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A Comparison of Stave Churches and Pre-Christian Cult-Houses, Their Origins and Influences

TOMPSEN, LYLE

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Appendix A. Stave Church Gazetteer and Sourcebook

The following work is a listing of the remaining stave churches. Following Norwegian methodology, a church is listed as a stave church if the remaining stave super-structure is mainly intact. Ambiguities can exist in any classification system and this is the case with stave churches. For example, Vågå church (Gudbrandsdalen, Oppland) is excluded because it was constructed as an amalgam of several stave churches (Hohler 1999: V1 257), yet the widely accepted Haltdalen stave church (in the Trøndelag Folkemuseum) is a combination of the original church supplanted by the torn down Ålen church. The focus of this work is the medieval era, and the stave church data below is biased in that direction. There has been an attempt to provide not only a gazetteer, but also more detailed information that is normally difficult to access. It is hoped this will aid future researchers. In this listing it has been endeavoured to present for each church:

1. A photograph of the church as it currently appears. It is often the case that these structures are under repair. 1000 year old wooden structures require extensive upkeep (at the time of this writing, Gol stave church is wrapped in a large plastic enclosure, and Undredal stave church is in pieces). The listing uses a clear photograph that is representative of the church in its landscape. Photographs other than the authors are employed if they are clearer, hence recent renovations may not be visible in these photos.
2. The oldest available graphic representation of the church is presented. This demonstrates the original appearance of the church before listing. This is necessary because many of these churches were radically altered when they were rebuilt after purchase. It is often the case that the 'restoration' of these structures was a dramatic reconstruction based on a fantasized ideal of what a church *should* look like. This was most often based on Borgund church. There was significantly more variability in these structures originally than is generally assumed. This can be witnessed in architectural drawings of destroyed churches that not only do not resemble any existing buildings today, but represent types not otherwise recorded.

3. A brief note about the current and original location of the church (if applicable) has been provided.
4. The construction of the church focusing on its earliest phase is detailed when this is known with some confidence. A brief summary of the known post medieval renovations is also provided in summary form.
5. The most current dating scheme is provided. Preference is given to dendrochronological dating when available.
6. Various survey plans and architectural drawings are presented for each church. It is worth noting that the surveys often date to the late 19th and early 20th century, modern surveys are often of the church as it currently exists (with current reconstructions). Many of the original source documents are unavailable for direct examination, photocopies (or acetate copies in the case of blueprints) are available for examination at the *Riksantikvaren*. Although preference has been given to employing primary sources, it is often the case that secondary sources have better preserved imagery. The clearest image has been employed, and its' secondary status noted. It should not be assumed that the modern church resembles the oldest surveys, the opposite is often the case.
7. Bibliographic details on church information. It is hoped this can be used as a tool for further research. Norwegian resources are very difficult to access outside of Norway. Although excellent survey works exist in English that look at stave churches in general (a listing is provided below), scholarly works related to specific churches are usually in Norwegian. Occasionally these works contain summaries in English, although the quality and details in these varies significantly. It is naturally the case that translators may not be aware of architectural terms and often just translate the Norwegian term directly. This has created some confusion (the term *svalgang* being a good example). Works in English can usually be determined by the title. The bibliography provided herein is not meant to be a comprehensive listing of all works related to a church (this is available in other places, listed below). It is prejudiced toward modern works and

key texts. It should be noted that when appropriate we refer to grey literature, some of which is online (although universally in Norwegian). There has been an ongoing process at the Riksantikvaren to digitalize the building conservation reports. These are available at:

<<http://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/handle/11250/176302>>. Although usually consisting of conservation reports, they often have pertinent information that is more current than any other source.

Online resources are becoming more common over time, although most resources are still in paper form. A good starting point for any research is:

www.stavkirke.info

The following is a bibliography listing archaeological works related to medieval subjects (the church section begins at page 28):

<https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/279069/Middelalderarkeologi_litteraturliste_emneinndelt.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y> [Accessed 18 November 2015]

A similar bibliography, this one done by region, is located here:

<https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/279069/Middelalderarkeologi_litteraturliste_middelalderbyene.pdf?sequence=7&isAllowed=y> [Accessed 18 November 2015]

