgiven. And the church has been a social meeting place, a place where people meet not only during, but also before and after the service. Often, but not always, the church stood in the centre of a parish with a fair distance to the farms. At the parish centre institutions concentrated, such as the vicarage and the storehouse, later the school and the country shop.<sup>13</sup> And today the church also functions as a museum, where old objects, monuments, pictures and texts are preserved, while the rest of the parish has gradually been changed.

Churches were not only religious and administrative central places, but also economic centres. The tithe, such as grain and butter, was stored close

<sup>11</sup> Andersson 1986: 1989 pp. 171 ff.; Fröjmark 1992 p. 86 Fig. 2, p. 90 Fig. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Poulsen 1989 pp. 102 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Bergström 1992.

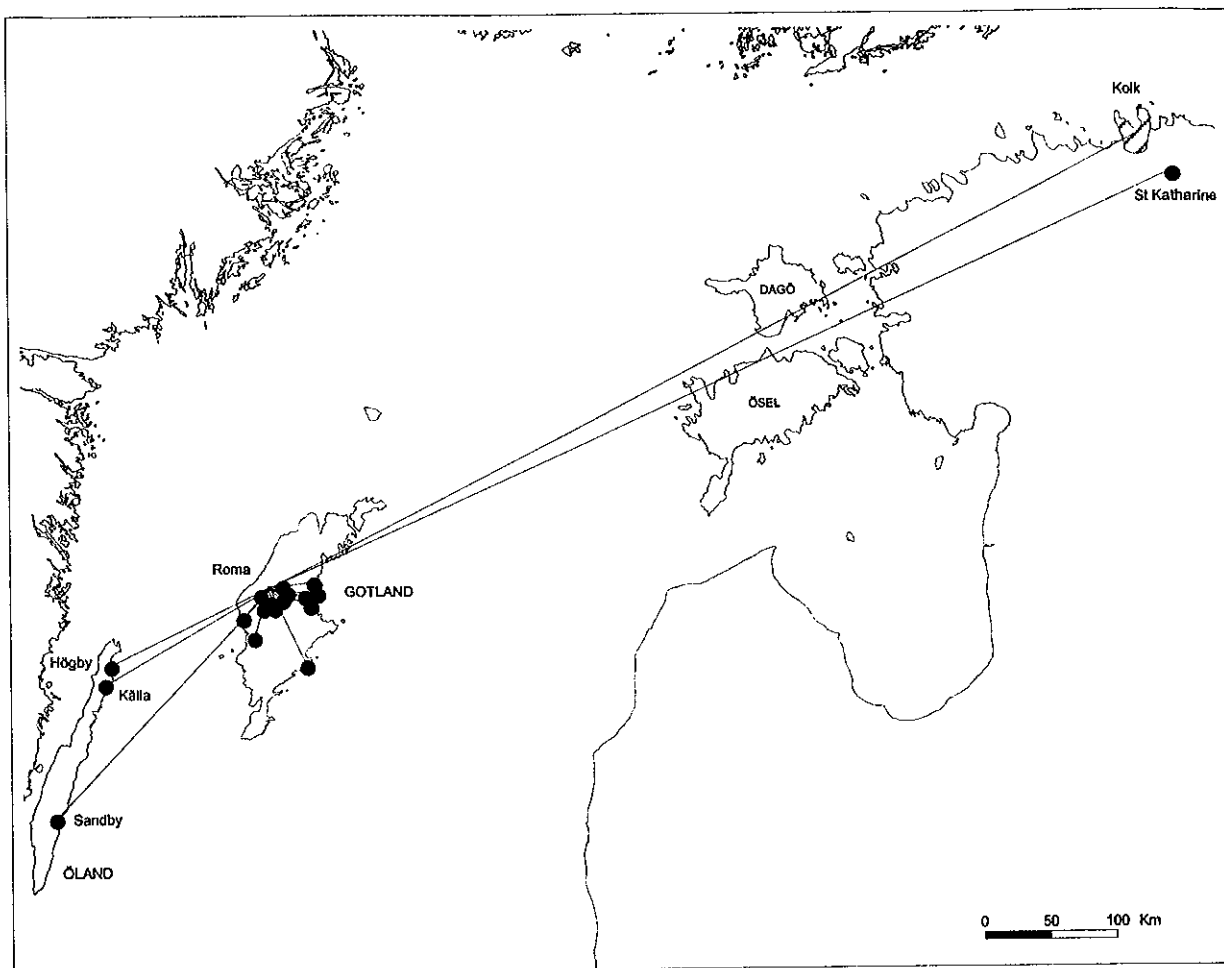


Fig. 4. The property known to have belonged to the Cistercian monastery of Roma on Gotland. Drawing after information in Lindström 1895 and Yrwing 1978.

to or even inside the church. Many medieval or later tithe barns in the churchyard still remind us of this. Other parts of the economic surplus of the parish were invested in the architecture, furnishings and paintings of the church. The economic hinterland of the parish church would in principle be the parish territory. But in practice the church received, in addition to the tithe, also land and rent from a wider area through donations. Thus, according to a cadastre from 1569, churches in Scania received rent from the neighbouring parishes.<sup>14</sup>

Town churches could have a far-reaching hinterland, with a "social parish" crossing the defined parish borders. As an example I might present my own study of the churches in the medieval town of Tønsberg in Norway. The churches had rights in land far outside their parishes. The distribution of land around Tønsberg is a pattern of social contacts of the nobility and citizens of the town. Within this hinterland we find the nobility, which lived on farms in the countryside, but also owned property

and acted as citizens in the town. But perhaps more interestingly, there is a correlation between the size of the three parish churches, the basilica St Lawrence, St Mary and St Peter and the amount of their income from land.<sup>15</sup>

Monasteries with their attached churches often had a large economic hinterland. A well-known example of this is the monastery of Vadstena, which acted as a "great company" and had property in many parts of Sweden, especially Östergötland, Västergötland, Småland and Öland.<sup>16</sup>

Another example of a monastery with a large hinterland is the Cistercian monastery Roma on Gotland. Roma is known to have owned property across the Baltic Sea: in 14 parishes on Gotland, several being near Roma itself, in three parishes on Öland, the manor Kolk in the parish of Kuusalu/

<sup>14</sup> Wienberg 1993 pp. 53 ff., p. 56 Fig. 27.

<sup>15</sup> Wienberg 1991b.

<sup>16</sup> Norborg 1958 p. 79 Map 5.

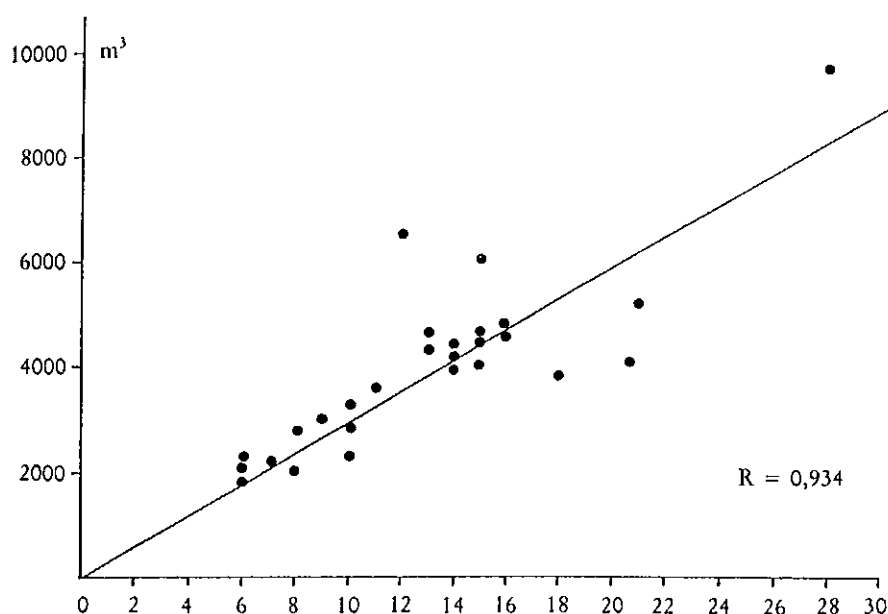


Fig. 5. The correlation between the internal area of medieval churches on Gotland c. 1350 and the later known number of farms in the parish. Drawing in Lindquist 1988.

Kusal east of Tallinn/Reval, in the parish of Kadrina/St Katharinen near Rakvere/Wesenberg and property in the town of Tallinn (Fig. 4).<sup>17</sup>

Statistical correlations between the size of churches and the local economy as it is known from written sources have been demonstrated several times during the 1980s and further up to the present by scholars of medieval archaeology, history and historical geography, including Anders Andrén, Ebbe Nyborg, Sven-Olof Lindquist and myself. Andrén has shown a correlation between the size of late medieval town churches and the number of citizens around 1530 in Denmark.<sup>18</sup> Nyborg has demonstrated a correlation between the size of medieval parish churches in the region of Ribe in Jutland and taxes and the number of farms and people at the parish level.<sup>19</sup> Lindquist has shown a correlation between the size of parish churches on medieval Gotland and the later known number of farms in the parishes (Fig. 5).<sup>20</sup> I myself have found correlations between the distribution of Gothic vaults in churches and medieval and later information on local taxes. And recently I have also found correlations between the occurrence of an apse on Romanesque churches in Denmark and later known taxation of the parishes.<sup>21</sup>

The examples I have mentioned might support a fundamental hypothesis. The hypothesis is that there was a correlation between the degree of centrality and the size and/or quality of church archi-

tecture. The central role of the church could be administrative, religious, social or economic. On the basis of this hypothesis or axiom it is possible to use the churches as source material supplementing or even contradicting written sources. And using this basic methodological assumption I will discuss what these central churches are telling us about towns and other central places.

### Towns and churches

As one of the surviving buildings from the Middle Ages the church has been and is an important source material in the study of both individual towns and the urbanisation process in general. The age of the

<sup>17</sup> The following property is known to have belonged to the monastery of Roma: on Gotland the monastery itself at Roma, as large as 7 farms. To this are added 1/2 a farm in Atlingbo, 1 in Barlingbo, 1 1/2 in Björke, 1 in Dalhem, land in Fröjel, 1 farm in Gothem, 1/2 and 1/2 in Halla, 1 in Hörsne, 1/2 in Norrlanda, "Närsholmen" in Närs, 1 farm in Roma and 1 in Vall, "Munkeängen" in Valstena, "Västergarnsholm" in Västergarn; on Öland 23 farms in Högby, 2 in Källa and 5 in Sandby; in Estonia the manor Kolk probably with 115 "ploughs" in Kuusalu/Kusal, farms in Kadrina/St Katharinen and a town property in Tallinn/Reval. Lindström 1895 II pp. 216 ff.; Yrwing 1978 pp. 167 f.

<sup>18</sup> Andrén 1985 pp. 50 ff.; cf. also Gustin 1987 applying the same methods to medieval Sweden.

<sup>19</sup> Nyborg 1986 pp. 20 ff.; 1998 pp. 194 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Lindquist 1988.

<sup>21</sup> Wienberg 1993 pp. 134 ff.; 1999 pp. 23 ff.



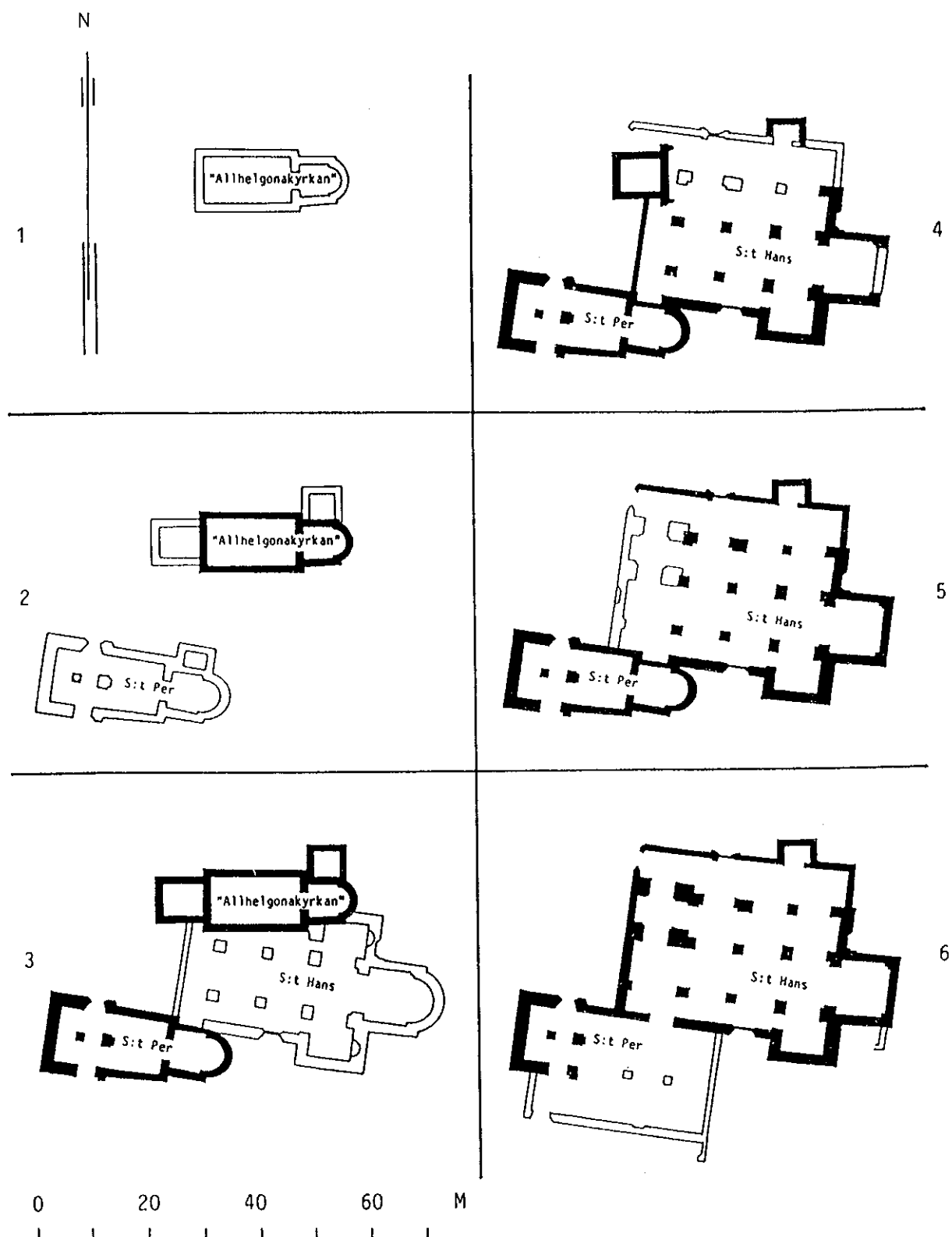


Fig. 6. The development of All Saints, St Peter and St John in the town of Visby. Drawing in Swanström 1986.

church might be crucial in dating the town. The localisation of churches is an important clue in the study of the town plan, as in Ribe in Jutland, where several parish churches north of the river reveal an early settlement.<sup>22</sup> And the number and size of town churches could reflect the former importance of the town, as in the case of Bergen, Trondheim, Ribe, Viborg, Roskilde, Lund, Sigtuna, Visby, Tallinn and Riga, where the churches are many and some of them are large.

We can also follow the rise, decline and fall, or simply the development of individual towns by looking at the development of church buildings. One example of this is a study done by the medieval archaeologist Eric Swanström in Visby. He has tried to relate the architectural development of the twin-churches Saint Peter and Saint John to the history of Visby (Fig. 6).<sup>23</sup> Another example could be Trinity in Lund, where we can follow a complex church and churchyard development in many phases from the Viking Age until the Reformation.<sup>24</sup>

But why were there so many churches in the early medieval towns, for example 112 parish churches in London and 22 in Lund? And furthermore, why did the towns have such a varying number of monastery churches and chapels? Around 1250, Visby had no less than 11 churches, three monasteries and one hospital. Some decades ago the answer would have been that the churches functioned as merchant churches, i.e. were used by foreign merchants during their temporary visits as both churches and warehouses. A proponent of this view was the Estonian historian Paul Johansen.<sup>25</sup> Others have interpreted the many churches as an expression of a "sacred space".<sup>26</sup>

The medieval archaeologist Anders Andrén has argued for another interpretation. Early medieval towns were organised in the same way as the countryside. He called the town a "congested countryside". An accumulation of people and capital in the town simply meant an accumulation of churches.<sup>27</sup>

The first to use churches in a systematic ranking of medieval towns was the historian Jacques Le Goff. In the famous "Annales" he ranked French towns according to the number of friaries. The importance of medieval towns was supposed to be expressed in their attractiveness to the mendicant orders. Friaries were established as a response to the spiritual needs of the towns, and their location must have reflected the perception of the orders of

the significance of the towns.<sup>28</sup> Andrén used the number of churches, the number of friaries, and even the size of churches, to rank the towns in Denmark and later also in Scandinavia. Urbanisation was measured according to the number of churches and friaries, and according to the size of town churches.<sup>29</sup> Later the church archaeologist Richard Morris used the number of churches in an overview of the urbanization in England.<sup>30</sup>

If we now more or less transfer the principles of measuring urbanization using the number of monasteries in towns to the Baltic countries, we obtain the following picture (Fig. 7). For the period 1200–1550 we can rank the Livonian towns according to the establishment of friaries and convents into five categories: four friaries or convents in Tartu/Dorpat (Dominicans 1300; Cistercians 1345; Franciscans 1466; "Tertarians" 1514); three in Riga (Franciscans 1233–38; Dominicans 1234; Cistercians 1255); two in Tallinn/Reval (Dominicans 1229 and again 1246; Cistercians 1249); one in Limbaži/Lemsal (Franciscans 1466), Narva (Dominicans 1520), Rakvere/Wesenberg (Franciscans 1508), Viljandi/Fellin (Franciscans 1466–71), and none for the rest, e. i. Haapsalu/Hapsal, Paide/Weissenstein, Pärnu/Pernau, Kuldiga/Goldingen, Koknese/Kokenhusen, Jelgava/Mitau, Cēsis/Wenden, Ventspils/Windau, Valmiera/Wolmar.<sup>31</sup>

However, already in this rather simple translation of principles across the Baltic Sea questions arise. Firstly I personally have the practical problems of finding relevant information on church topography hampered by my capacity of language. Secondly, how do we compare Scandinavian towns from 1000–1200, where I can use churches as a measure, with the hillforts and central places of the Baltic countries? Here we have to look for other kinds of measures. Thirdly, what do we do

<sup>22</sup> Nielsen 1985 p. 58 ff., 72.

<sup>23</sup> Swanström 1986.

<sup>24</sup> Cinthio 1999.

<sup>25</sup> Johansen 1965; criticized by Yrwing 1980.

<sup>26</sup> Holmberg 1970 cf. critical comments by Nyborg 1990.