8. It is to be expected that some readers will wish to visit these churches on their own. For this reason, Latitude and Longitude coordinates have been provided. However, these GPS coordinates are done using a portable GPS and are for navigation purposes only. It is suggested that if a GPS is used, get to the vicinity of these structures, and then follow signs (or just look around, they are often easily spotted). Some points about navigating in Norway need to be stressed. Norway's road system is often circuitous and less than extensive, and this is especially the case with rural areas. A map **MUST** be consulted. As an extreme example, Urnes Stave Church is easily reachable by a small ferry boat that crosses a fjord, and a one kilometre walk. To drive directly to it is possible, but will take

half a day of daylight to reach it, only to turn around and drive back after you are done. A second important point is that during the writing of this work several stave churches are under rather extensive scaffolding. Before embarking on a trip to visit these structures, confirm that it can be visited. This is done via a simple internet search, many churches have their own web site; inquiries to the Directorate of Cultural Heritage (www.riksantikvaren.no), or an email to the Church Warden (email addresses are included on the riksantikvaren.no site). All of whom are very helpful. And, perhaps it goes without saying, don't go in the winter! Several of these churches are unreachable, and usually closed, during that period.

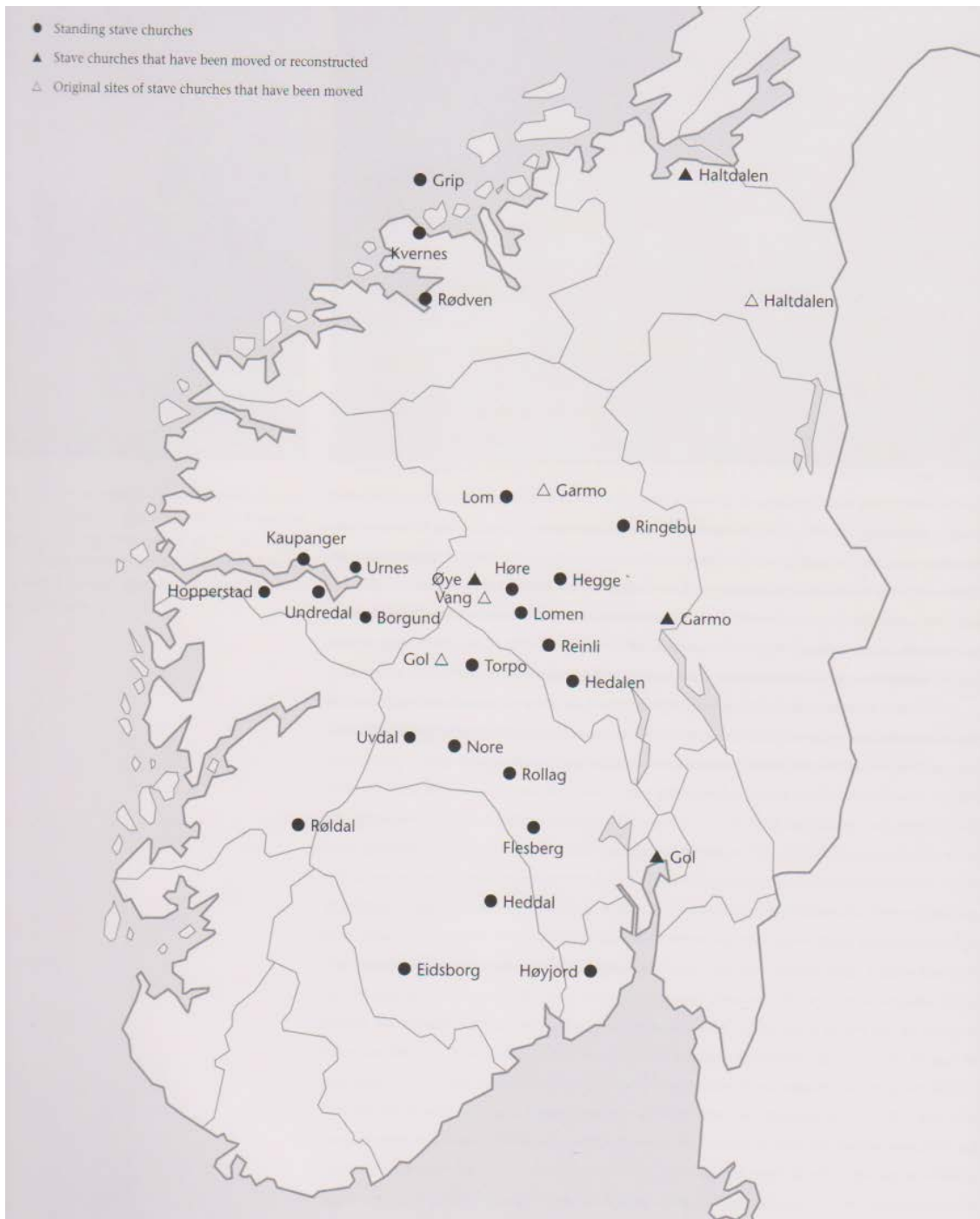
There are a number of documents that are unavailable outside of Norway in primary form. We have detailed how this is the case with items such as blueprints, architectural surveys and early photographs. However, several important excavations and building reports remain unpublished. These are available at the Riksantikvaren library and archives in Oslo. Some encyclopaedic works on stave churches have endeavoured to present parts of this data. We have used these secondary sources when either the primary sources were unavailable, or these source have better preserved imagery. It is not coincidental that the writers of these works are often employed at the Riksantikvaren or the Cultural Heritage organizations! Many of the older source documents do not reference the original creators. When this is known with some confidence, it is presented.

The most comprehensive and most current work in English that covers all of the standing stave churches is Ankar and Havran 2005 *The Norwegian Stave Churches (Kirker i Norge, Bind 4, Middelalder i tre Stavkirker* in Norwegian). This is available in both English and Norwegian versions. It may be worth noting that they use the same pagination, but the English version is footnoted incorrectly. The best work that covers stave church decoration (in English) is Hohler 1999 two volume *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture*. The work that best examines the origins of stave church architecture (although somewhat dated in parts is) Hauglid, Roar 1976 *Norske Stavkirker*:

Bygningshistorisk Bakgrunn og Utvikling. Oslo:Dreyers Forlag in Norwegian. The wooden church tradition throughout all of northern Christendom is investigated as a pan Christian movement in the encyclopaedic work by Ahrens, Claus 2001 *Die Frühen Holzkirchen Europas*. Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH in German. All of these works are judged against the very old, but very important: Dietrichson, Lorentz 1892 *De Norske Stavkirker: Studier Over Deres System, Oprindelse og Historiske Udvikling*. Kristiania [Oslo]: Alb.Cammermeyers Forlag in Norwegian (this is available online as a Pdf). Dietrichson's work is an exception, Norwegian books are not distributed in the US, so expect these works to be difficult to access.

Several stave churches were torn down before the desire to save these structures protected them. Drawings and plans exist of these older structures, as do several preserved portals and carvings. Blue prints and drawings are stored in the Riksantikvaren, Oslo, and the carvings and portals are scattered through various museums in Norway (the majority are in the Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo and Historisk Museum in Bergen). There is no master list of these no longer extant churches. With a few notable exceptions, such as Håkon Christies 1979 work *Nes Stavkirke*; plans, drawings and documentation relating to pulled down churches are unpublished (although they are stored at the Riksantikvaren and can be viewed). The closest to a comprehensive listing of these destroyed structures is maintained and updated on Wikipedia at:

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_archaeological_sites_and_dismantled_stave_churches>. Dietrichson (1892: 442-512) provides a listing of churches that are mentioned in documentary sources, and Hohler (1999: V1 11-12) has provided corrections to his list. Several of these sources exist only as one word references in ecclesiastical literature.



Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 100.

This map details the current stave churches and their locations. Gol, Garmo, Haltdalen and Vang church have been moved in recent times and their original locations are marked with an open triangle.

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Church name cross reference and location details

Church	Alternate Names	Region	Medieval Diocese	Notes
Borgund Stave Church	Church of St. Andreas	Sogn	Bergen	
Eidsborg Stave Church	Church of St. Nicolaus of Bari	Telemark	Hamar	
Fantoft Stave Church	Fortun	Sogn	Bergen	Burned down and reconstructed, Not part of the official listing (rebuilt copy location: 60.34160594 N 7.23333 E).
Flesberg Stave Church		Numedal	Hamar	
Garmo Stave Church	Maihaugen	Gudbrandsdalen	Hamar	Currently in Lillehammer
Gol Stave Church		Hallingdal	Stavanger	Currently in Oslo
Grip Stave Church		Nordmøre	Nidaros	
Haltdalen Stave Church	Holtålen, Holtaalls	Sør-Trøndelag	Nidaros	Currently near Trondheim
Heddal Stave Church	Hitterdal	Telemark	Oslo	Largest stave church
Hedalen Stave Church	Hedal	Valdres	Stavanger	
Hegge Stave Church	Heggen	Valdres	Stavanger	
Hopperstad Stave Church		Sogn	Bergen	