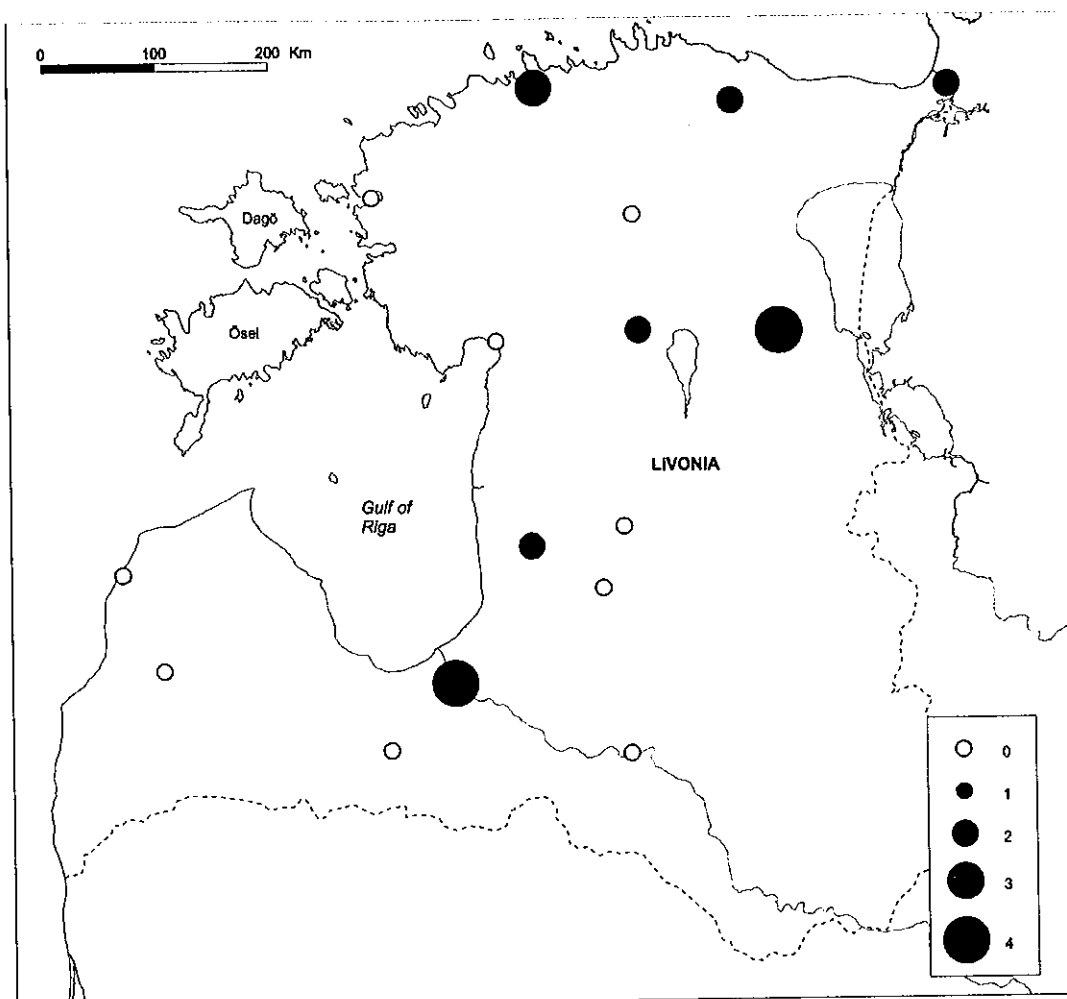
<sup>27</sup> Andrén 1985 pp. 33 ff.; criticised in Nyborg 1990; Andrén has recently revived a religious interpretation regarding the location of the patron saints of the churches within the town of Lund as an expression of a world-map, a "Mappa Mundi": cf. Andrén 1998.

<sup>28</sup> Le Goff 1970; also Pounds 1974 p. 256 f. with Fig. 6.8.

<sup>29</sup> Andrén 1985 p. 58 ff.; 1989; also Andersson 1990 p. 67 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Morris 1989 p. 168 ff., especially p. 170 Fig 38.

<sup>31</sup> Information on Livonian towns and convents mainly from Leighley 1939, Alftoa 1993 and Tamm 1993.



*Fig. 7. Ranking of the medieval towns of Livonia according to the number of friaries and convents.*

with the Order castles at most Livonian towns? In fact, all towns have either a castle of the Teutonic Order, or an episcopal castle. Are the Order castles also to be regarded as convents, thus increasing the ranking level of many towns? Or is it more reasonable to compare the Order castles with “secular” castles at Scandinavian towns such as Visborg in Visby, which functioned more as strongholds than monasteries? The different ecclesiastical and political structure east and west of the Baltic Sea thus might blur the possibility of comparison, or accentuate the differences.

### **Churches of rank**

Churches are an excellent source material in ranking places, because the churches are many, well documented and relatively well dated, and because they themselves are central places. The churches

with their architecture are sensitive to the local context and therefore relevant points where to observe both condition and change in the landscape. Churches have hitherto been used to rank towns, and to follow the development of the urbanisation. But churches might just as well be used to span the boundary between town and countryside. Churches are also one of the few elements to be found in great numbers both east and west of the Baltic Sea.

The art historian Christian Lovén has published an article on large Romanesque churches in medieval Sweden. His overview is limited to basilicas or churches with transepts. Some are cathedral churches and some are monastery churches. According to Lovén the geographical distribution (Fig. 8) shows that the large churches, which represented power and wealth, were concentrated in the heartlands of the realm, i. e. in Västergötland, Östergötland and Uppland. But the existence of

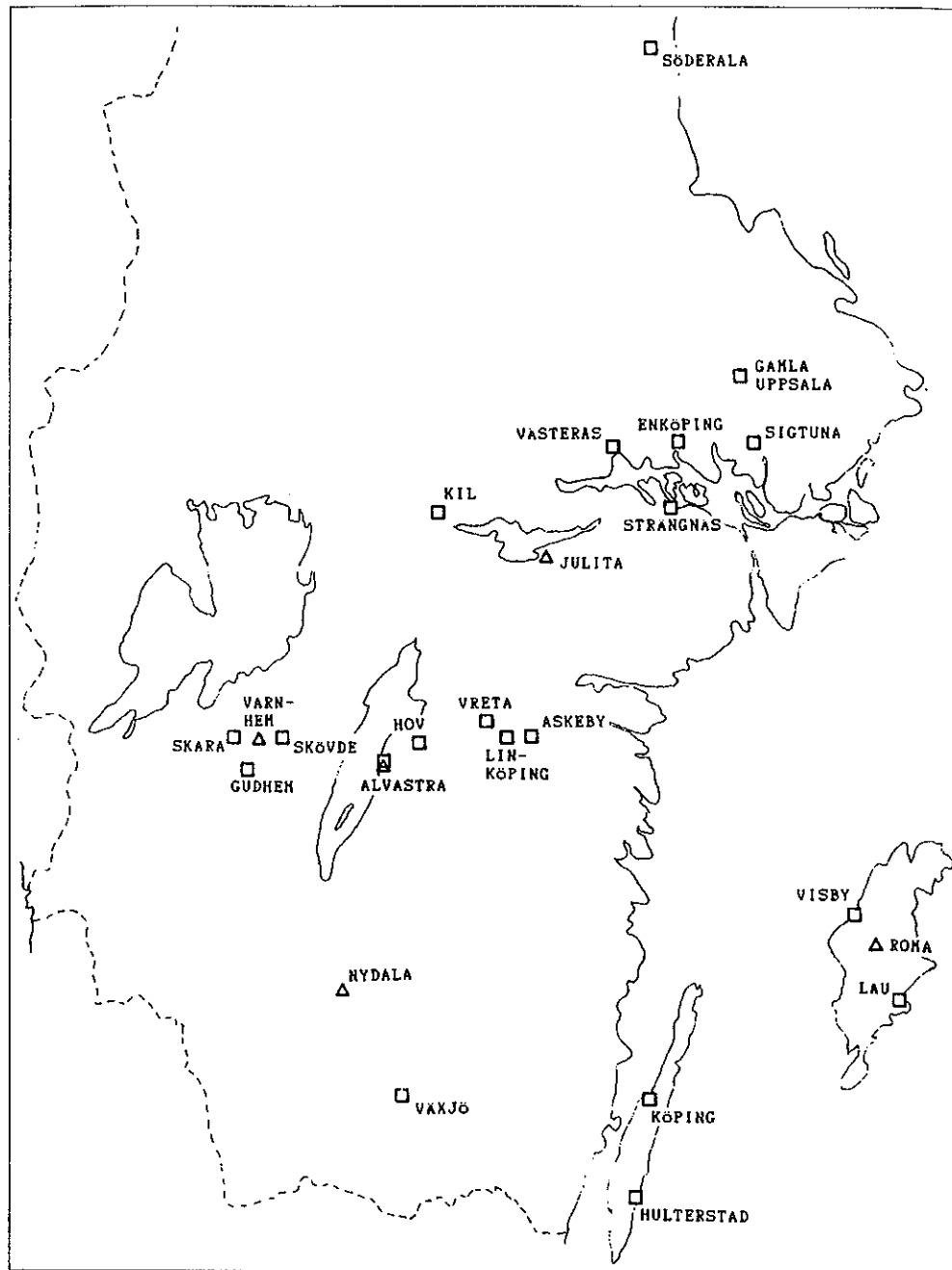


Fig. 8. Large Romanesque churches in medieval Sweden. Drawing by Lovén 1990.

churches like Köping and Hulterstad indicates, also according to Lovén, that a peripheral area such as the Öland region might have played an important role.<sup>32</sup>

Even though this survey is an advance, and might function as a model, it is restricted in several ways: it only concerns medieval Sweden (including the more or less independent Gotland). It neglects the Gothic period after c. 1250. And it is incomplete (Thus the basilica of Edsleskog in Dalsland, the basilica of St Nicholas in Kalmar

and several churches on Gotland are missing in Lovén's survey, when the limit is at c. 1250.).

Now, inspired by Lovén's article, I have constructed my own ecclesiastical "comparison machine", based on an inventory of all large Romanesque and Gothic churches in Scandinavia, Estonia and Latvia. The inventory, which is presented as an appendix to this article, includes medieval

<sup>32</sup> Lovén 1990b; the largest Romanesque church in Europe was Cluny in France.

stone churches with three or more aisles in the nave or chancel, i.e. basilicas, pseudo-basilicas and hall-churches. Most of the churches are three-aisled churches, but a few are enlarged to four or even five aisles.

Basilicas, pseudo-basilicas and hall-churches are normally large churches, and even if they might be divided into different groups according to size or form, they have something fundamental in common. They represent a distinct architecture with its origin in antiquity. They rise above the grey mass of more ordinary parish churches. Thus a church of rank indicates a certain meaning and centrality of the place.

Basilicas, pseudo-basilicas and hall-churches are also well suited for an investigation. These large churches have been described and analysed in art and architectural history for as long as the existence of these disciplines.<sup>33</sup> The large churches have been regarded as central monuments in an art topography, where style influence went from centre to periphery, from Central Europe to Scandinavia, and from regional "mother churches" in the towns to the parish churches in the countryside.<sup>34</sup> The large churches have also been central in the development of regional styles, for example a certain Baltic style.<sup>35</sup> There has even been a long art historical discussion on the "struggle" between the basilica and the hall-church.<sup>36</sup> This metaphorical fight between two architectural ideals is, however, ignored in my investigation as irrelevant, when it comes to the question of centrality. And large churches belonging to a certain monastic order have been discussed in detail, for example basilicas of the Cistercians and hall-churches of the Bridgetines.<sup>37</sup> Even when we seem to know a lot about the larger medieval churches, we know more about the Romanesque churches than the Gothic churches, and we have no surveys presenting all the large churches of Scandinavia or the Baltic Countries.

The investigation area is defined to medieval Denmark, Norway, Sweden (with Finland), Estonia and Latvia. The national borders have changed many times, both during and after the Middle Ages, especially in the Eastern Baltic area. Parts of medieval Denmark now belong to Germany (Schleswig, Fehmarn and Rügen) and to Sweden (Scania, Halland and Blekinge). Parts of medieval Norway belong to Sweden (Bohuslän, Härjedalen and Jämtland). And Finland, which now is independent, was a part of Sweden in the Middle Ages and until 1809. The Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland and

the other areas of medieval Norway in the Atlantic, which now are independent, or under Danish or British rule, are excluded. In the Baltic area overlapping political and ecclesiastical borders have changed until recently. I have decided for both historical and practical reasons to investigate medieval Livonia, which reasonably corresponds to present-day Estonia and Latvia.

To make a general view possible the churches in the catalogue are divided into three main periods. The churches are divided into a Romanesque period I c. 1050–1200, a late Romanesque and early Gothic period II c. 1200–1350 and a late Gothic period III c. 1350–1550. This threefold division is chosen to fit with architectural periods and the discussion on urbanisation.<sup>38</sup> The borderline at 1200 is also relevant regarding the Christianisation of the Eastern Baltic, and the year 1350 marks a turning-point with the Plague and also a political change within Livonia.

The datings presented in the catalogue are taken from the literature. With few exceptions I have not tried to make my own judgements. How trustworthy the datings are depends on the quality of the existing literature representing very different research traditions and research standards. One should notice, however, that there might be a tendency to make churches as old as possible for national and romantic reasons, as shown by the recent debate on the age of the Finnish churches.<sup>39</sup>

All wooden churches are excluded, even when we know from excavations, older drawings and preserved buildings that their size could vary considerably. From the first generation of stave churches and onwards during the Middle Ages we observe great differences. Many large churches had or still have inner posts reminiscent of stone basilicas, regardless of the architectural model, making them more distinguished than most wooden churches.<sup>40</sup> A vanished Swedish example to illustrate the phenomenon could be the timber church

<sup>33</sup> Recent synthesis, where many of the large churches are presented, are e.g. Johannsen & Smidt 1981 on Denmark, Lidén 1981 on Norway, Lindgren 1995 and Ullén 1996 on Sweden and Hiekkänen 1994a on Finland.

<sup>34</sup> e.g. Beckett 1924–26; criticism and historical comments in Møller 1979 and Bolvig 1992 pp. 71 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Roosval 1924.

<sup>36</sup> cf. Clasen 1939 pp. 456 ff.; Vaga 1960.

<sup>37</sup> e.g. Curman 1912 pp. 174 ff.; Berthelson 1947.

<sup>38</sup> cf. Andrén 1985 pp. 13 ff.; 1989; Wienberg 1993 pp. 69 ff.

<sup>39</sup> cf. Hiekkänen 1994b; Ringbom 1994.

<sup>40</sup> Christie 1981 pp. 207 ff., 243 ff.



Fig. 9. The cathedral of Dalby in Scania from c. 1060. Photo Jes Wienberg 1980.

of Edshult in Småland from the 14th century.<sup>41</sup> The reason for excluding the large wooden churches is that the majority have disappeared with their architecture remaining unknown.

Churches where the nave is divided into two aisles with a row of pillars are also excluded. Churches with two aisles might have had a central position within a region, as did the Romanesque church of Å on Bornholm,<sup>42</sup> and in fact I included this group in my first preliminary inventory. Very often, however, we deal with monastery churches, where the nave has been extended with an aisle to allow more people to attend the mass. The division into two aisles can also be the consequence of secondary Gothic vaults, which try to span over a relatively broad Romanesque nave.<sup>43</sup>

Even when I personally have visited, over some

decades, most of the places with large churches in Scandinavia and some of the churches in the Baltic countries, my investigation is dependent on surveys done by other scholars. So far there is no book or article that covers churches from all over Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, and we have few national surveys. Thus the present investigation uses literature of very diverse character and quality, everything from national inventories and dissertations to local articles (see the introduction to the catalogue).

The preservation and documentation of large churches should permit a fairly representative pic-

<sup>41</sup> SvK 192, 1983, pp. 135 ff.; Ullén 1984.

<sup>42</sup> DK VIII (1954) pp. 131 ff.

<sup>43</sup> Lorenzen 1904.

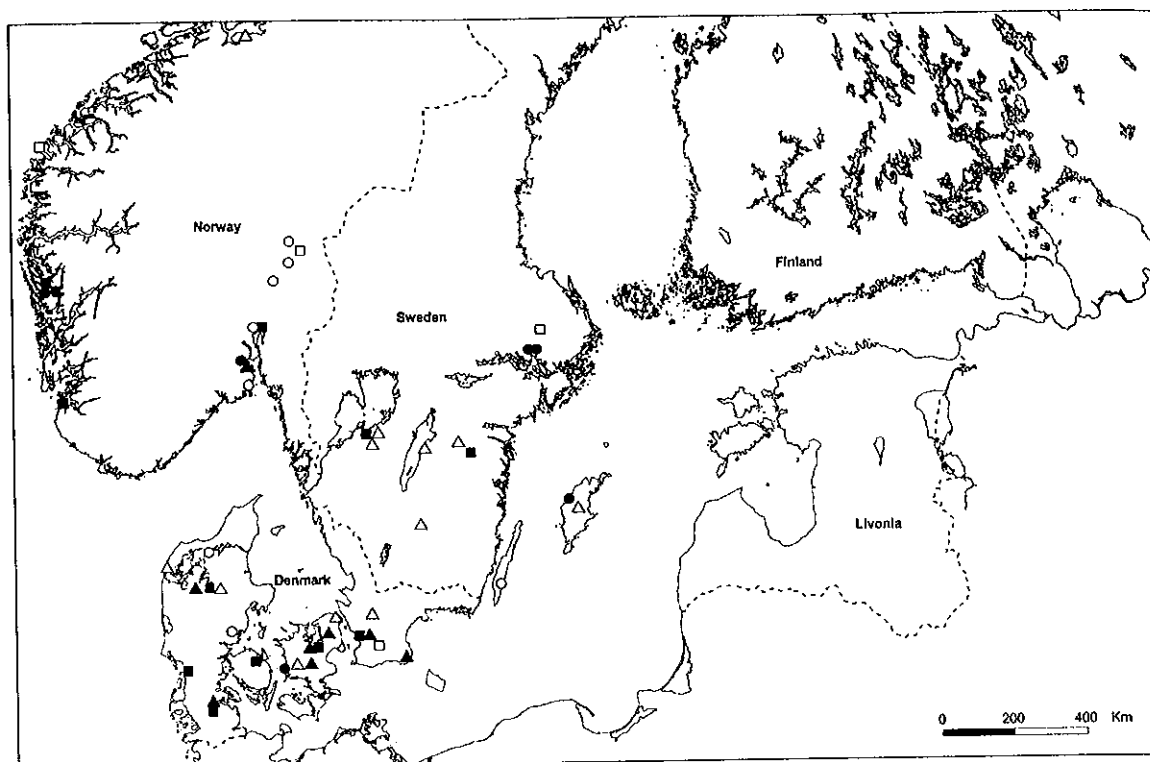


Fig. 10. The building of large churches in period I, 1050–1200: Romanesque basilicas in Scandinavia and Livonia. Of the 51 large churches, 15 (29%) were cathedrals (squares), 21 (41%) were monastery churches (triangles) and 15 (29%) were neither (circles). Urban churches are black, and churches in the countryside are white.

ture. We might expect the occurrence of a few hitherto unknown large churches in the towns and among the demolished monasteries. But we cannot expect so many more churches that it would change the overall pattern.

### From Dalby to Viipuri

The basilica has its origin in the Roman Empire. The temple, where the emperor was worshipped, was in the form of a basilica. And when Christianity was turned into the official state religion by Constantine the Great in 313, the new large churches were built as basilicas.<sup>44</sup> Gradually, with Christianisation, basilicas were erected all over Europe at royal palaces, at bishoprics and at monasteries. The landscape was dotted with basilicas, which imitated the imperial churches of Rome and Constantinople.

In Scandinavia the crusade of the basilica began in Dalby in Scania (Fig. 9). Here a Romanesque basilica was built c. 1060 on the initiative of the Danish king Svend Estridsen. The cathedral, of which a large part of the nave is still standing,

was built on a royal manor, probably near to a hunting park. The tower, which was added in the 1120s, became linked directly to a royal palace, as is known at German imperial palaces. A bishop had his seat at the cathedral in the 11th century, and later it was turned into an Augustinian monastery.<sup>45</sup>

If the crusade began in Dalby, it temporarily came to an end in Viborg. I don't refer to the town of Viborg in Jutland, but to the Finnish town Viipuri/Viborg in Karelia, since 1944 a part of the Soviet Union/Russia. Here at the eastern border of Scandinavia a three-aisled church was built around 1480–1530, i.e. shortly before the Reformation.<sup>46</sup>

During the Middle Ages the Romanesque basilica at the royal manor had been transformed into a Gothic hall-church, which functioned as a parish church. Over the centuries the architectural models had changed. We have a process where architectural ideas are introduced by an elite and

<sup>44</sup> Dyggve 1943.

<sup>45</sup> Anjou 1930; Cinthio 1983; 1989 pp. 22 ff.; Andrén 1997 pp. 476 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Hiekkänen 1994a p. 344; 1994b p. 458.

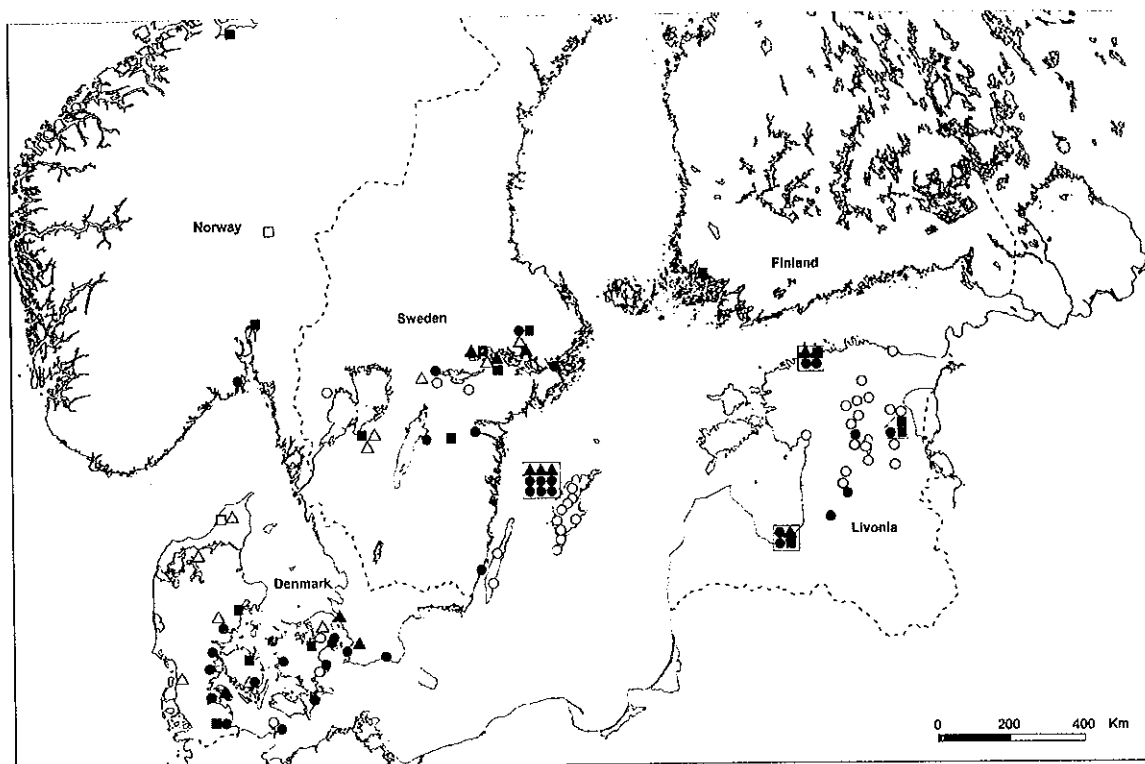


Fig. 11. The building of large churches in period II, 1200–1350: Late Romanesque and early Gothic basilicas, pseudo-basilicas and hall-churches with three aisles or more in Scandinavia and Livonia. Of the 112 large churches, 17 (15%) were cathedrals (squares), 21 (19%) were monastery churches (triangles) and 74 (66%) were neither (circles). Urban churches are black, and churches in the countryside are white.

gradually changed almost beyond recognition as they spread from centre to periphery, from the Roman emperor and the Danish king to the citizens of a border town near Russia.

What is to be expected of the church building process between Dalby and Viipuri? Just as Christian Lovén, I would expect the construction of large churches representing places of prestige on a central level, where the king, the church, the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie were making manifest their piety and at the same time legitimising their position. And I would expect that the distribution maps are exposing the political and economical core areas of the Nordic and Baltic countries!

In period I, 1050–1200, we find 51 three-aisled churches, probably all basilicas (Fig. 10). Of these 23 (45 %) are in Denmark, 15 (29 %) in Norway and 13 (25 %) in Sweden (including Gotland). Of the earliest basilicas, i.e. the 10 churches pre-dating 1100, the majority belong to Denmark: in Scania Dalby, All Saints and St Lawrence in Lund, on Zealand Our Lady and Trinity in Roskilde, and St Michael in Slagelse, on Funen St Canute in Odense, and finally in Jutland St Margaret in

Asmild at Viborg. To these are added in Western Norway Trinity in Bergen and Selje, as two “ports of religion” on the border of the recently Christianised kingdom. Most of the earliest basilicas are situated in or at royal manors or towns, and many of them later became monastery churches. In fact they were all connected to bishops or bishoprics from the beginning. Well known are the four churches, Trinity and Our Lady in Roskilde, St Michael in Slagelse and Our Lady in Ringsted, which was built on the order of Bishop Svend Normand of Roskilde (1073–88), according to Saxo’s “Gesta Danorum” and the Roskilde Chronicle. Of these, only the church in Ringsted was not a basilica.<sup>47</sup> It is difficult to judge, but maybe the early basilicas made up a majority of the relatively few stone churches before 1100<sup>48</sup>. The remaining 41 basilicas from the 12th century are to be found in Denmark, in Norway up to Trondheim and now also in Sweden, where the cathedral of Gamla Uppsala is the most northerly.

<sup>47</sup> Johannsen & Smidt 1981 p. 14 ff.

<sup>48</sup> cf. an overview of the early churches in Denmark by Krins 1968.



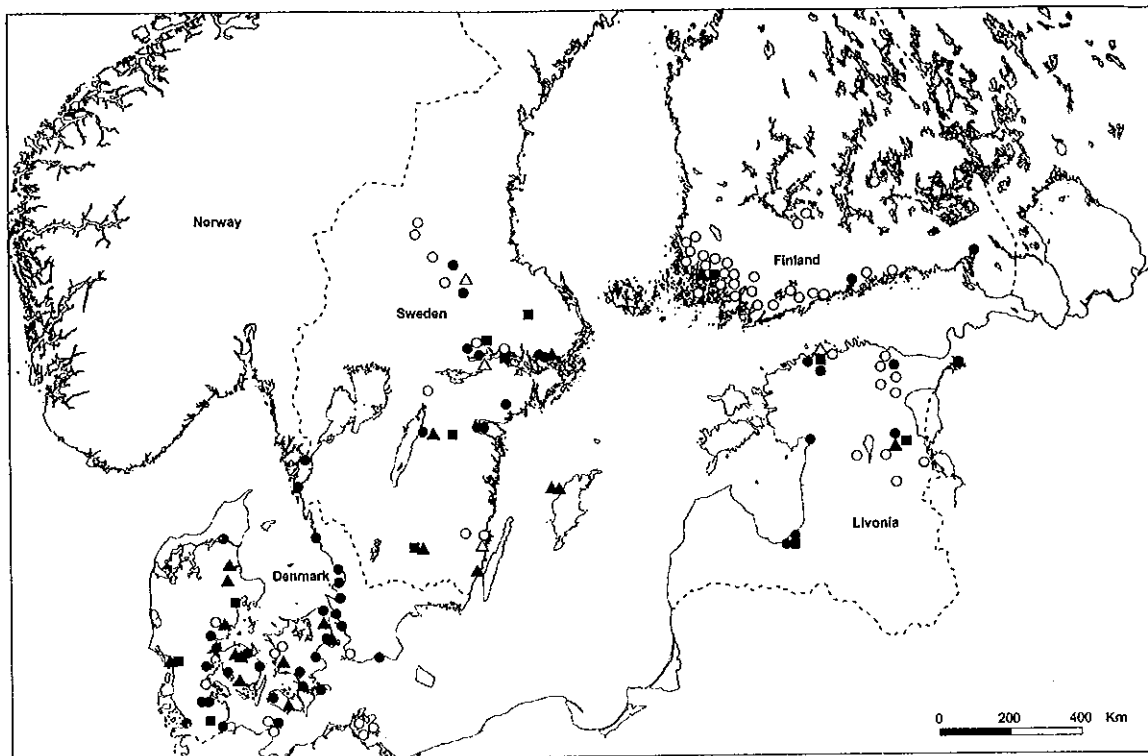


Fig. 12. The building of large churches in period III, 1350–1550: Late Gothic basilicas, pseudo-basilicas and hall-churches with three aisles or more in Scandinavia and Livonia. Of the 139 large churches, 12 (9%) were cathedrals (squares), 22 (16%) were monastery churches (triangles) and 105 (76%) were neither (circles). Urban churches are black, and churches in the countryside are white.

Thus the context of the earliest 10 basilicas, those pre-dating 1100, was clearly royal and episcopal. And of all the 51 basilicas belonging to the period 1050–1200 27 (53 %) were situated in what already was – or was to become – a town, and 24 (47 %) were situated in the countryside.

In period II, 1200–1350, we find 112 three-aisled churches (Fig. 11). Of these, 34 (30 %) are in Denmark, only 4 (4 %) in Norway, 42 (38 %) in Sweden, maybe one (1 %) in Finland and 31 (28 %) in Livonia. Most of the churches are basilicas, but pseudo-basilicas also occur, as do hall-churches. The first pseudo-basilica, defined by the absence of windows in the raised part of the nave, is St James in Horsens in Jutland, from c. 1200–25. And with the influence from Westphalia, hall-churches, where the aisles are almost of the same height and under a common roof, became popular after 1200, especially on Gotland.

The large churches are to be found in towns and at monasteries in the countryside, especially in Denmark and Sweden. Gotland is outstanding with its many large churches in both Visby and the countryside. Large churches are in this period also

built in Livonia, starting with Ambla. There was a single three-aisled church in Finland, namely a supposed hall-church at the cathedral in Turku/Åbo. However, as a consequence of the recent re-dating of the Finnish churches, it has been suggested that the cathedral consecrated in 1300 in Åbo, was not a stone church, but maybe even here a wooden church.<sup>49</sup>

Remarkable is the decreasing pace of development in Norway. Only one three-aisled church is built in Norway after c. 1200, and this is of course the cathedral of Trondheim. The other three examples on the distribution map are new chancels at existing basilicas. And after 1300 the building activity stops completely.

The context of the large churches during the period 1200–1350 is not so clearly royal or episcopal as in the previous period. Many are town churches built on the initiative of the citizens. Of the 112 three-aisled churches belonging to this period no less than 64 (57 %) were situated in a town, and 48 (43 %) were country churches.

<sup>49</sup> Drake 1999 p. 22.

In *period III, 1350–1550*, we find 139 churches with three aisles or more (Fig. 12). Of these, 50 (36 %) are in Denmark, none in Norway, 35 (25 %) in Sweden, 31 (22 %) in Finland and 23 (17 %) in Livonia. The majority are now pseudo-basilicas and hall-churches, even when the basilica experienced a renaissance. As in the previous period, the large churches are to be found mainly in towns and at monasteries in Denmark. No new large churches are built in Norway. In Sweden we find large churches in the towns, but also in the countryside, mainly in the “Bergslagen” mining district. Among these we find the largest church in the Swedish countryside, namely Stora Tuna in Dalarna. On Gotland we only see building activity in Visby, and it stops shortly after 1400. In southern Finland, however, we observe an outburst of building activity, in the towns and no less so in the countryside, with large parish churches formed as three-aisled halls. Also in Livonia we find large churches, mainly in the towns and in eastern and southern Estonia. To summarize, of the 139 three-, or even four- and five-aisled churches belonging to the period no less than 78 (56 %) were situated in a town, and 61 (44 %) were in the countryside.

During the Middle Ages, from 1050 to 1550, we observe a number of tendencies. In general the number of large churches increases, but their distribution changes. The centre of gravity changes geographically: Denmark in the 11th century; Denmark, Norway and Sweden in the 12th century; Denmark, Sweden, especially Gotland, and Livonia 1200–1350; and Denmark, Sweden with Finland and Livonia after c. 1350, or in reality after c. 1400. Thus, we observe how Livonia is integrated into a Christian sphere, and even becomes a strong political and economic region with many central churches according to the architecture. In broad terms we observe tendencies that fit well with the political and economic development.

We clearly see a correlation between the development whereby Norway lost its independence, and the cessation of work on large, imposing church buildings in the country. The chronology and regional development of the large churches also fits with Scandinavian urbanisation.<sup>50</sup> This is not so strange, however, as the urbanisation process is measured using the same churches. The new thing is that by looking at the large churches in general we study not only towns, but also the countryside. And maybe we can find a concordance between the results of the “Scandinavian Research Project

on Deserted Farms and Villages” and church development. In Norway, where desertion was most extensive, no basilicas or hall-churches were built after c. 1300. Conversely, in southern Finland, where expansion and colonization are documented, we also find the most vigorous church-building activity in the 15th and early 16th century.<sup>51</sup>

The context of the large churches goes from purely royal and episcopal to a broader social spectrum including the aristocracy, the citizens and even ordinary parishioners in the countryside. And during the Middle Ages a growing proportion of the large churches are neither cathedrals, nor monastic churches: from 15 (29 %) in period I, 74 (66 %) in period II to 105 (76%) in period III. This is a quantitative measure of the process, where architectural forms of the elite gradually became common, and at the same time an expression of the changing relationship between the Church and the laity regarding economic and political power.

### Mysterious churches

Among the many large churches a minor group are conceived of as mysterious, because they deviate from the expected norm. Large churches are situated where we do not expect anything but normal parish churches. The strange churches are especially the basilicas from the early Middle Ages, which are neither urban, nor monastic.

In our *period I, 1050–1200*, churches which were neither urban, nor monastic are quite few and all are basilicas: Skarpsalling and Tamdrup in Jutland, Gamle Aker, Gran, Hoff, Ringsaker and Tjølling in Eastern Norway, and Hulterstad on Öland. And more basilicas might be regarded as mysterious, because they are in fact earlier than the establishment of a town, or already existed when a monastery was founded. However, in these cases we often find that the origin was a royal manor, for example Dalby in Scania, Gudhem in Västergötland and Vreta in Östergötland.

Hulterstad on Öland was once a Romanesque basilica dated to c. 1170 by dendrochronology. The basilica was rebuilt to a hall-church c. 1240. The basilica has been interpreted as an architectural sign of the Danish influence on Öland because of its resemblance to Zealandic twin-tower

<sup>50</sup> cf. Andrén 1989.

<sup>51</sup> cf. Sandnes 1981 pp. 101 ff.

churches. At least the place Hulterstad must have been important, since it has given its name to the district. A tradition from the 18th century tells of a pilgrimage church receiving gifts not only from Öland, but also from Småland and even more distant regions. A number of runic stones and fragments of two so-called "Eskilstuna-monuments" together with the plan of the village have been used to suggest a manor and a harbour in Hulterstad as in other places, but the traces are still uncertain.<sup>52</sup>

In *period II, 1200–1350*, large churches that are neither urban, nor monastic are now more numerous. The large churches in the Danish countryside are Landkirche on Fehmarn, Altenkirchen and Schaprode on Rügen, Ledøje (central plan) and Spjellerup on Zealand. In the Swedish countryside we have Edsleskog in Dalsland, Dalhem, Grötlingbo, Källunge, Lau, Levide, Roma, Vamlingbo, Väte and Öja on Gotland, Sköllersta in Närke, Västra Vingåker in Södermanland, Hulterstad and Köping on Öland. Finally, in Livonia the churches that were neither urban nor monastic are in fact in the majority among the large churches, with Ambla, Helme, Koeru, Maarja Magdaleena, Nõo, Paistu, Palumuse, Peetri, Pilistvere, Suure-Jaani, Tarvastu, Türi, Urvaste and Viru-Nigula.

The name "Köping" means a place with trade. The church of Köping lies relatively near the Kalmar Sound and was once a Romanesque hall-church. The transformation to a hall occurred around 1240. The church was situated near a Viking Age and early medieval settlement along the coast, rich in silver hoards and runic stones, but the place is never mentioned as a town in the written record. Some have tried to interpret "Köping" as identical with "Kaupinga" in the so-called "Florence document", a list mentioning episcopal residences in the 1120s, thus indirectly turning the church into a cathedral, but this has been rejected as a misreading of "Liunga Kaupinga" meaning Linköping. We rather have a central place that never developed into, or was never accepted as a town.<sup>53</sup>

In *period III, 1350–1550*, there were many large churches that were neither urban, nor monastic. The large churches in the Danish countryside are Landkirchen and Petersdorf on Fehmarn, Tamdrup and St Anna in Årup in Jutland, Holmstrup and Kirke Helsingø on Zealand, Bunkeflo in Scania, and Gingst, Trent and Wiek on Rügen. In Sweden the large churches are Falun, Leksand, Mora, Orsa and Stora Tuna in Dalarna, Viby in Närke, Högsby

and Mönsterås in Småland, Aspö in Södermanland and Munktorp in Västmanland. In Finland large churches that were neither urban nor monastic are no less than 28, and in Livonia their number was 10, so I will not recite all of their names here.