Høre Stave Church	Hurum	Valdres	Stavanger	
Høyjord Stave Church	Haugagjerdi, Højjord	Vestfold	Oslo	
Kaupanger Stave Church		Sogn	Bergen	
Kvernes Stave Church		Nordmøre	Nidaros	
Lom Stave Church	Lo kirke	Gudbrandsdalen	Hamar	
Lomen Stave Church	Hvams Kirke	Valdres	Stavanger	
Nore Stave Church		Numedal	Hamar	
Øye Stave Church		Valdres	Stavanger	Reconstruction of found parts.
Reinli Stave Church		Valdres	Stavanger	
Ringebu Stave Church		Gudbrandsdalen	Hamar	
Rødven Stave Church		Møre og Romsdal	Nidaros	
Røldal Stave Church	Relledalen	Hordaland	Stavanger	
Rollag Stave Church		Numedal	Hamar	
Torpo Stave Church	Church of St. Margareta	Hallingdal	Stavanger	
Undredal Stave Church		Sogn	Bergen	
Urnes Stave Church	Ornes	Sogn	Bergen	
Uvdal Stave Church		Numedal	Hamar	
Vang Stave Church	Świątynia Wang	Valdres	Stavanger	Located in Karpacz, Poland, because of this it is often excluded from official listings.

Medieval Parish information sourcing from Hohler 1999: V1

Stave churches:

Stave Church	Date	Date Source	Date Reference	Earliest Church Style
Borgund Stave Church	1180	Dendrochronology	Thun and Stornes 2003: 194	Basilica
Eidsborg Stave Church	Late 1200's?	Stylistic	Anker and Havran 2005: 164-167	Simple?
Flesberg Stave Church	1163-1189?	Documentation and Portal cross-dating	Anker and Havran 2005: 182; Hohler 1999: V1 110-1; Hohler 1999: V2 90-1	Basilica
Garmo Stave Church	1130?	Inscription	Anker and Havran 2005: 294	Simple?
Gol Stave Church	1200?	Dendrochronology	Storsletten 2013: 41-2	Basilica
Grip Stave Church	1400?	Stylistic	Anker and Havran 2005: 326	Møre
Haltdalen Stave Church	1159	Dendrochronology	Anker and Havran 2005: 314; additional details in: Storsletten 2000: 63-78	Simple
Heddal Stave Church	1200?	Stylistic	Anker and Havran 2005: 170-2, 176-7	Basilica
Hedalen Stave Church	1161-1163	Dendrochronology	Thun, Stornes, Bartholin, and Storsletten 2004: 204	Simple
Hegge Stave Church	1216	Dendrochronology	Christie, Stornes, Storsletten and Thun 2000: 273	Basilica

Stave Church	Date	Date Source	Date Reference	Earliest Church Style
Hopperstad Stave Church	1100?	Cross-dating of portal	Anker and Havran 2005: 132; Hohler 1999: V1 168-172.	Basilica
Høre Stave Church	1179	Dendrochronology	Christie, Stornes, Storsletten, and Thun 2000: 274	Basilica
Høyjord Stave Church	1160	Dendrochronology	Storsletten 2008: 3	Simple
Kaupanger Stave Church	1137	Dendrochronology	Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005: 124-5	Basilica
Kvernes Stave Church	1400?	Stylistic	Anker and Havran 2005: 318	Møre
Lom Stave Church	1157	Dendrochronology	Thun, Stornes, Bartholin, and Storsletten 2004: 203-204	Basilica
Lomen Stave Church	1179	Dendrochronology	Riksantikvaren 2005	Basilica
Nore Stave Church	1166	Dendrochronology	Christie, Storsletten and Thun 1999: 146-148	Mid-mast
Øye Stave Church	1200?	Stylistic	Anker and Havran 2005: 290	Basilica
Reinli Stave Church	1324?	Dendrochronology	Thun, Stornes, Bartholin, and Storsletten 2004: 204	Long
Ringebu Stave Church	1192-1220?	Dendrochronology and Stylistic	Anker and Havran 2005: 298	Basilica