A special group, not listed in the catalogue, are the places where a large church was planned but never built: such is "Sverkersgården" at Alvastra, where the crypt from the 12th century might testify to the beginnings of a large basilica at the royal manor.<sup>54</sup> At Hov, also in Östergötland, a basilica might have been planned c. 1150–1200, but was never completed.<sup>55</sup> In Sønder Starup and Hvidding, both in Jutland, basilicas were planned, but the aisles were never erected.<sup>56</sup> Bur, also in Jutland, where the church consisted of a large apse and chancel, might have been the beginning of a basilica never to be built, maybe a monastery church.<sup>57</sup> At Hamra on Gotland a basilica was begun c. 1250, but never completed.<sup>58</sup> And finally, at Västergarn (Fig. 13), also on Gotland, the present strange church from around 1300 was supposed to become the chancel in a large church that was never built.<sup>59</sup>

Especially the early large churches which were neither urban, nor monastic have generated a lot of debate and have been met with a battery of conventional explanations: 1) an early organisation of minster or dean churches;<sup>60</sup> 2) pilgrimage;<sup>61</sup> 3) proto-urban centres, market-places or "turn-over places";<sup>62</sup> 4) manorial or royal churches.<sup>63</sup>

Gradually, however, the younger the large churches become, the less mysterious they get. The

<sup>52</sup> Boström 1967; Blomkvist 1979 pp. 81 ff.; 1999 pp. 301 ff.; DMS 4: 3 (1996) pp. 241 ff.

<sup>53</sup> SvK 170 (1977) pp. 25 ff.; Blomkvist 1979 pp. 72 f.; Johnson & Schulze 1990; DMS 4: 3 (1996) pp. 126 ff.

<sup>54</sup> Lovén 1990b p. 16; cf. Holmström & Tollin 1994 pp. 32 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Lovén 1990a; 1990b p. 16.

<sup>56</sup> DK XX (1954) pp. 397 ff. on Sønder Starup and DK XXI (1957) pp. 1133 ff. and Madsen 1994 on Hvidding.

<sup>57</sup> Trap IX 1 (1965) p. 292.

<sup>58</sup> Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 p. 160.

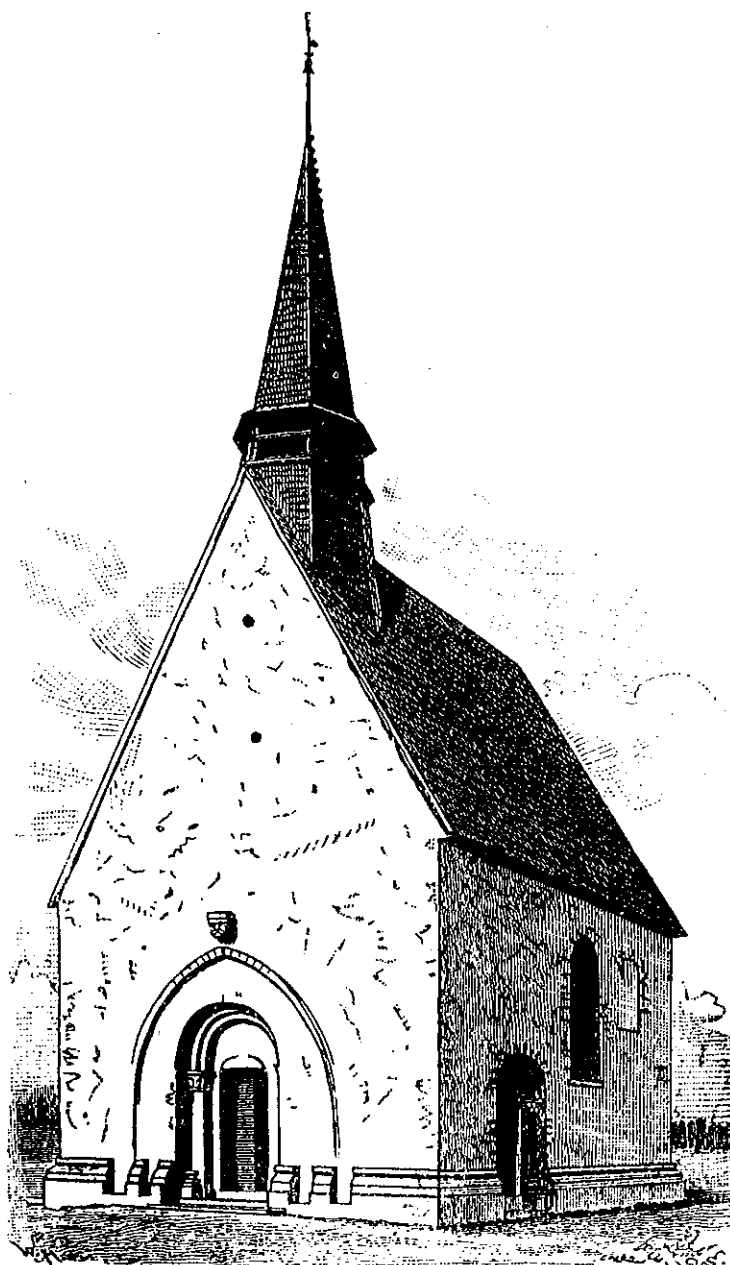
<sup>59</sup> SvK 54 (1942) pp. 160 ff.; Falck 1983; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 260 f.

<sup>60</sup> e.g. Christie 1969 and Sandvik 1969 on the basilicas of Eastern Norway.

<sup>61</sup> e.g. Boström 1967 p. 164 on Hulterstad; Christiansen 1968 pp. 195 f. on Tamdrup; SvK 165 (1975) pp. 597 f. on Lau; Hultqvist 1996 on Edsleskog.

<sup>62</sup> Blomkvist 1979 and 1999 on Hulterstad and Köping; Madsen 1987 on Sønder Starup.

<sup>63</sup> Lovén 1990a on Hov; Schiørring 1991 on Tamdrup; Madsen 1994 on Hvidding; Blomkvist 1999 on Hulterstad; Brendalsmo 1999 on Tjølling.



*Fig. 13. The church at Västergarn from c. 1300, which was intended as a chancel in a very large church. Drawing in Roosval 1911.*

existence of large Gothic churches is simply explained in economic terms: thus the large churches on Gotland were an expression of the more or less tax-free wealth of the transit trade, in which both citizens of Visby and trading farmers of the countryside participated.<sup>64</sup> Also the large Finnish churches, even when an ecclesiastical plan is supposed to exist, are explained as a result of an economic surplus from trade.<sup>65</sup>

Large churches that were neither urban nor monastic increase in number during the Middle

Ages, but the degree of mystery decreases. In periods and regions enlightened by chronicles and letters we find reasonable explanations for the churches. Thus, none of the early basilicas on Zealand are conceived of as mysterious, because we know, from Saxo and the Roskilde Chronicle, who had them built. But the basilicas on Öland, far from the heartlands of Denmark and Sweden, re-

<sup>64</sup> Lindquist 1984: 1988.

<sup>65</sup> Drake 1987.

main difficult to understand. And in the later Middle Ages we simply expect that an economic surplus from agriculture or trade would be transformed into church building, even when this is not self-evident. Thus the mystery simply correlates with the age of the churches and the absence of written sources.

### **Churches and centrality**

In broad terms the basilicas and hall-churches might be used as an important source material in reconstructing periods and regions of economic surplus and political power, but when scrutinized the picture dissolves. The 215 places in medieval Scandinavia and Livonia where we find large churches seem to represent very different degrees and types of centrality.

The churches are all central, but the centrality varies in space from a parish to a diocese or an even larger area from which pilgrims travel. Some of the basilicas, such as the cathedral of Lund in Scania, remain central during the Middle Ages, even when the erection of the cathedral only occurs in a single period. Other basilicas, such as Tjølling in Eastern Norway, might represent the last forced manifestations of a centrality going back to the Iron Age, a centrality that expired in the early Middle Ages before it could be mentioned in the written record.

The landscape of large churches thus represents a mix of places that were central for some period, for a generation, or for centuries. Except for the episcopal cathedrals, important monasteries and major towns, most large churches from the Middle Ages seem to represent a centrality only existing for a short period. In other words, the nodes on the central level were untied and tied again in new places all the time.

The definition of centrality by Walter Christaller states that centrality always means central in relation to something uncentral. Centrality thus depends on the context. When we are to judge the centrality of a church, we have to investigate a limited period and region.

The dissimilarities are exposed when looking at the architectural hierarchy at the regional level. If we look at the Romanesque basilicas of, for example, Tamdrup, Tjølling and Hulterstad in the context of the Romanesque churches of Jutland, Vestfold and Öland, we ascertain that the basilicas

represent 2–10% of all the churches.<sup>66</sup> If we then go to Gotland, three- and even four-aisled churches represent 17 %.<sup>67</sup> And if we finally travel to Finland and Estonia, we find that large churches represent no less than 38 % of the stone churches.<sup>68</sup>

A Romanesque basilica in Jutland and a Gothic hall-church in Finland do not represent the same kind of centrality, even when they are of the same size. In Jutland, as in Vestfold and on Öland, we have a few basilical churches depending on the resources of a large hinterland, in the form of taxes and landed property belonging to a king, a bishop or a magnate. I suppose that even the large churches of Livonia depended on this kind of landed property, even when each parish here might consist of a number of villages with their own chapels and cemeteries. On Gotland the large churches drew resources not only from the rather small parishes, but also from transit trade with branches all over the Baltic Sea. In Finland, however, I suppose that the many large churches represented the wealth of the nobility and the tithe paying peasants of rather large parishes.

The Romanesque basilicas represented central places in the economic and political landscape of their age. But the many Gothic hall-churches along the southern coast of Finland and in south-eastern Livonia were normally not central places outside their own parishes. The background for these large churches is to be found in a church organisation with rather few, but large parishes. The size and architecture might simply have depended on the size of the population.

Finally, to further complicate the picture, we have a number of conventional critical objections. Churches with an ordinary undivided nave as Avaldsnes in Western Norway, Drotten in Lund in Scania and Nedre Luleå in northern Sweden were very large. And conversely, some of the basilicas were quite small, for example Hof in Norway and Skarpsalling in Jutland. There do not have to be qualitative differences between churches with one, two or three aisles, for example in Finland. And the occurrence of a church in several periods might

<sup>66</sup> percentage based on Wienberg 1993 p. 77 Fig 38; Brendalsmo 1990 p. 52 Fig.5; Boström in DMS 4: 3 (1996).

<sup>67</sup> cf. SvK and Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991.

<sup>68</sup> cf. Hiekkanen 1994a pp. 301 ff. and my own counting using many different sources and the map in Arman et al. 1965 p. 91 Plate X.

be because of repeated dynamic rebuilding campaigns – or the opposite, a very slow building programme stretching over several hundred years.

### Churches as “comparison machines”

When churches are used as “comparison-machines”, their complexity of age, place, form, size, function and meaning is reduced to a few variables. Churches with almost the same three-aisled plan are piled up according to periods and ejected as dots on maps. By reducing some qualities and dimensions, we discover other qualities and tendencies, which were hidden to medieval people bound to the ground. We see the main trends in the building of large, imposing churches across the borders of kingdoms. We might even compare the development west and east of the Baltic Sea, so that what has long been separated now meets again.

In this investigation we should not be blind to the fact that the character or degree of centrality of the large churches might differ considerably. However, by bringing churches together in a catalogue according to architectural similarities, we indirectly permit an investigation of all the differences. Behind the likeness in size and form, we discover the dissimilarities in local function and context.

I have used the churches as “comparison-machines” to look for similarities and tendencies in Scandinavia and Livonia. I have, as several times before, used the method of reducing the spiritual and material cosmos of the church to plans, dots and statistics, and after having constructed an overall synthesis on the central level, I also have indicated a way to deconstruct the picture, back to regional, chronological and even individual differences.

### Acknowledgements

Thanks to Anders Andrén (Lund), Jan Brendalsmo (Oslo), Markus Hiekkänen (Helsinki), Bodil Petersson (Lund) and Jörn Staecker (Lund) for comments on an earlier draft. Thanks also to Ragnhild Boström (Stockholm/Köpingsvik), Sven-Olof Lindquist (Visby), Christian Lovén (Göteborg), Ebbe Nyborg (København) and Eric Swanström (Visby) for kind permission to reprint their illustrations. Thanks also to Håkan Thorén for redrawing my distribution maps.

### Catalogue:

### Basilicas and Hall-Churches in Medieval Scandinavia and Livonia

### Introduction

#### *Denmark*

All churches in present-day Denmark are briefly but accurately described in Jens Peter Traps “Danmark”, and the descriptions are reprinted in “De danske kirker”.<sup>69</sup> The national inventory “Danmarks Kirker” now covers almost half the country.<sup>70</sup> The churches in present-day Germany are all published in different inventories.<sup>71</sup> Regarding the “lost provinces” in Sweden, the situation is worse. All of the churches of Blekinge are published in the inventory “Sveriges kyrkor”,<sup>72</sup> but only a few of the churches of Scania and Halland.<sup>73</sup> Information on the churches of Scania and Halland had to be collected from handbooks, articles and surveys very diverse in age and quality.<sup>74</sup> All Danish town churches, among which are many large churches, are briefly presented in Anders Andrén’s dissertation “Den urbana scenen”.<sup>75</sup> All monastery churches, also with many large churches, are presented in “De danske Klostres Bygningshistorie” by Vilhelm Lorenzen.<sup>76</sup> And all Scanian monastery churches are presented in “Skånska kloster”.<sup>77</sup> Finally, during an investigation of the parish churches of medieval Denmark, I have read or looked through relevant minor articles and material in archives.<sup>78</sup>

#### *Norway*

The basilicas, along with many other wooden and stone churches, are mentioned in the classic overview “Norges kirker i middelalderen” by Harry Fett.<sup>79</sup> The basilicas are also presented in art historical textbooks. Moreover the basilicas of Eastern Norway have been investigated in an unpublished master’s dissertation.<sup>80</sup> A few of the churches of Bohuslän and Härjedalen,

<sup>69</sup> Trap 1953–72; Horskjær 1966–73.

<sup>70</sup> DK Iff., 1933 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Haupt 1887–1924; KDM 1–11, 1939–85; Ohle & Baier 1963; Beseler 1969.

<sup>72</sup> SvK 1926–65.

<sup>73</sup> SvK 1932 ff.

<sup>74</sup> e.g. Brunius 1850; Jacobsson 1932; Salvén 1940; Anshelm 1947; Ohlsson 1955.

<sup>75</sup> Andrén 1985 p. 191 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Lorenzen 1912–41.

<sup>77</sup> Cinthio 1989.

<sup>78</sup> cf. Wienberg 1993 p. 218.

<sup>79</sup> Fett 1909.

<sup>80</sup> Vibe Müller 1971.

now belonging to Sweden, are published in "Sveriges Kyrkor".<sup>81</sup> And the churches of Jämtland, also belonging to Sweden, are published in a separate book.<sup>82</sup> Finally, all medieval stone churches have recently been presented briefly in an overview "Med kleber og kalk. Norsk steinbygging i mellomalderen 1050–1550" by Øystein Ekroll.<sup>83</sup>

#### *Sweden*

The picture of the medieval churches of Sweden still has to be collected from many sources of uneven quality. All churches in Sweden are presented very briefly in "Våra kyrkor".<sup>84</sup> The inventory "Sveriges Kyrkor" covers c. 600 churches: All of Medelpad (1929–39) and Gästrikland (1932–36), most of Gotland (1914 ff.), Uppland (1918–88), Stockholm (1924–80) and Öland (1966–97), parts of Dalarna (1916–89), Dalsland (1931), Närke (1939–76), Småland (1940–89), Södermanland (1964–92), Värmland (1924), Västergötland (1913–85) and Östergötland (1921–91), and finally single churches in Lappland (1973) and Norrbotten (1998). The inventory also presents wooden medieval churches.<sup>85</sup> Then there are different regional surveys covering other or overlapping parts of Sweden: Gotland, Hälsingland, Norrland, Närke, Småland, Södermanland, Uppland, Västergötland, Öland, Östergötland and Ångermanland.<sup>86</sup> Finally, all medieval town churches are presented in the reports from "Projekt Medeltidsstaden".<sup>87</sup>

#### *Finland*

All medieval stone churches of Finland are analysed in the dissertation "The Stone Churches of the Medieval Diocese of Turku" by Markus Hiekkänen.<sup>88</sup> The late datings of the churches, which are controversial, but in my opinion convincing, have also been presented in an article.<sup>89</sup>

#### *Livonia: Estonia and Latvia*

Estonian architecture, including all the churches, is briefly presented in the series "Eesti Arhitektuur", which in three volumes so far covers the whole country except the districts around Tartu and Võru.<sup>90</sup> Monuments of Livonia were published with plans and photographs in "Alt-Livland. Mittelalterliche Baudenkmäler Liv-, Est-, Kurlands und Oesels".<sup>91</sup> An important synthesis is the dissertation by Voldemar Vaga "Das Problem der Raumform in der mittelalterlichen Baukunst Lettlands und Estlands".<sup>92</sup> The monuments of Tallinn were presented in "Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval"<sup>93</sup> and more recently in "Architectural and Art Monuments in Tallinn".<sup>94</sup> Of

relevance are also an architectural history "Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu",<sup>95</sup> and a monograph on the major churches, "Die Hallenkirchen Estlands und Gotland" by Helge Kjellin.<sup>96</sup> Finally come several articles written by Karl Heinz Clasen, Sten Karling, Armin Tuulse, Voldemar Vaga, Markus Hiekkänen, Kaur Altoa and Villem Raam.<sup>97</sup>

#### *Periods and regions*

The large churches are presented in three periods: I 1050–1200, II 1200–1350 and III 1350–1550. They are listed by country, corresponding approximately to the medieval borders, and according to modern administrative county units – the old "amt" in Denmark, "kreis" in the German part of medieval Denmark, "fylke" in Norway and "landskap" in Sweden and Finland.

#### **Period I: 1050–1200 (51)**

##### *Denmark (23)*

###### *Frederiksborg*

Esrum – probably basilica c. 1150–1200, Benedictines, later Cistercians: DK II 2 (1967) pp. 1041 ff.

Slangerup St Mary and St Nicholas – basilica c. 1100, Cistercians, town: DK II 3 (1970) pp. 2119 ff.

<sup>81</sup> SvK 1944–94, 1961–66.

<sup>82</sup> Almqvist 1984.

<sup>83</sup> Ekroll 1997.

<sup>84</sup> 1990.

<sup>85</sup> SvK 192, 1983; 199, 1985.

<sup>86</sup> Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 on Gotland; Bonnier 1995 on Hälsingland; Cornell 1918 on Norrland and Elmén-Berg et al. 1992 on Övre Norrland; Andersson 1989a and Sjöström 1997 on Närke; Wrangel 1907; Blomqvist 1929; Lindstam 1932; 1935; 1943; Svahnström 1947; Andersson 1983 and Liepe 1984 on Småland; Schnell 1965 on Södermanland; Bonnier 1987 on Uppland; Högberg 1965; Claesson 1989 and Dahlberg 1998 on Västergötland; Boström 1982 on Öland; the series "Linköpings stifts kyrkor" and Bonnier 1996 on Östergötland; Grundberg 1992 on Ångermanland.

<sup>87</sup> Summarized in Andersson 1990.

<sup>88</sup> Hiekkänen 1994a.

<sup>89</sup> Hiekkänen 1994b pp. 453 ff.

<sup>90</sup> Raam 1993–97.

<sup>91</sup> Guleke 1896.

<sup>92</sup> Vaga 1960.

<sup>93</sup> Nottbeck & Neumann 1904.

<sup>94</sup> Mäeväli 1993.

<sup>95</sup> Arman et al. 1965.

<sup>96</sup> Kjellin 1928.

<sup>97</sup> Clasen 1939; Karling 1939; 1948; Tuulse 1948; Vaga 1970; Hiekkänen 1991; Altoa 1993; Raam 1993.

*København*

Roskilde Our Lady – basilica c. 1080, Benedictines, later Cistercians, town: DK III 1 (1944) pp. 58 ff.

Roskilde Trinity – basilica c. 1080, cathedral, town: DK III 3 (1951) pp. 1267 ff.

*Odense*

Odense St Canut – basilica c. 1086–1120, Benedictines, cathedral, town: DK IX 1–4 (1990–95) pp. 75 ff.

*Ribe*

Ribe Our Lady – basilica c. 1150–1225, cathedral, town: DK XIX 1–5 (1979–81) pp. 61 ff.

*Sorø*

Ringsted St Benedictus – basilica c. 1160–1200, Benedictines, town: DK V 1 (1936) pp. 109 ff.

Slagelse St Michael – basilica c. 1080, town: Olsen 1972.

Sorø – basilica c. 1160–1200, Cistercians: DK V 1 (1936) pp. 17 ff.

*Thisted*

Vestervig – basilica 12th cent., Augustinians: DK XII 2 (1942) pp. 609 ff.

*Viborg*

Asmild St Margaret – basilica c. 1090, Augustinians, near town: Trap VII 1 (1962) pp. 302 ff.; Kristensen 1987 pp. 62 ff.; Vellev 1990.

Viborg St Mary – basilica c. 1130–1250, Augustinians, cathedral, town: Trap VII 1 (1962) pp. 94 ff.; Vellev in Kristensen 1987 pp. 44 ff.

Viborg St Mary – probably basilica 12th cent., Franciscans, town: Lorenzen 1935; Kristensen 1987 pp. 58 f.

*Ålborg*

Skarpsalling – basilica c. 1150: Trap VI 3 (1961) pp. 1240 ff.

*Århus including Skanderborg*

Tamdrup – basilica c. 1110, pilgrimage or manor?: Trap VIII 2 (1964) pp. 723 ff.; Schiørring 1991.

*Skåne*

Dalby – basilica c. 1060, royal manor, cathedral, Augustinians: Anjou 1930; Cinthio 1983; Cinthio 1989 pp. 22 ff.

Herrevad – basilica c. 1150–1200, Cistercians: Arvidsson in Cinthio 1989 pp. 58 ff.

Lund All Saints – basilica c. 1070s (?), Benedictines, town: Cinthio 1989 pp. 31 ff.

Lund St Lawrence – basilica c. 1085–1145, cathedral, town: Rydén & Lovén 1995.

Tommarp St Peter – three-aisled, Premonstratensians, town: Andrén 1985 p. 228 f.; Wallin in Cinthio 1989 pp. 64 ff.

*Schleswig*

Schleswig St Michael – round church with aisles 12th cent., Benedictines, town: KDM 11 (1985) pp. 71 ff.; Vellev 1997.

Schleswig St Peter – basilica c. 1120–60, cathedral, town: KDM 10 (1966) pp. 27 ff.; Beseler 1969 pp. 693 ff.

*Rügen*

Bergen – basilica c. 1180–1210, completed c. 1300–50, palace church, Benedictines, later Cistercians, town: Ohle & Baier 1963 pp. 98 ff.

*Norway (15)*

*Hedmark*

Hamar – basilica c. 1150–1200(?), cathedral, “kaupang”: Ekroll 1997 pp. 178 f.

Ringsaker – basilica c. 1150–1200, district church: Lange 1994; Ekroll 1997 pp. 91 f.

*Hordaland*

Bergen St Mary – basilica c. 1140–80, town: Lidén & Magerøy 1980, 1 pp. 9 ff.; 1990, 3 pp. 98 f.; Ekroll 1997 p. 162.

Bergen St Nicholas – probably basilica c. 1130–60, town: Lidén & Magerøy 1980, 1 pp. 158 ff.; 1990, 3 p. 99; Ekroll 1997 pp. 163 f.

Bergen Trinity/ Great Christ church – probably basilica c. 1070–1170, cathedral, town: Lidén & Magerøy 1980, 1 pp. 145 ff.; 1990, 3 p. 97; Ekroll 1997 pp. 160 f.

*Oppland*

Gran St Nicholas – basilica c. 1150–1200: Ekroll 1997 p. 185.

Hoff – basilica 12th cent.: Ekroll 1997 pp. 188 f.

*Oslo*

Gamle Aker – basilica 12th cent., districts church: Ekroll 1997 p. 197.

Oslo St Hallvard – basilica c. 1110–50, cathedral, town: Fischer 1950 pp. 94 ff.; Ekroll 1997 pp. 170 f.



*Rogaland*

Stavanger – basilica c. 1100–50, cathedral, town: Fischer 1964; Ekroll 1997 pp. 175 ff.

*Sogn og Fjordane*

Selje St Alban – three-aisled c. 1070, cathedral, Benedictines: Hommedal 1993; Ekroll 1997 pp. 268 ff.

*Sør-Trøndelag*

Elgeseter – probably basilica after c. 1180, Augustinians: Lunde 1977 pp. 144 ff.; Ekroll 1997 p. 160.

*Vestfold*

Tjølling – basilica 12th cent.: Elster & Storsletten 1989; Ekroll 1997 p. 216.

Tønsberg St Lawrence – basilica c. 1150–1200, royal manor, town: Lange 1968; Wienberg 1991a pp. 22 ff.; Ekroll 1997 p. 168.

Tønsberg St Olaus – round church with aisles c. 1170–1200(?), Premonstratensians, town: Lunde 1971; Wienberg 1991a pp. 38 ff.; Ekroll 1997 pp. 169 f.

*Sweden (13)*

*Gotland*

Roma – basilica 1164–c. 1250, Cistercians: Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 212 ff.; Runeby 1993.

Visby St Mary – basilica c. 1175–1225, town: SvK 175 (1978) pp. 42 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 46 ff.

*Småland*

Nydala – basilica c. 1143–1266, Cistercians: Swartling 1967 p. 59.

*Uppland*

Gamla Uppsala – basilica c. 1150, cathedral: Bonnier 1991.

Sigtuna St Nicholas – basilica c. 1150–1200, town: Floderus 1941 pp. 118 ff.

Sigtuna St Olaus – basilica c. 1100–50, pilgrimage (?), town: Floderus 1941 pp. 115 ff.

*Västergötland*

Gudhem – basilica c. 1100–50 (?), royal manor, Benedictines, later Cistercians: Roth 1973.

Skara St Maria – probably basilica c. 1100–50, cathedral, town: Sigsjö 1986.

Varnhem – basilica c. 1160–1234, Cistercians: SvK 190 (1982) pp. 19 ff.

*Öland*

Hulterstad – basilica c. 1170: Boström 1967; DMS 4: 3 (1996) pp. 241 ff.

*Östergötland*

Alvastra – basilica c. 1143–85, Cistercians: Swartling 1981.

Linköping St Peter – basilica c. 1100–50, cathedral, town: SvK 200–201 (1986–87) pp. 306 ff.

Vreta – basilica c. 1120, royal manor, Benedictines, later Cistercians: SvK 43 (1935) pp. 19 ff.

*Finland, Estonia and Latvia (0)*

No large churches are known before 1200.

**Period II: 1200–1350 (112)**

*Denmark (34)*

*Frederiksborg*

Æbelholt – basilica c. 1200–1325, Augustinians: DK II 3 (1970) pp. 1415 ff.

*Haderslev*

Haderslev Our Lady – hall-church c. 1260, collegial chapter, town: DK XX 1 (1954) pp. 49 ff.

*Hjørring*

Børglum Our Lady – basilica 13th cent., cathedral, premonstratensians: Trap VI 1 (1960) pp. 324 f.

Vrejlev – basilica 13th cent. (?), premonstratensians: Trap VI 1 (1960) pp. 309 ff.

*Holbæk*

Kalundborg Our Lady – central plan c. 1225, town: DK IV 29–31 (1996) pp. 3017 ff.

*København*

Ledøje – central plan c. 1225: DK III 1 (1944) pp. 567 ff.

Roskilde Trinity – basilica c. 1170–1280, cathedral, town: DK III 3 (1951) pp. 1267 ff.

*København (town)*

København St Nicholas – probably basilica c. 1200–50, town: DK I 1 (1945–58) pp. 459 ff.

København Our Lady – basilica c. 1316, collegiate chapter, town: DK I 1 (1945–58) pp. 3 ff.

*Maribo*

Stubbekøbing St Ann – basilica c. 1200, town: DK VIII 1 (1948) pp. 256 ff.

*Odense*

Odense St Canute – basilica c. 1280–1350, cathedral, Benedictines, town: DK IX 1–4 (1990–95) pp. 75 ff.

*Præstø*

Spjellerup – enlarged to basilica 13th cent. (?): DK VI 1 (1933–35) pp. 493 ff.

Store Heddinge – central plan c. 1200, town: DK VI 1 (1933–35) pp. 53 ff.

*Sorø*

Slagelse St Michael – pseudo-basilica 14th cent., town: DK V 1 (1936) pp. 187 ff.

*Svendborg*

Holme/Brahmetrolleborg Our Lady – basilica c. 1250–1300, cistercians: Trap V 2 (1957) pp. 746 f.; Hædersdal 1990.

Svendborg St Nicholas – basilica c. 1240–50, town: Trap V 2 (1957) pp. 554 ff.

*Sønderborg*

Sønderborg St George – probably hall-church ca 1250–1325, St George hospital, town: DK XXIII (1961) pp. 2057 ff.

*Tønder*

Løgum – basilica c. 1225–1325, Cistercians: DK XXI (1957) pp. 1050 ff.

*Vejle*

Kolding St Nicholas – hall-church c. 1350, town: Trap VIII 3 (1964) pp. 892 ff.; Horskjær 1969, 16 pp. 23 ff.

*Ålborg*

Vitskøl – basilica c. 1200–1300 (?), Cistercians: Trap VI 3 (1961) pp. 1187 ff.

*Århus including Skanderborg*

Horsens St James/Our Saviour – pseudo-basilica c. 1225, royal chapel, town: Trap VIII 2 (1964) pp. 407 ff.

Øm – basilica c. 1200–60, Cistercians: DK XVI 40 (1992) pp. 3777 ff.

Århus St Clement – basilica c. 1200–1300, cathedral, town: DK XVI 1–2 (1968–82) pp. 61 ff.

*Skåne*

Helsingborg St Nicholas – three-aisled after 1275, Dominicans, town: Wihlborg 1981 pp. 14 f.

Lund All Saints – rebuilt basilica after 1192, Benedictines, town: Cinthio 1989 pp. 31 ff.

Malmö St Peter – basilica c. 1300–50, town: Wählin 1919; Bager 1971 pp. 261 ff.

Ystad St Mary – basilica c. 1200–50, town: Wählin 1917; Tesch 1983 p. 46.

*Fehmarn*

Burg St Nicholas – hall-church c. 1250, town: Beseler 1969 pp. 492 ff.

Landkirche – hall-church c. 1250: Beseler 1969 pp. 515 ff.

*Flensburg*

Flensburg St Mary – hall-church c. 1284–early 14th cent., town: KDM 7 (1955) pp. 72 ff.; Beseler 1969 pp. 1 ff.

*Schleswig*

Schleswig St Nicholas – three-aisled 13th cent., town: KDM 11 (1985) pp. 117 ff.

Schleswig St Peter – hall-chancel c. 1275–1300, cathedral, town: KDM 10 (1966) pp. 27 ff.; Beseler 1969 pp. 693 ff.

*Rügen*

Altenkirchen – basilica c. 1200: Ohle & Baier 1963 pp. 60 ff.

Schaprode – basilica c. 1200–50: Ohle & Baier 1963 pp. 519 ff.

*Norway (4)*

*Hedmark*

Hamar – basilican chancel c. 1300, cathedral, “kaupang”: Ekroll 1997 pp. 178 f.

*Oslo*

Oslo St Hallvard – basilican chancel c. 1250, cathedral, town: Fischer 1950 pp. 94 ff.; Ekroll 1997 pp. 170 f.

*Sør-Trøndelag*

Trondheim – basilican chancel c. 1220–40, basilican nave 1248–c. 1300, cathedral, town: Fischer 1965; Ekroll 1997 pp. 149 ff.

*Vestfold*

Tønsberg St Lawrence – basilican chancel 13th cent., royal manor, town: Lange 1968; Wienberg 1991a pp. 22 ff.; Ekroll 1997 p. 168.

*Sweden (42)*

*Dalsland*

Edsleskog – basilica 13th cent. (?), pilgrimage: Hultqvist 1996 pp. 41 ff.

*Gotland*

Dalhem – three-aisled c. 1200–50: SvK 66 (1952) pp. 152 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 111 ff.

Grötlingbo – hall-church c. 1350: Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 147 ff.

Källunge – hall-chancel c. 1300–50: SvK 42 (1935) pp. 207 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 181 ff.

Lau – three-aisled c. 1200–50, hall-chancel c. 1300: SvK 165 (1975) pp. 547 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 184 ff.

Levide – hall-church c. 1200–25: SvK 220 (1996) pp. 9 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 186 f.

Roma – three-aisled c. 1250: SvK 35 (1931) pp. 553 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 214 ff.

Vamlingbo – hall-church c. 1250: Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 250 ff.

Visby St Clement – hall-church c. 1250, town: SvK 169 (1977) pp. 123 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 52 ff.

Visby Drotten – hall-church c. 1250, town: Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 54 f.

Visby St John – hall-church c. 1225–50, enlarged to four-aisled hall c. 1300, town: Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 57 ff.; Swanström 1986.

Visby Holy Spirit – central plan c. 1200–50, town: SvK 184 (1981) pp. 9 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 61 ff.

Visby St Catherine – enlarged to hall-church early 14th cent., Franciscans, town: Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 64 ff.

Visby St Lawrence – central plan c. 1250, town: Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 67 ff.

Visby St Mary – basilican chancel c. 1230–50, enlarged to hall-nave c. 1250–60, town: SvK 175 (1978) pp. 42 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 46 ff.

Visby St Nicholas – hall-church c. 1240–80, Dominicans, town: SvK 169 (1977) pp. 14 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 70 ff.

Visby St Olaus – basilica c. 1200–25, town: Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 75 ff.

Väte – hall-church c. 1350: SvK 54 (1942) pp. 272 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 262 ff.

Öja – hall-church c. 1250–1300: Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 265 ff.

*Närke*

Riseberga – three-aisled after c. 1250, Cistercians: Sjöström 1997 p. 94.

Sköllersta – three-aisled c. 1250–early 14th cent.: Sjöström 1997 p. 123.

Örebro St Nicholas – basilica 1275–1350, town: SvK 46 (1939) pp. 5 ff.; 147 (1972) pp. 802 ff.; Sjöström 1997 p. 135.

*Småland*

Kalmar St Nicholas – basilica c. 1200–1350, town: SvK 158 (1974) pp. 117 ff.

*Stockholm*

Stockholm Storkyrka / St Nicholas – basilica c. 1250–1306, town: SvK 17, 24–25 (1924–28) pp. 226 ff., 600 ff.

*Södermanland*

Vårfruberga – three-aisled c. 1250, Cistercians: Schnell 1965 p. 220.

Strängnäs – hall-church c. 1250–1340, cathedral, town: SvK 100 (1964) pp. 17 ff.; Schnell 1965 pp. 142 f.

Strängnäs St Olaus – three-aisled c. 1300, Dominicans, town: Schnell 1965 p. 221.

Västra Vingåker – probably three-aisled c. 1275–1350: Schnell 1965 pp. 209 ff.

*Uppland*

Sigtuna St Mary – pseudo-basilica c. 1237–80, Dominicans, town: Tesch 1997.

Skokloster – basilica c. 1250–1300, Cistercians: Tuulse 1967.

Uppsala Trinity/Bondkyrkan – basilica 14th cent., town: Sjöholm 1992.

Uppsala St Eric – basilica c. 1273–1435, cathedral, town: Lindahl 1992.

*Västergötland*

Gudhem – basilican chancel 13th cent., Benedictines, later Cistercians: Roth 1973.

Skara St Mary – basilica c. 1260–1350, cathedral, town: Sigsjö 1986.

Varnhem – basilical chancel c. 1234–66, Cistercians: SvK 190 (1982) pp. 19 ff.

*Västmanland*

Västerås St Mary – basilica 13th cent., cathedral, town.

Västerås – rebuilt to three-aisled after 1244(?), Dominicans, town.

*Öland*

Hulterstad – rebuilt to hall-church c. 1240: Boström 1967; DMS 4: 3 (1996) pp. 241 ff.

Köping – rebuilt to hall-church c. 1240, market-place: SvK 170 (1977) pp. 25 ff.

*Östergötland*

Linköping St Peter – hall-church c. 1250–96 and 1308–60, cathedral, town: SvK 200–201 (1986–87) pp. 19 ff., 242 ff.

Skänninge Our Lady – hall-church c. 1300, town: Nisbeth 1970; Hasselmo 1983 p. 39, 48.

Söderköping Drothem – three-aisled early 14th cent., town.

*Finland (1)*

*Egentliga Finland*

Turku/Åbo – probably hall-church c. 1285–1300, cathedral, town: Hiekkanen 1994a pp. 338 f.

*Estonia (23)*

*Järvamaa/Jerwen*

Ambla/Ampel – hall-church 1250–75: Guleke 1896, T II; Kjellin 1928 pp. 17 ff.; Karling 1939; Vaga 1960 p. 93; Raam 1997, 3 pp. 73 f.

Koeru/Koikera/St Marien-Magdalenen – hall-church 1275–1300: Guleke 1896, T II; Kjellin 1928 pp. 20 ff.; Karling 1939; Vaga 1960 p. 93; Raam 1997, 3 p. 81.

Peetri/Emmern/St Petri – hall-church c. 1330: Guleke 1896, T II; Kjellin 1928 pp. 27 ff.; Vaga 1960 p. 95; Raam 1997, 3 pp. 86 f.

Türi/Turgel – hall-church c. 1320: Guleke 1896, T II; Kjellin 1928 pp. 24 ff.; Vaga 1960 p. 30; Raam 1997, 3 p. 91.

*Virumaa/Wierland*

Viru-Nigula/Maholm – hall-church c. 1250–1300: Vaga 1960 p. 96; Raam 1997, 3 p. 163.

*Pärnumaa*

Pärnu/Pernau St Nicholas – basilica c. 1250–1300,

town: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 pp. 22 ff.; Raam 1996, 2 pp. 101 f.

*Viljandimaa*

Paistu/Paistel – hall-church c. 1300: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 p. 57 f.; Raam 1996, 2 pp. 188 f.