Stave Church	Date	Date Source	Date Reference	Earliest Church Style
Rødven Stave Church	1300?	Stylistic	Anker and Havran 2005: 330	Møre
Røldal Stave Church	1200?	Stylistic	Anker and Havran 2005: 158	Simple?
Rollag Stave Church	1200?	Stylistic	Anker and Havran 2005: 186	Simple
Torpo Stave Church	1163?	Dendrochronology	Storsletten, 2002: 54-5	Basilica
Undredal Stave Church	1147?	Inscription	Anker and Havran 2005: 142	Simple
Urnes Stave Church	1129	Dendrochronology	Christie, Storsletten and Thun 1999: 148	Basilica
Uvdal Stave Church	1167	Dendrochronology	Christie, Storsletten and Thun 1999: 147-148	Mid-Mast
Stave Churches not on the 'Official List' of Norwegian Stave Churches:				
Fantoft (burned down 1992)	1200?	Stylistic	Generally accepted date: http://www.norgeskirker.no/wiki/Fortun_kyrkje	Basilica
Vang Stave Church (<i>Świątynia Wang</i>), rebuilt in Poland	1200?	Stylistic	Anker and Havran 2005: 282-4	Basilica
Other important Timber Churches mentioned in the text				

Stave Church	Date	Date Source	Date Reference	Earliest Church Style
Greensted Church, UK	1063-1100	Dendrochronology	Tyers 1996: 7	Simple
Hedared Stave Church, Sweden	1498-1503	Dendrochronology	Lagerlöf 1985: 107	Simple
Church of the Resurrection of Lazarus, Kizhi Island, Russia	1390	Documentation and Stylistic	Khadovsky 2016: 52-3; Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova 1989: 162	Klet

Table 1. Stave church index.

Medieval Parish Information sources from Hohler 1999. Stylistic dating schemes are provided by Anker and Havran (2005, 2005a) which summarise the current scholarly accepted dating and provide an extensive bibliography. Question marks in the Dating column suggest potential inaccurate date references, similarly, question marks in the Style detail signify possible inaccuracies related to the earliest church styles. These are all detailed in Appendix A.

The official count of standing stave churches in Norway is 28 churches. These are listed in Table 1 with specifics in Appendix

1.1 Borgund Stave Church



Borgund Stave Church



Borgund Stave church c. 1839. Drawing by A. Mayer, for P Gaimars *Voyage en Scandinavie* (1839: 40,41), secondary source: Christie 1978: 47.

Location: 61.04736, 7.8123

Dating: Dendrochronological dating shows the wood was felled between 1180 and 1181 (Thun and Stornes 2003: 194). Other dating exists (detailed below) that suggests the smaller steeples and ambulatory were constructed around 1200.

Similar Churches: Lomen and Høre. These structures are all located in the Sogn region of Norway.

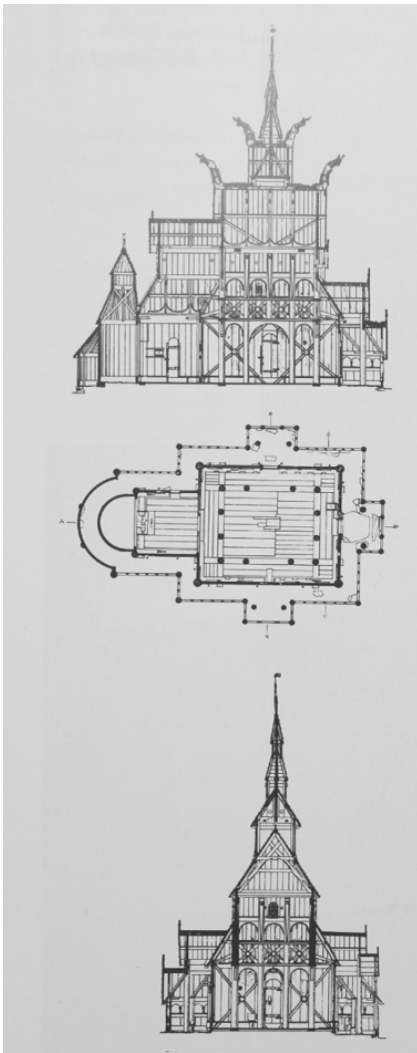
Borgund Stave Church is the best preserved, most researched and is often presented as the 'most typical' stave church. From an architectural and historical point of view its influence has been immense. Borgund was the type-site for stave churches and it was as the model when other churches were 'restored'. This is why so many structures are visually similar to Borgund. Several copies of the church, with varying degrees of accuracy, have been made worldwide (a listing of them is at:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stave_church). Borgund's remoteness originally preserved the structure. The importance of the church to the tourist industry can be gauged by the fact that one of the longest tunnels bored through a mountain range accesses it.

Although this church appears untouched by time, this is somewhat illusory. The entire structure is medieval, although not necessarily contemporary. It has never been in doubt that the building was medieval, but the precise dating of its individual parts has historically been controversial. One of the staves in the raised central room yielded a dendrochronological date demonstrating the wood was felled between 1180 and 1181 (Thun and Stornes 2003: 194). The external ambulatory is generally believed to have been built last, and in that it goes around the apse, suggests that the apse was built before it (discussed in Hauglid 1973: 284-286). An earlier apse is supported by finds of what is generally believed to have been parts of the original external ambulatory (documented in an unpublished excavation report from 1969 by H.E. Lidén stored in the Riksantikvaren). Hohler suggests the possibility this may be these may actually been the remains of an as yet unexcavated earlier church (Hohler 1999 : V1 121). Bjerknes on stylistic grounds argues that the nave and chancel were built first, then the apse and external décor such as the dragon heads, ridge turrets and ridge capping was added later (Bjerknes 1947: 30). It is however argued that these all stylistically match similar churches, such as Høre and

Lomen, that there is no inherent reason for presuming they were later (Hohler 1999: V1 120-121; Ankar and Havran 2005: 152).

Although the outside of the church preserves its mediaeval appearance and structure, the inside has been altered to some degree. Drawings exist of the insides of the structure that suggest a gallery or ambulatory in the nave. Early literary references and drawings suggest the inside had a colourfully painted vault torn down in the restoration of 1870. (Summarized by Ankar and Havran 2005: 154). The church has a number of medieval carvings located inside it. Three carved portals exist *in situ*, and various animal and human heads adorn the inside. Carved masks are located on top of the central staves.



The entire structure is original; although several parts, including some of the dragon gables; have been replaced over time. The external ambulatory encircles the structure. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 146.

Bibliographical Resources:

Borgund is extensively documented, and along with Urnes remains the most researched of the stave churches. This bibliography can only highlight key texts. Several important works including excavation reports and building examinations, remain unpublished and are stored at the Riksantikvaren archives. The references below also contain valuable bibliographies.

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 144-155.

Christie, Håkon 1978. Da Stavkirkene ble Reddet. *Årbok 1978*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (provides photo sources)

Christie Håkon, 1981. Stavkirkene-Arkitektur, *Norges Kunsthistorie, b. I-VII*, Oslo: I:149-153.

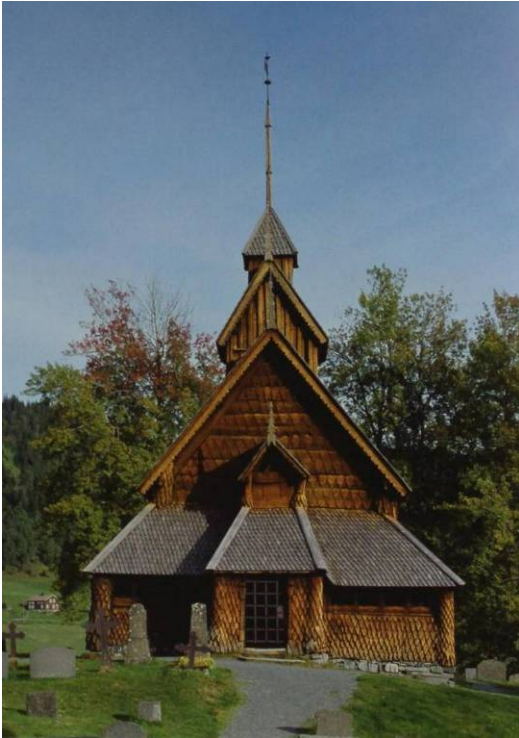
Hauglid, R. 1976. *Norske Stavkirker. Bygningshistorisk bakgrunn og utvikling*. Oslo: p. 332-335

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press. p. 115-121 (Page 121 contains a bibliography, as well as a listing of unpublished works).