Pilistvere/Pilistfer – hall-church c. 1250–1300: Guleke 1896, T III; Karling 1939 pp. 86 ff.; Vaga 1960 pp. 94 f.; Raam 1996, 2 pp. 189 f.

Suure-Jaani/Gross Johannis – hall-church c. 1300: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 pp. 95; Raam 1996, 2 pp. 191 f.

Tarvastu/Tarwast – three aisles early 14th cent.: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 p. 58; Raam 1996, 2 p. 193.

Viljandi/Fellin St Andreas – three aisles c. 1300–50 (?), town: Vaga 1960 p. 56.

*Tallinn/Reval*

Tallinn/Reval St Catherine – hall-church c. 1300, Dominicans, town: Vaga 1960 pp. 85 ff.; Mäeväli 1993 pp. 13 ff.; Raam 1993, 1 pp. 268 ff.

Tallinn/Reval St Mary – hall-church c. 1300–50, cathedral, town: Guleke 1896, T III; Mäeväli 1993 pp. 13 ff.; Raam 1993, 1 pp. 242 ff.

Tallinn/Reval St Nicholas – hall-church c. 1275–1300, town: Guleke 1896, T IV; Vaga 1960 pp. 67 ff.; Lumiste & Kangro 1990; Mäeväli 1993 pp. 71 ff.; Raam 1993, 1 pp. 142 ff.

Tallinn/Reval St Olaus – hall-church before 1330, towns: Guleke 1896, T IV; Vaga 1960 pp. 75 ff.; Mäeväli 1993 pp. 65 ff.; Raam 1993, 1 pp. 107 ff.

*Tartu/Dorpat*

Tartu/Dorpat – three-aisled hall 1250's, cathedral, town: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 pp. 48 ff.

Tartu/Dorpat St John – hall-church c. 1330–50 (?), town: Guleke 1896, T IV; Vaga 1960 pp. 31 ff.

Tartu/Dorpat St Mary – basilica c. 1300–50, town: Vaga 1960 pp. 46 ff.

*Tartumaa*

Helme/Helmet – three aisles c. 1300–50: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 pp. 58 f.

Maarja Magdaleena/Marien Magdalenen – hall-church 13th cent.: Guleke 1896, T V; Vaga 1960 p. 29.

Nõo/Nüggen – hall-church c. 1250–1300: Guleke 1896, T V; Vaga 1960 pp. 26 ff.

Palamuse/St Bartholomäi – hall-church 13th cent.: Guleke 1896, T V; Vaga 1960 p. 29.

*Võrumaa/Werro*

Urvaste/Urbs (also called Antsla/Anzen) – basilica c. 1250–1300: Guleke 1896, T IV; Vaga 1960 pp. 25 f.; Feldmann & Mühlen 1985 p. 21, 622.

*Latvia (8)*

*Riga*

Riga St Mary – began as basilica after 1215, continued as hall-church c. 1250–1300, cathedral, town: Guleke 1896, T II; Vaga 1960 pp. 5 ff.; 1970 pp. 154 ff.

Riga St Peter – basilical nave c. 1250–1300, basilical chancel began c. 1340, town: Guleke 1896, T II; Vaga 160 pp. 10 ff.; 1970.

Riga St Jacob – hall-church c. 1250–1300, town: Guleke 1896, T LII; Vaga 1960 pp. 12 ff.

Riga St Marien/Alexei – three aisles after 1255, Cistercians, town: Guleke 1896, T LII; Vaga 1960 p. 17.

*Cēsis/Wenden*

Cēsis/Wenden St John – basilica after 1283, town: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 pp. 17 ff.; Feldman & Mühlen 1990 pp. 690 f.

*Valmiera/Wolmar*

Burtņieki/Burtneck – basilica c. 1250–1300: Vaga 1960 p. 20.

Rūjiena/Rujen – basilica c. 1260: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 p. 20; Feldman & Mühlen 1990 pp. 527 f.

Valmiera/Wolmar St Simon – hall-church after 1283, town: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 pp. 19 f.; Feldman & Mühlen 1990 p. 713.

**Period III: 1350–1550 (139)**

*Denmark (50)*

*Frederiksborg*

Helsingør St Olaus – basilica c. 1475–1521, town: DK II 1 (1964) pp. 39 ff.

Helsingør Our Lady – hall-church 1431–c. 1485, Carmelites, town: DK II 1 (1964) pp. 290 ff.

*Haderslev*

Haderslev Our Lady – basilican chancel c. 1420–40, enlargement to five aisles c. 1440–1500, collegiate chapter, town: DK XX 1 (1954) pp. 49 ff.

*Holbæk*

Holmstrup – hall-church c. 1490–1525, pilgrimage and market: DK IV 19 (1989) pp. 1789 ff.

Kirke Helsingør – enlarged to hall-church c. 1450: DK IV 13 (1985) pp. 1239 ff.

*København (town)*

København Holy Spirit – basilica c. 1400–50, Holy Spirit, town: DK I 1 (1945–58) pp. 626 ff.

København St Nicholas – basilica c. 1450–1500, town: DK I 1 (1945–58) pp. 459 ff.

*København*

Køge St Nicholas – pseudo-basilica c. 1375–1400, town: DK III 1 (1944) pp. 166 ff.

*Maribo*

Maribo – hall-church c. 1410–70, Bridgetines, town: DK VIII 1 (1948) pp. 29 ff.

Nakskov St Nicholas – basilica begun 15th cent., town: DK VIII 1 (1948) pp. 89 ff.

*Odense*

Assens Our Lady – basilica 15th cent., town: Trap V 1 (1956) pp. 176 ff.

Kerteminde St Lawrence – pseudo-basilica 1476–c. 1500 (?), town: Trap V 1 (1956) pp. 133 ff.

Middelfart St Nicholas – basilica c. 1475, town: Trap V 1 (1956) pp. 158 ff.

Odense St Michael and St John – rebuilt to four-aisled hall-church c. 1450–1500, Hospitallers, town: Trap V (1956) pp. 46 ff.

Odense St Catherine – enlarged to hall-church 15th cent. (?), Franciscans, town: Trap V 1 (1956) pp. 68 ff.

*Præstø*

Næstved St Peter – pseudo-basilica, chancel c. 1350–1400, nave c. 1400–50, town: DK VI 1 (1933–35) pp. 72 ff.

Stege St John – rebuilt with hall-chancel c. 1460–70, hall-nave c. 1470–1500, chancel c. 1500–30, town: DK VI 1 (1933–35) pp. 203 ff.

Vordingborg Our Lady – pseudo-basilica c. 1432–75, town: DK VI 1 (1933–35) pp. 165 ff.

*Randers*

Mariager Virgin Mary – hall-church c. 1460–80, Bridgetines, town: Trap VII 2 (1963) pp. 650 ff.

Randers St Martin – basilica c. 1490–1520, Holy Spirit, town: Trap VII 2 (1963) pp. 572 ff.

### *Ribe*

Ribe St Catherine – hall-church c. 1450–1500, Dominicans, town: DK XIX 9–10 (1984) pp. 685 ff.

Ribe Our Lady – enlarged to five aisles c. 1450–1500, cathedral, town: DK XIX 3–4 (1981) pp. 267 ff.

### *Sorø*

Antvorskov – enlarged to basilica 15th cent., Hospitallers: DK V 2 (1938) pp. 609 ff.

### *Svendborg*

Fåborg – basilica c. 1475–1525, Holy Spirit, town: Trap V 2 (1957) pp. 580 ff.

Nyborg Our Lady – pseudo-basilica c. 1389–1428, town: Trap V 2 (1957) pp. 599 ff.

### *Vejle*

Vejle St Nicholas – enlarged to hall-church c. 1500, town: Trap VIII 3 (1964) pp. 796 ff.

### *Åbenrå*

Årup St Ann, Ensted parish – hall-church c. 1500–25, pilgrimage chapel: DK XXII (1959) pp. 1864 ff.

### *Ålborg*

Ålborg St Botolph – pseudo-basilica c. 1450, town: Trap VI 3 (1961) pp. 812 ff.; Horskjær 1968, 11 pp. 18 ff.

### *Århus including Skanderborg*

Horsens – enlarged to pseudo-basilica c. 1500, Franciscans, town: Trap VIII 2 (1964) pp. 411 ff.

Tamdrup – rebuilt to hall-church 1430s, pilgrimage or manor(?): Trap VIII 2 (1964) pp. 723 ff.; Schiør-ring 1991.

Århus St Clement – hall-chancel 1480s, cathedral, town: DK XVI 1–2 (1968–82) pp. 61 ff.

### *Halland*

Halmstad St Nicholas – pseudo-basilica early 15th cent., town: Augustsson 1980 pp. 85, 97 f.; Ullén 1996 p. 110.

Ny Varberg – three aisles early 15th cent., town: SvK 181 (1980) pp. 18 ff.

### *Skåne*

Bunkeflo – enlarged to basilica c. 1450: Bager 1988.

Båstad St Mary – pseudo-basilica c. 1460–80, town: Bohrn 1959; Anglert 1982 p. 21.

Helsingborg St Mary – pseudo-basilica c. 1390–1410, town: Wihlborg 1981 p. 38; Ullén 1996 pp. 107 f.

Landskrona St John – basilica c. 1400–25, town: Wählin 1939; Jacobsson 1983 pp. 12 ff.

Luntun St Botolph – enlarged to three aisles c. 1450, town: Källström 1929; Anglert 1984 p. 11.

Ystad St Mary – basilican chancel c. 1450–1500, town: Wählin 1917; Tesch 1983 p. 46.

### *Eckenförde*

Eckenförde St Nicholas – rebuilt to hall-church 15th cent., town: KDM 5 (1950) pp. 6, 99 ff.; Beseler 1969 pp. 189 ff.

### *Fehmarn*

Burg St Nicholas – hall-chancel 15th cent., town: Beseler 1969 pp. 492 ff.

Landkirchen – enlarged to hall-chancel 15th cent. (?): Beseler 1969 pp. 515 ff.

Petersdorf – enlarged to hall-church c. 1400: Beseler 1969 pp. 531 ff.

### *Flensburg*

Flensburg St Mary – hall-chancel c. 1400–45, town: KDM 7 (1955) pp. 72 ff.; Beseler 1969 pp. 1 ff.

Flensburg St Nicholas – hall-church c. 1390–1480, town: KDM 7 (1955) pp. 141 ff.; Beseler 1969 pp. 6 ff.

### *Husum*

Husum St Mary – pseudo-basilica, nave 1431–74, chancel 1510, collegiate chapter, town: KDM 1 (1939) pp. 103 ff.

### *Schleswig*

Schleswig St Petri – rebuilt to five-aisled hall-church c. 1400–1500, cathedral, town: KDM 10 (1966) pp. 27 ff.; Beseler 1969 pp. 693 ff.

### *Rügen*

Gingst – hall-church c. 1450: Ohle & Baier 1963 pp. 208 ff.

Trent – hall-church c. 1400–50: Ohle & Baier 1963 pp. 572 ff.

Wiek – hall-church 15th cent.: Ohle & Baier 1963 pp. 631 ff.

### **Norway (0)**

No churches with three aisles or more are built in Norway c. 1350–1550.

## Sweden (35)

### *Dalarna*

Falun/Stora Kopparberg – basilica 14th cent., enlarged to hall-church c. 1450–75, “town”: SvK 52 (1941) pp. 3 ff.

Gudsberga in Husby parish – three aisles, after 1486, Cistercians.

Hedemora St Paul – enlarged to three aisles c. 1460–90 (?), town: Nordh 1969.

Leksand – church c. 1250–1300, rebuilt to hall-church c. 1475–1500: SvK 6 (1916) pp. 1 ff.; Nisbeth 1982.

Mora – enlarged to three-aisled hall-church c. 1480: SvK 197 (1984) pp. 9 ff.

Orsa – hall-church c. 1350, hall-chancel c. 1475–1500: Garmo 1994.

Stora Tuna – enlarged to hall-church c. 1450–1500: SvK 37 (1932) pp. 327 ff.

### *Gotland*

Visby St Catherine – continued rebuilding of three-aisled hall c. 1376–1412, Franciscans, town: Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 64 ff.

Visby St Nicholas – hall-chancel c. 1365–1400, Dominicans, town: SvK 169 (1977) pp. 14 ff.; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991 pp. 70 ff.

### *Närke*

Viby – enlarged to three aisles c. 1421: Sjöström 1997 p. 130.

### *Småland*

Högsby – three-aisled hall c. 1500: DMS 4:2 (1990) pp. 77 ff.

Kalmar – enlarged to five aisles after c. 1375, three-aisled chancel in the 1430s, town: SvK 158 (1974) pp. 117 ff.

Kronobäck – hall-church 1479–82, Hospitallers: Lagerholm 1949–51; DMS 4: 2 (1990) p. 222.

Mönsterås – hall-church 15th cent.(?): DMS 4: 2 (1990) pp. 195 ff.

Växjö – rebuilt to pseudo-basilica c. 1460–1510, cathedral, town: SvK 136 (1970) pp. 33 ff.

Växjö – probably three aisles after 1485, Franciscans, town: Åhman 1983 pp. 11 ff.

### *Stockholm*

Stockholm St James – maybe three aisles c. 1485, town: SvK 26, 32 (1928–30) pp. 264 ff.

Stockholm Riddarholmskyrkan – enlarged to pseudo-basilica c. 1400–50, Franciscans, town: SvK 28, 45 (1928–37) pp. 34 ff.

Stockholm Storkyrka / St Nicholas – from basilica to five-aisled hall-church early 15th cent. and 1468–96, town: SvK 17, 24–25 (1924–28) pp. 226 ff., 600 ff.

### *Södermanland*

Aspö – hall-church c. 1460: Schnell 1965 p. 145.

Eksilstuna – three aisles 15th cent., Hospitallers: Schnell 1965 pp. 219 f.

Nyköping St Nicholas – pseudo-basilica c. 1400–50, town: Schnell 1965 p. 184.

Strängnäs – enlarged to five aisles c. 1340–1500, three-aisled chancel 1448–62, cathedral, town: SvK 100 (1964) pp. 17 ff.; Schnell 1965 pp. 142 f.

Torshälla – hall-church c. 1325, vaulting in three aisles c. 1460, town: Schnell 1965 p. 200; SvK 187 (1981) pp. 9 ff.

### *Uppland*

Uppland St Eric – continued erection of basilica until 1435, cathedral, town: Lindahl 1992.

### *Västergötland*

Gamla Lödöse St Olaus – enlarged to three aisles c. 1435, town: Ekre 1979.

Nya Lödöse – three aisles after 1528, town: Järpe 1986 pp. 19, 71 ff.

### *Västmanland*

Köping St Olaus – three aisles 15th cent., town: Pegelöw 1978.

Munktorp – rebuilt to three aisles 14th–15th cent., pilgrimage.

Västerås St Mary – enlarged to five aisles 14th–15th cent., three-aisled chancel 1450–1500 (?), cathedral, town.

### *Östergötland*

Linköping St Peter – hall-chancel c. 1408–20 and 1487–1500, cathedral, town: SvK 200–201 (1986–87) pp. 19 ff., 242 ff.

Söderköping Drothem – (rebuilt 1350–1400, vaulting 1400–50), town.

Söderköping St Lawrence – three aisles 15th cent., town.

Vadstena/“Blåkyrkan” – three-aisled hall c. 1370–1420, Bridgetines, town: SvK 213 (1991) pp. 21 ff.

Vadstena/“Rödkyrkan” St Peter – three-aisled 14th or 15th cent., town: Hasselmo 1982 p. 13, 48.

## Finland (31)

### *Karjala/Karelen*

Viipuri/Viborg – hall-church c. 1480–1530, town: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 344; 1994b p. 458.

### *Kymmene*

Pyhtää/Pyttis – hall-church c. 1455–65: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 329; 1994b p. 456.

Vehkalahti/Veckelax – hall-church c. 1430–70: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 342; 1994b p. 457.

### *Nyland*

Espoo/Esbo – hall-church c. 1485–90: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 302; 1994b p. 454.

Helsinki/Helsingē – hall-church c. 1450–60: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 306; 1994b p. 454.

Karjaa/Karis – hall-church c. 1460–70: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 311; 1994b p. 455.

Lohja/Lojo – hall-church c. 1510–20: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 319; 1994b p. 456.

Pernaja/Pernå – hall-church c. 1435–45: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 327; 1994b p. 456.

Porvoo/Borgå – hall-church c. 1450–60, town: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 329; 1994b p. 453.

Siuntio/Sjundeå – hall-church c. 1480–90: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 335; 1994b p. 457.

Tenholä/Tenala – hall-church c. 1460–80: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 337; 1994b p. 457.

### *Tavastland*

Hattula – hall-church c. 1440–80: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 305; 1994b p. 454.

Hauho – hall-church c. 1500–20: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 306; 1994b p. 454.

### *Egentliga Finland*

Kaarina/St Karins – hall-church c. 1450–80: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 310; 1994b p. 457.

Kalanti/Kaland – hall-church c. 1460–70: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 311; 1994b p. 455.

Kemiö/Kimitio – hall-church c. 1460–80: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 313; 1994b p. 455.

Laitila/Letala – hall-church c. 1470–80: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 316; 1994b p. 456.

Lemu/Lemo – hall-church c. 1460–1500: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 318; 1994b p. 455.

Lieto/Lundo – hall-church c. 1500–30: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 319; 1994b p. 456.

Maaria/St Marie – hall-church c. 1440–70: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 320; 1994b p. 457.

Mynämäki/Virmo – hall-church c. 1440–70: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 323; 1994b p. 458.

Naantali/Nådendal – hall-church c. 1460–80, Bridgetines, town: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 323; 1994b p. 456.

Nauvo/Nagu – hall-church c. 1450–80: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 324; 1994b p. 456.

Nousiainen/Nousis – hall-church c. 1440–70: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 324; 1994b p. 456.

Parainen/Pargas – hall-church c. 1450–80: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 326; 1994b p. 456.

Perniö/Björnå – hall-church c. 1460–80: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 327; 1994b p. 453.

Pertteli/St Bertils – hall-church c. 1500–30: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 328; 1994b p. 457.

Sauvo/Sagu – hall-church c. 1460–80: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 334; 1994b p. 457.

Taivassalo/Tövsala – hall-church c. 1450–70: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 337; 1994b p. 457.

Turku/Åbo – hall-chancel c. 1410–30 and rebuilt to basilica c. 1440–65, cathedral, town: Hiekkanen 1994a pp. 338 f.

Vehmaa/Vemo – hall-church c. 1450–80: Hiekkanen 1994a p. 342; 1994b p. 457.

## Estonia (20)

### *Harjumaa/Harrien*

Jöelähtme/Jegelecht – hall-church c. 1350–1400: Guleke 1896, T I; Vaga 1960 pp. 96 f.; Raam 1997, 3 pp. 16 f.

### *Virumaa/Wierland*

Haljala/Haljall – hall-church c. 1470: Vaga 1960 p. 97; Raam 1997, 3 pp. 131 f.

Kadrina/St Katharinen – hall-church c. 1475–1500: Vaga 1960 pp. 97 f.; Raam 1997, 3 p. 133.

Narva (later Russian) – hall-church 1430, town: Karling 1936 pp. 92 ff.; Vaga 1960 pp. 89 f.; Raam 1997, 3 p. 183.

Rakvere/Wesenberg St Michael – pseudo-basilica c. 1400, town: Vaga 1960 p. 97; Raam 1997, 3 pp. 123 f.

Simuna/St Simonis – hall-church 15th cent.: Vaga 1960 p. 98; Raam 1997, 3 pp. 152 f.

Viru-Jaagupi/St Jacob – hall-church c. 1450–1500: Vaga 1960 p. 97; Raam 1997, 3 p. 162.

Väike-Maarja/Nienkerken/Klein Marien – hall-church c. 1475–1500: Vaga 1960 p. 95; Raam 1997, 3 pp. 165 f.



### *Pärnumaa*

Pärnu/Pernau St Nicholas – rebuilt to pseudo-basilica 1524–29, town: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 pp. 21 ff.; Raam 1996, 2 pp. 101 f.

### *Viljandimaa*

Halliste/Hallist – hall-church 1450–1500: Raam 1996, 2 pp. 181 f.

### *Tallinn/Reval*

Pirita/Marienthal – hall-church c. 1417–36, Bridge-tines: Vaga 1960 pp. 88 ff.; Mäeväli 1993 pp. 109 ff.; Raam 1993, 1 pp. 168 ff.

Tallinn/Reval St Mary – rebuilt to basilica c. 1430–70, cathedral, town: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 p. 92; Mäeväli 1993 pp. 13 ff.; Raam 1993, 1 pp. 242 ff.

Tallinn/Reval St Nicholas – rebuilt to basilica with hall chancel c. 1400–23, town: Guleke 1896, T IV; Vaga 1960 pp. 67 ff.; Lumiste & Kangropool 1990; Mäeväli 1993 pp. 71 ff.; Raam 1993, 1 pp. 142 ff.

Tallinn/Reval St Olaus – hall-chancel 1420–25, rebuilt to basilica 1436–46, town: Guleke 1896, T IV; Vaga 1960 pp. 75 ff.; Mäeväli 1993 pp. 65 ff.; Raam 1993, 1 pp. 107 ff.

### *Tartu/Dorpat*

Tartu/Dorpat – enlarged to five-aisled basilica 14th or 15th cent., hall-chancel c. 1400, cathedral, town: Guleke 1896, T III; Vaga 1960 pp. 48 ff.

Tartu/Dorpat St John – rebuilt to pseudo-basilica, late 15th cent., town: Guleke 1896, T IV; Vaga 1960 pp. 31 ff.

Tartu/Dorpat St Mary Magdelene – hall-church early 15th cent., Dominicans, town: Guleke 1896, T IV; Vaga 1960 pp. 55 f.

### *Tartumaa*

Karula/Karolen – probably hall-church c. 1400–50: Vaga 1960 pp. 60 f.

Põlva/Pölwe – probably hall-church c. 1500: Vaga 1960 pp. 61.

Rannu/Randen – probably hall-church c. 1400–50: Vaga 1960 pp. 59 ff.

### *Latvia (3)*

### *Riga*

Riga St Mary – rebuilt to basilica 15th cent., cathedral, town: Guleke 1896, T II; Vaga 1960 pp. 5 ff.; 1970 pp. 154 ff.

Riga St Peter – basilical chancel begun c. 1340,

completed 1408–18, town: Guleke 1896, T II; Vaga 1960 pp. 10 ff.; 1970.

Riga St Jacob – rebuilt to basilica 15th cent., town: Guleke 1896, T LII; Vaga 1960 pp. 12 ff.

### **Literature**

Almqvist, B. 1984: Jämtlands medeltida kyrkor. Fornvårdaren 19. Östersund.

Alttoa, K. 1993: Medeltida estnisk klosterarkitektur. // Hikuin 20. Højbjerg, pp. 187–198.

Andersson, H. 1972: Zentralorte, Ortschaften und Städte in Skandinavien–Einige methodische Probleme. // Kiel papers '72. Frühe Städte im westlichen Ostseeraum. H. Hinz (ed.), Kiel, S. 23–31.

Andersson, H. 1990: Sjuttiosex medeltidsstäder–aspekter på stadsarkologi och medeltida urbaniseringsprocess i Sverige och Finland. RAÄ & SHM rapport. Medeltidsstaden 73. Stockholm.

Andersson, K. 1983: Kalmarkustens kyrkor under tidig medeltid. // Hikuin 9. Højbjerg, pp. 189–202.

Andersson, L. 1986: Sankta Brigittas pilgrimsmärken. // Medeltiden och arkeologin. Festskrift till Erik Cinthio. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 1. Lund, pp. 101–115.

Andersson, L. 1989a: Kyrkor och socknar. Från bergslag och bondebygd 1986–87, årg. 50. Örebro, pp. 107–142.

Andersson, L. 1989b: Pilgrimsmärken och vallfart. Medeltida pilgrimskultur i Skandinavien. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 7. Stockholm.

Andrén, A. 1985: Den urbana scenen. Städer och samhälle i det medeltida Danmark. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in 8°, Nr. 13. Bonn, Malmö.

Andrén, A. 1989: State and towns in the Middle Ages. The Scandinavian experience. // Theory and Society 18: 5. Dordrecht, Boston, London, pp. 585–609.

Andrén, A. 1997: Paradise lost. Looking for deer parks in medieval Denmark and Sweden. // Visions of the Past. Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology. H. Andersson, P. Carelli, L. Ersgård (eds.). Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 19. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Arkeologiska undersökningar, Skrifter 24. Stockholm, pp. 469–490.

Andrén, A. 1998: Världen från Lunds horisont. // Kulturen 1998. Metropolis Daniae. Ett stycke Europa. Lund, pp. 116–129.

Anglert, M. 1982: Båstad. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museer rapport, Medeltidsstaden 41. Stockholm.

Anglert, M. 1984: Luntertun/Ängelholm. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museer rapport, Medeltidsstaden 49. Stockholm.

Anglert, M. 1989: Den kyrkliga organisationen under äldre medeltid. // By, huvudgård och kyrka. Studier i Ystadsområdets medeltid. H. Andersson, M. Anglert (eds.). Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 5. Stockholm, pp. 221–242.

Anjou, S. G. A. 1930: Heliga Korsets kyrka i Dalby, samt de äldsta kyrkorna i Lund, Roskilde och Odense. Undersökningar till 1000-talets arkitekturhistoria. Göteborg.

Anselm, G. 1947: Stiftets kyrkor. // Lunds stift i ord och bild. G. Herrlin et al. (eds.). Stockholm, pp. 295–673.

Arman, H., Papp, H., Kammal, U., & Üprus, H. (eds.). 1965: Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu. Tallinn.

Augustsson, J.-E. 1980: Halmstad. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museer rapport, Medeltidsstaden 20. Stockholm.

- Bager, E. 1971: Malmö byggnadshistoria till 1820. // Malmö stads historia 1. O. Bjurling (ed.). Malmö, pp. 254–403.
- Bager, E. 1988: Bunkelflo: medeltidskyrkan och den nya kyrkan. // Oxie härads hembygdsförening årsbok 1988. Malmö, pp. 1–96.
- Beckett, F. 1924–26: Danmarks Kunst 1–2. København.
- Bergström, C. 1992: Kyrkplatsen som socknens centrum. Studier till Kulturmiljöprogram för Sverige. Stockholm.
- Berthelson, B. 1947: Studier i birgittinerordens byggnadsskick I. Anläggningsplanen och dess tillämpning. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens handlingar, Del 63. Stockholm.
- Beseler, H. (ed.) 1969: Die Kunstdenkmäler des Landes Schleswig-Holstein. Kunst-Topographie Schleswig-Holstein. Neumünster.
- Blair, J. (ed.) 1988: Minsters and Parish Churches. The Local Church in Transition 950–1200. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph No. 17. Oxford.
- Blomkvist, N. 1979: Medieval Eketorp and contemporary turn-over places on Öland. // Eketorp. Fortification and Settlement on Öland/Sweden. The Setting. U. Näsman, E. Wegraeus (eds.). Stockholm, pp. 61–100.
- Blomkvist, N. 1998: The medieval Europeanisation process of the Baltic Rim region 1100–1400 AD. Problems for an international study. // Culture Clash or Compromise? The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea Area 1100–1400 AD. N. Blomkvist (ed.). Acta Visbyensia XI. Visby, pp. 9–36.
- Blomkvist, N. 1999: Common people in common places? A plea for micro studies. // Europeans or Not? Local Level Strategies on the Baltic Rim 1100–1400 AD. N. Blomkvist, S.-O. Lindquist (eds.). CCC-papers 1. Visby, Kalmar, pp. 293–314.
- Blomqvist, R. 1929: Studier i Smålands romanska stenkonst. N. M. Mandelgren. Atlas till Sveriges odlingshistoria, tilläggshefte IV. Lund.
- Bohrn, E. 1959: Mariakyrkan i Båstad. // Bjärebygden 1959. Båstad, pp. 4–14.
- Bolvig, A. 1992: Kirkekunstens storhedstid. Om kirker og kunst i Danmark i romansk tid. København.
- Bonnier, A. C. 1987: Kyrkorna berättar. Upplands Kyrkor 1250–1350. // Upplands Fornminnesförenings tidskrift 51. Uppsala.
- Bonnier, A. C. 1991: Gamla Uppsala–från hednatempel till sockenkyrka // Kyrka och socken i medeltidens Sverige. O. Ferm (ed.). Studier till Det medeltida Sverige 5. Stockholm, pp. 81–111.
- Bonnier, A. C. 1995: Medeltidskyrkornas vittnesbörd // Bebyggelsehistorisk tidskrift 27, 1994. Uppsala, pp. 105–132.
- Bonnier, A. C. 1996: Kyrkorna i Dals härad. Några av landets äldsta kyrkor. // Östergötland 1996. Kyrka i bruk. Linköping, pp. 67–84.
- Boström, R. 1967: Är Hulterstads kyrka en dansk anläggning? // Nordisk medeltid. Konsthistoriska studier tillägnade Armin Tuulse. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Series in History of Art 13. Stockholm, pp. 151–166.
- Boström, R. 1982: Ölands kyrkor. Svenska fornminnesplatser 53. Stockholm.
- Brendalsmo, A. J. 1990: Kirkesteder i Vestfold: Hvem bygde kirker og hvorfor–hvor ble kirkene bygd og hvorfor? Skisse til problemstillinger omkring kirkebyggeriet. // Vestfolkkirkene–bygning, landskap og samfunn. A. J. Brendalsmo, E. Veia (eds.). Arkeologiske rapporter fra Tønsberg 3. Tønsberg, pp. 37–57.
- Brendalsmo, A. J. 1999: Middelalderens steinkirker fra Tjølling til Holt. Kan vi vite noe om de som fikk bygd disse kirkene? // Bamble gjennom tidene. Bamble Historielags Årsskrift 1999. Brevik, pp. 61–87.
- Brink, S. 1990: Sockenbildning och sockennamn. Studier i äldre territoriell indelning i Norden. Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi LVII. Studier till en svensk ortnamnsatlas utgivna av Thorsten Andersson 14. Uppsala, Stockholm.
- Brunius, C. G. 1850: Skånes konsthistoria för medeltiden. Lund.
- Callmer, J. & Rosengren, E. 1997 (eds.): "... gick grendel att söka det höga huset ...". Arkeologiska källor till aristokratiska miljöer i Skandinavien under yngre järnålder. Slöinge Projektet 1 / Hallands Läns museers Skriftserie No. 9 / Gotarc C. Arkeologiska Skrifter No. 17. Halmstad.
- Christaller, W. 1933: Die Zentral Orte in Süddeutschland. Eine ökonomisch-geographischer Untersuchung über die gesetzmässigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen. Jena.
- Christiansen, T. E. 1968: De gyldne Alre I. Tamdrup-pladerne. // Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie 1968. København, pp. 153–205.
- Christie, H. 1969: Østnorske basilikaer. // Kirkespielet 1969. Årbok for Oslo bispedømme. Oslo, pp. 111–115.
- Christie, H. 1981: Stavkirken–Arkitektur. // Norges kunsthistorie 1. Fra Oseberg til Borgund. K. Berg et al. (eds.). Oslo, pp. 139–251.
- Cinthio, E. 1983: Dalby kungsgård. Medeltidsarkeologien som historisk vetenskap. // Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok 1983. Stockholm, pp. 89–100.
- Cinthio, E. 1989 (ed.): Skånska kloster. // Skånes Hembygdsförbunds årsbok 1987/88. Lund.
- Cinthio, M. 1999: Trinitatiskyrkan i Lund–med engelsk prägel. // Hikuin 24. Højbjerg, pp. 113–134. (official, but incorrect year of printing 1997).
- Claesson, E. 1989: Cuius ecclesiam fecit. Romanska kyrkor i Västergötland. Licentiate dissertation in medieval archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, Lund University. (stencil).
- Clasen, K. H. 1939: Grundlagen baltendeutscher Kunstgeschichte. // Baltische Lande, Bd 1. Ostbaltische Frühzeit. A. Brackmann, C. Engel (eds.). Leipzig, S. 433–479.
- Cornell, H. 1918: Norrlands kyrkliga konst under medeltiden. Uppsala/Stockholm.
- Curman, S. 1912: Bidrag till kännedomen om Cistercienserordens byggnadskonst. I. Kyrkoplanen. Stockholm.
- Dahlberg, M. 1998: Skaratraktens kyrkor under äldre medeltid. Skrifter från Skaraborgs Läns museum 28. Skara.
- DK = Danmarks Kirker Iff. (ed.). Nationalmuseet. København 1933ff.
- DMS = Det medeltida Sverige, 4 Småland, 1–3: S. Rahmqvist (ed.). Stockholm 1987ff.
- Drake, K. 1987: Medeltidskyrkor i sydvästra Finland. // ABOA, Åbo Landskapsmuseum, Årsbok 49, 1985. Åbo, pp. 73–80.
- Drake, K. 1999: Finlands nya medeltid. // META, Medeltidsarkeologisk tidskrift 1999: 1. Lund, pp. 18–23.
- Dyggve, E. 1943: Dødekult, Kejserkult og Basilik. Bidrag til spørgsmålet om den oldkristne kultbygningens genesis. Studier fra Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning 192. København.
- Ekre, R. 1979: Om Olovskyrkan i Gamla Lödöse. // Västergötlands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift 1979–1980. Skara, pp. 75–99.
- Ekroll, Ø. 1997: Med kleber og kalk. Norsk steinbygging i mellomalderen 1050–1550. Oslo.
- Elmén-Berg, A., Järnfeldt-Carlsson, M., & Åman, A. 1992: Från Adak till Övertorneå. Alfabetiskt inventarium över Övre Norrlands kyrkor med kommenterade historiska

- kartor. // *Bebyggelsehistorisk tidskrift* 22, 1991. Uppsala, pp. 209–253.
- Elster, E., & Storsletten, O. 1989: Tjølling kirke. // *Norges Kirker*. Vestfold. Oslo. Manuscript.
- Fabech, C., & Ringtved, J. 1995: Magtens geografi i Sydskandinavien—om kulturlandskab, produktion og bebyggelsesmønster. // *Produksjon og samfunn. Om erverv, spesialisering og bosetning i Norden i 1. årtusind e. Kr. Beretning fra 2. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Granavolden 7.–10-mai 1992*. H. G. Resi (ed.). Varia 30. Oslo, pp. 11–37.
- Falck, W. 1983: Kyrkoarkeologi på Gotland och Västergarns romanska stenkyrka. // *Hikuin* 9. Højbjerg, pp. 203–218.
- Feldmann, H. & Mühlen, H. von zur (eds.) 1985–90: *Baltisches historisches Ortslexikon I–II. Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 8/I–II*. Köln, Wien.
- Fett, H. 1909: Norges kirker i middelalderen. *Gammel norsk kultur i tekst og billeder*. Kristiania.
- Fischer, G. 1950: Oslo under Eikaberg, 1050–1624–1950. Oslo.
- Fischer, G. 1964: Domkirken i Stavanger. Kirkebygget i middelalderen. Oslo.
- Fischer, G. 1965: Domkirken i Trondheim. Kirkebygget i middelalderen. Bind I–II. Nidaros erkebispesetel og bispesete 1153–1953. Oslo.
- Floderus, E. 1941: Sigtuna. Sveriges äldsta medeltidsstad. Stockholm.
- Fröjmark, A. 1992: Mirakler och helgonkult. Linköpings biskopsdöme under senmedeltid. *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historica Upsaliensia* 171. Stockholm.
- Garmo, S. 1994: Orsa kyrka. Västervik.
- Grant, E. (ed.) 1986: *Central places, Archaeology and History*. Sheffield.
- Grundberg, L. 1992: Torsåkers medeltidskyrka och sockenbildningen i Ångermanland. // *Medeltid i Ådalen. Styresholmsprojektet 1986–1992*. L. Grundberg (ed.). Härnösand, pp. 83–115.
- Guleke, R. (ed.) 1896: *Alt-Livland. Mittelalterliche Baudenkmäler Liv-, Est-, Kurlands und Oesels*. Leipzig.
- Gustin, I. 1987: Stadskyrkor och urban ekonomi i det medeltida Sverige. Paper in medieval archaeology, Lund University. (stencil).
- Hasselmo, M. 1982: Vadstena. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museer rapport, Medeltidsstaden 36. Stockholm.
- Hasselmo, M. 1983: Skänninge. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museer rapport, Medeltidsstaden 36. Stockholm.
- Haupt, R. 1887–1924: *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schleswig-Holstein I–V*. Kiel, Heide in Holstein.
- Hiekkanen, M. 1991: Near but far. Finnish and Estonian church architecture in the Middle Ages. // *Suomen Museo* 1991, 98. årg. Helsinki, pp. 15–42.
- Hiekkanen, M. 1994a: The Stone Churches of the Medieval Diocese of Turku. A Systematic Classification and Chronology. *Finska Fornminnesföreningens tidskrift* 101. Helsinki.
- Hiekkanen, M. 1994b: Stenkyrkorna i Åbo stift under medeltiden. // *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 1994: 3, årg. 79. Helsingfors, pp. 429–458.
- Holmberg, R. 1970: Om Lunds murar och vallar. // *Ale, Historisk tidskrift för Skåneland* 1970: 1. Lund, pp. 1–24.
- Holmström, M., & Tollin, C. 1994: *Det medeltida Alvastra. Svensk kulturminnen* 57. Stockholm.
- Hommedal, A. T. 1993: Selja i Nordfjord. Eit forskingsprospekt rundt eit kyrkjeseiter på Vestlandet i tidleg mellomalder. // *Hikuin* 20. Højbjerg, pp. 93–104.
- Horskjær, E. (ed.) 1966–73: *De danske Kirker 1–20*. København.
- Hultqvist, P. 1996: Lokalhelgonet Nicolaus i Edsleskog. Verklighet och tradition. // *Hembygden* 1996. Åmål, pp. 13–64.
- Hædersdal, E. 1990: Holme klosterkirke. // *Bygningsarkæologiske Studier* 1990. København, pp. 7–32.
- Högberg, F. 1965: Medeltida absidkyrkor i Norden. En studie, särskilt anknytning till Västergötland. // *Västergötlands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift* 1965, VI hf 5. Skara, pp. 5–231.
- Jacobsson, B. 1983: Landskrona. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museer rapport, Medeltidsstaden 48. Stockholm.
- Jacobsson, J. 1932: Hallands kyrkor i ord och bild. Skara.
- Jensen, P. H. 1983: Centralstedteorien og de danske byer 1536–1660. // *Profiler i Nordisk Senmiddelalder og Renaissance. Festschrift til Poul Enemark. På tresårsdagen 13. april 1983*. S. E. Green-Pedersen et al. (eds.) Arusa-Historiske skrifter II. Århus, pp. 127–144.
- Johannsen, H., & Schmidt, C. M. 1981: *Kirkens huse. // Danmarks Arkitektur*. H. Lund (ed.). København.
- Johansen, P. 1965: Die Kaufmanskirche. // *Die Zeit der Stadtgründung im Ostseeraum*. M. Stenberger (ed.). Acta Visbyensia I. Visby, S. 85–134.
- Johnson, M. & Schulze, H. 1990: Köpingsvik. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museer rapport, Medeltidsstaden 77. Stockholm.
- Järpe, A. 1986: Nya Lödöse. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museer rapport, Medeltidsstaden 60. Stockholm.
- Jørgensen, L. 1995: Stormandssæder og skattefund i 3.–12. århundrede. // *Fortid og Nutid* 1995: 2. København, pp. 83–110.
- Karling, S. 1936: Narva. Eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Monografiserien 25. Stockholm.
- Karling, S. 1939: Gotland och Estlands medeltida byggnadskonst. // *RIG* 22 årg. hf II. Stockholm, pp. 65–114.
- Karling, S. 1948: Baltikum och Sverige. // *Antikvariska Studier III*. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, del 65. Stockholm, pp. 7–137.
- KDM = *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Landes Schleswig-Holstein 1–11*. E. Saueremann et al. (eds.). Berlin, München 1939–85. (1–8, 1939–57: “des Provinz ...”).
- Kjellin, H. 1928: *Die Hallekirchen Estlands und Gotland*. Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets Årsberättelse 1928–1929, I. Lund.
- Klackenberg, H. 1992: *Moneta nostra. Monetariseringen i medeltidens Sverige*. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 10. Stockholm.
- Krins, H. 1968: *Die frühen Steinkirchen Dänemarks*. Doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Philosophy, Hamburg University. Hamburg.
- Kristensen, H. K. 1987: *Middelalderbyen Viborg*. Projekt Middelalderbyen 4. Viborg J.
- Källström, O. 1929: Kyrkan i Lunterun. // *Ängelholm 1516–1916. Översikt av stadens fyra hundraåriga historia*. K. Enghoff (ed.). Lund. Bilag, pp. 13–46.
- Lagerholm, N. 1949–51: *Johaniterordens klosterkyrka i Kronobäck*. // *Stranda* 23–25. Stockholm, pp. 25–68.
- Lagerlöf, E., & Svahnström, G. 1991: *Gotlands kyrkor*. En vägledning. 4. ed. Stockholm.
- Lange, B. C. 1968: *Lavranskirken i Tønsberg i nytt lys. // Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring, Årbok* 1966/67, 121/122 årg. Oslo, pp. 117–128.
- Lange, B. C. 1994: *Ringsaker kirke i nytt lys. // Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring, Årbok* 1994, 148 årg. Oslo, pp. 11–122.
- Larsson, L., & Hårdh, B. (eds.) 1998: *Centrala Platser—Centrala Frågor. Samhällsstrukturen under Järnåldern*. En Vänbok

- till Berta Stjernquist. Uppåkrastudier I. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in 8°, No. 28. Stockholm.
- Le Goff, J. 1970: Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale. État de l'enquête. // *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*. 25<sup>e</sup> Année, No. 4. Paris, pp. 924–946.
- Leighley, J. B. 1939: The Towns of Medieval Livonia. University of California Publications in Geography VI, 1932–1944. Berkeley, Los Angeles, pp. 231–313.
- Lidén, H.-E. 1981. Norsk middelaldersk steinarkitektur i Norge // *Norges kunsthistorie* 2. K. Berg et al. (eds.). Oslo pp. 7–125.
- Lidén, H.-E., & Magerøy, E. M. 1980–90: Norges kirker. Bergen. Bind 1–3. Norske Minnesmerker. Oslo.
- Liepe, A. 1984: Medeltids lantkyrkobygge i Varend. Ett försök till relationsanalys kyrka-bygd. // *Kronobergsboken* 1984–85. Växjö.
- Lindahl, G. 1992: Uppsala domkyrka. // *Kyrkorna i Uppsala*. A. Nilsén (ed.). Uppsala, pp. 24–86.
- Lindgren, M. 1995: Stenarkitekturen. // *Den romanska konsten*. L. Karlsson et al. (eds.). Signums svenska konsthistoria 3. Lund, pp. 52–115.
- Lindquist, S.-O. 1984: Sextio marker silver vart år ... // *Gotländskt Arkiv* 1984, årg. 56. Visby, pp. 139–149.
- Lindquist, S.-O. 1988: Die ökonomischen Grundlagen des gotländischen Landkirchenbaus im Mittelalter. // *Gotland. Tausend Jahre Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte im Ostseeraum*. R. Bohn (ed.). Kieler Historische Studien 31. Sigmaringen, S. 41–55.
- Lindstam, R. 1932: Om kyrkor som försvunnit och klockor som ha sjungit i Tveta, Vista, Mo. Huskvarna.
- Lindstam, R. 1935: Om kyrkor som försvunnit och klockor som ha sjungit i Östbo, Västbo och Sunnerbo. Stockholm
- Lindstam, R. 1943. Om kyrkor som försvunnit och klockor som ha sjungit i Östra och Västra härad eller Njudungen. Nässjö.
- Lindström, G. 1892–95: Anteckningar om Gotlands medeltid I–II. Stockholm.
- Linköpings stifts kyrkor 1ff. Linköping 1958.
- Lorenzen, V. 1904: Toskibede Kirker i Danmark. // *Architekten. Meddelelser fra Akademisk Arkitektforening*, 6 Aarg. No. 50. Kjøbenhavn, pp. 477–491.
- Lorenzen, V. 1912–41: De danske Klosters Bygningshistorie, I–XI. København.
- Lorenzen, V. 1935: Graabrødre Klosters og Kirkes Bygningshistorie. // *Fra Viborg Amt* 1935. Viborg, pp. 1–44.
- Lovén, C. 1990a: Hovs kyrkas medeltida byggnadshistoria. // *Fornvännen* 1990: 2. Stockholm, pp. 81–93.
- Lovén, C. 1990b: Romanska storkyrkor i Sverige. // *Bebyggelsehistorisk tidskrift* 20. Uppsala, pp. 7–26.
- Lumiste, M., & Kangroopool, R. 1990: Niguliste kirik. Tallinn.
- Lunde, Ø. 1971: Premonstratenserklosteret i Tønsberg. St. Olavs kirke–Nordens største rundkirke. // *Vestfold-Minne* 1971. Tønsberg, pp. 68–85.
- Lunde, Ø. 1977: Trondheims fortid i bygrunnen. Middelalderbyens topografi på grunnlag av det arkeologiske materialet inntil 1970. Riksantikvarens Skrifter Nr. 2. Trondheim.
- Madsen, L. S. 1987: Starup fundet!–en udgravning og dens resultater. // *Sønderjysk Månedsskrift* 1987: 8. Åbenrå, pp. 206–211.
- Madsen, P. K. 1994: Dendrokronologiske undersøgelser af Hvidding kirkes tagværk. // *By, marsk og geest* 6, Årsberetning 1993. Ribe, pp. 43–65.
- Morris, R. 1989: Churches in the Landscape. London.
- Mäeväli, S. 1993: Architectural and Art Monuments in Tallinn. Tallinn (1. ed. 1986).
- Møller, E. 1979: Er moderen jævngammel med døtrene? Ribe domkirkes alder og betydning for jysk kirkebyggeri. // *Strejflys over Danmarks bygningskultur*. Festskrift til Harald Langberg. København, pp. 83–98.
- Nielsen, I. 1985: Middelalderbyen Ribe. Projekt Middelalderbyen 1. Viby J.
- Nisbeth, Å. 1970: Vårfrukyrkan i Skänninge byggnadshistoria. // *Skänninge stads historia*. A. Linhahl (ed.). Linköping, pp. 140–163.
- Nisbeth, Å. 1982. Kyrka och kyrkorum. // *Tusen år på Kyrkudden*. Leksands kyrka, arkeologi och byggnadshistoria. B. Dandanell (ed.). Dalarnas fornminnes och hembygdsförbunds skrifter 25. Falun, pp. 27–57.
- Norborg, L.-A. 1958: Storföretaget Vadstena kloster. Studier i senmedeltida godspolitik och ekonomiförvaltning. *Biblioteca Historica Lundensis* VII. Lund.
- Nordh, L. 1969: Hedemora kyrka. Hedemora.
- Nottbeck, E. von, & Neumann, W. 1904: Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval. I–II. Reval.
- Nyborg, E. 1986: Kirke–sogenedannelse–bebyggelse. Nogle overvejelser med udgangspunkt i et bebyggelsesprojekt for Ribeområdet. // *Hikuin* 12. Højbjerg, pp. 17–44.
- Nyborg, E. 1990: Om kirketopografi og middelalderlig bydannelse. // *Hikuin* 17. Højbjerg, pp. 7–20.
- Nyborg, E. 1998: Kirke, sogn og bebyggelse o. 1000–1300. // *Marsk, land og bebyggelse*. Ribeegnen gennem 10.000 år. Bind 1. Den antikvariske Samlings skrifterække bind 1: A. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXXV. Århus, pp. 191–210.
- Ohle, W. & Baier, G. 1963 (eds.): Die Kunstdenkmale des Kreises Rügen. Die Kunstdenkmale im Bezirk Rostock I. Leipzig.
- Ohlsson, S. H. (ed.) 1955: Lunds stift matrikel. Lund.
- Olsen, O. 1972: Sankt Mikkel i Slagelse. Om en nyfunden 1000-talskirke og dens forhistorie. // *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1972. København, pp. 131–152.
- Pegelow, I. 1978: Köpings kyrka. Västerås.
- Poulsen, B. 1989: Løvinden og lokalcentrene. Den senmiddelalderlige sønderjyske bondes omverden. // *Sønderjyske årbøger* 1989. Åbenrå, pp. 99–114.
- Pounds, N. J. G. 1974: An Economic History of Medieval Europe. Harlow, New York.
- Raam, V. (ed.) 1993–1997: Eesti Arhitektuur 1–3. Tallinn.
- Raam, V. 1993: On the architectural development of medieval churches in Estonia. // *Architectural Monuments in Estonia and Scandinavia*. Architectural conservation methodology conference, Tallinn, 9–10 October 1989. A. Lass, J. Maiste (eds.). Tallinn, pp. 35–57.
- Ringbom, Å. 1994: Dateringen av Ålands kyrkor. // *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 1994: 3, årg. 79. Helsingfors, pp. 459–493.
- Roosval, J. 1911: Die Kirchen Gotlands. Ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Kunstgeschichte Swedens. Stockholm
- Roosval, J. 1924: Den baltiske Nordens kyrkor. Föreningen Urds skrifter II. Uppsala.
- Roth, S. 1973: Gudhems klosteruin. Grävningsberättelse avseende planform och murverk, altaren, stendekor och gravar. *Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothoburgensis, Humaniora* 8. Göteborg.
- Runeby, C. 1993: Klostergrundare och klostergrunder. Etablering och grundplan för ett gotländskt cistercienserkloster. Paper in medieval archaeology, Lund University (stencil).
- Rydén, T., & Lovén, B. 1995: Domkyrkan i Lund. Malmö.
- Salvén, E. 1940: Medeltidsarkitekturen i Hallands kyrkor. // *Vår bygd* 1940, 25. årg. Halmstad, pp. 35–55.
- Sandnes, J. 1981: Settlement developments in the Late Middle Ages (approx. 1300–1540). // *Desertation and Land Colonization in the Nordic Countries c. 1300–1600*. S.

- Gissel et al. (eds.). *The Scandinavian Research Project on Deserted Farms and Villages 11*. Uppsala, pp. 78–114.
- Sandnes, J. 1993: *Middelalderens Trøndelag. Den kirkelige organisasjon i landsdelen, fylkeskirker, sognekirker, klostre*. // Hikuin 20. Høbjerg, pp. 105–112.
- Sandvik, G. 1969: *Austlandsbasilikaene si gåte*. // Kirkespeilet 1969. Årbok for Oslo bispedømme. Oslo, pp. 117–123.
- Schiørring, O. (ed.) 1991: *Tamdrup. Kirke og gård*. Horsens.
- Schnell, I. 1965: *Kyrkorna i Södermanland*. Nyköping.
- Sigsjö, R. 1986: *Skara domkyrka. Kort historik och vägledning*. Falköping.
- Sjöholm, Ö. 1992: *Helga Trefaldighets kyrka* // *Kyrkorna i Uppsala*. A. Nilsén (ed.). Uppsala, pp. 111–136.
- Sjöström, I. (ed.) 1997: *Närke Landskapsrapport. Preliminär utgåva för symposium 28 och 29 maj 1997. Forskningsprojektet Sockenkyrkorna-kulturarv och bebyggelsehistoria*. Stockholm (stencil).
- Skre, D. 1995: *Kirken før sognet. Den tidligste kirkeordningen i Norge*. // *Møtet mellom hedendom og kristendom i Norge*. H.-E. Lidén (ed.). Oslo, pp. 170–233.
- Skre, D. 1998: *Herredømmet. Bosetning og besittelse på Romerike 200–1350 e. Kr.* Acta Humaniora 32. Oslo.
- Svahnström, G. 1947: *Medeltidskyrkorna och deras innredning*. // *Medelanden från Norra Smålands fornminnes- och Jönköpings läns hembygdsförbund XX–XXI. Boken om Njudung*. Jönköping, pp. 120–152.
- SvK = *Sveriges Kyrkor. Konsthistorisk inventarium*. Iff. Stockholm 1912ff.
- Swanström, E. 1986: *"Allhelgonakyrkan", S:t Per och S:t Hans i Visby. Kyrkor som en medeltida samhällsspegel*. // Hikuin 12. Høbjerg, pp. 133–154.
- Swartling, I. 1967: *Nydala Abbey. An Outline of its Architecture from Foundation to Dissolution*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm Studies in History of Art 11. Stockholm.
- Swartling, I. 1981: *Alvastra kloster. Svensk Fornminnesplatser 44*. Stockholm.
- Tamm, J. 1993: *Om utforskningen av den materiella kulturen i Estlands kloster*. // Hikuin 20. Høbjerg, pp. 199–210.
- Tesch, S. (ed.) 1997: *Mariakyrkan i Sigtuna. Dominikan-konvent och församlingskyrka 1247–1997. Minnesskrift med anledning av 750-årsjubileet*. Sigtuna Museers Skriftserie 7. Sigtuna.
- Trap, J. P. 1953–72: *Danmark. Femte udgave. I–XV*. N. Nielsen et al. (eds.). København.
- Tuulse, A. 1948: *Monument och konstverk, som förstörts i Estland 1941–1944*. // *Antikvariska Studier III. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, del 65. Stockholm, pp. 139–181.
- Tuulse, A. 1967: *Skoklosters kyrka. Upplands Kyrkor 125. Strängnäs*.
- Ullén, M. 1984: *Den märkliga träkyrkan i Edshult*. // *Den ljusa medeltiden. Studier tillägnade Aron Andersson. Statens historiska museum, Studies 4*. Stockholm, pp. 315–336.
- Ullén, M. 1996: *Gotikens kyrkobyggande*. // *Den gotiska konsten*. J.-E. Augustsson et al. (eds.). Signums svenska konsthistoria 4. Lund, pp. 37–133.
- Vaga, V. 1960: *Das Problem der Raumform in der mittelalterlichen Baukunst Lettlands und Estlands*. Tartu.
- Vaga, V. 1970: *Die Petrikirche in Riga*. // *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift XXXIX*: 3–4. Stockholm, pp. 140–168.
- Vellev, J. 1990: *Asmild Klosterkirke i 900 år. Høbjerg*.
- Vellev, J. 1997: *Rundkirchen Skt. Mikaelis i Slesvig. Arkeologisk undersøgelse og rekonstruktion af en gådefuld bygning*. // Hikuin 22. Høbjerg, pp. 47–58. (1995 as official, but incorrect year of print)
- Vibe Müller, I.-H. 1971: *Østnorske basilika-anlegg. En sammenligning. Avhandling for magistergraden i kunsthistorie ved Oslo Universitet*. (stencil)
- Våra Kyrkor. Västervik 1990.
- Watt, M. 1991: *Sorte Muld. Høvdingesæde og kultcentrum fra Bornholms yngre jernalder*. // *Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark 2. Høvdingesamfund og Kongemagt*. P. Mortensen, B. M. Rasmussen (eds.). Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII:2. Århus, pp. 89–107.
- Wienberg, J. 1991a: *De kirkelige institutioner i middelalderens Tønsberg. Arkeologiske rapporter fra Tønsberg Nr. 6*. Tønsberg.
- Wienberg, J. 1991b: *Medieval Tønsberg, the church and the hinterland // Regions and Reflections. In Honour of Marta Strömberg. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in 8°, No. 20*. Lund, pp. 333–345.
- Wienberg, J. 1993: *Den gotiske labyrint. Middelalderen og kirkerne i Danmark*. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 11. Stockholm.
- Wienberg, J. 1999: *Enten-Eller. Apsidekirker i Norden*. // Hikuin 24. Høbjerg, pp. 7–44. (1997 as official, but incorrect year of print)
- Wihlborg, A. 1981: *Helsingborg. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museer rapport, Medeltidsstaden 32*. Stockholm.
- Wrangel, E. 1907: *Medeltidskyrkorna i Småland*. // *Medelanden från Norra Smålands Fornminnesförening I*. Jönköping, pp. 43–78.
- Wählin, H. 1939: *Landskrona forna kyrka och dess minnesmärken*. Malmö.
- Wählin, T. 1917: *Mariakyrkans i Ystad byggnadshistoria*. // *Minnesskrift utgiven av Ystad Fornminnesförening 1907–1917. Skrifter utgiven av Ystads Fornminnesförening 2*. Ystad.
- Wählin, T. 1919: *Malmö S:t Petri kyrka. Kortfattad historik och vägledning för besökande*. Malmö.
- Yrwing, H. 1978: *Gotlands medeltid. Visby*.
- Yrwing, H. 1980: *De s. k. köpmanskyrkorna*. // *Fornvännen 1980: 1*. Stockholm, pp. 44–57.
- Åhman, E. 1983: *Växjö. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museer rapport, Medeltidsstaden 46*. Stockholm.