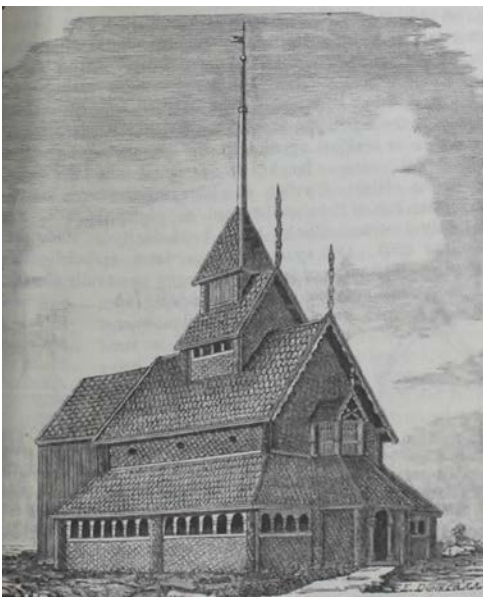
Storsletten, O. 2001. *Takene Taler, Norske Takstoler 1100-1350, klassifisering og opprinnelse*, vol I-II. Oslo: Con-Text, Avhandling 10, VII:210-213. (Details roof and superstructure details).

Thun, Terje and Stornes, Jan Michael 2003. Nye Dendrokronologisk Dateringer *Årbok 2003*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (dating evidence)

1.2 Eidsborg Stave Church



Eidsborg Stave Church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 162.



Eidsborg Stave Church as it appeared in the 1890's. Source: Dietrichson 1892: 395.

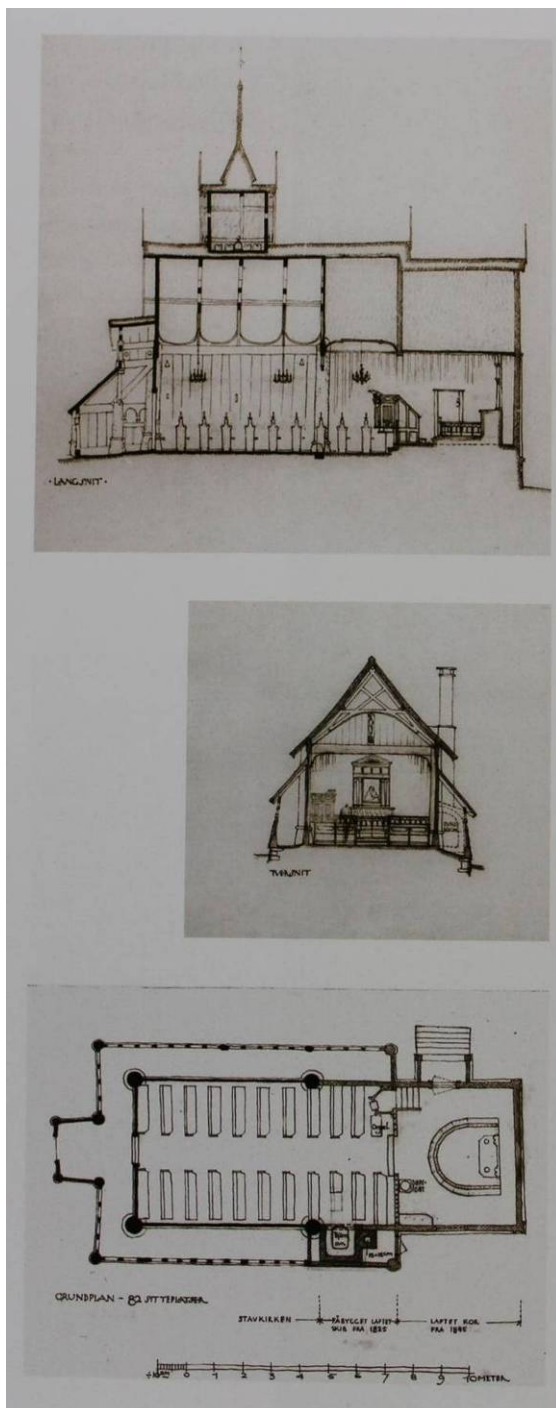
Location: 59.4645, 8.0205

The church is located near Eidsborg Lake next to the Vest-Telemark Museum, Tokke in Telemark.

Dating: The external ambulatory preserves several medieval carvings. Dating based on stylistic grounds of this and various other decorations inside, places this structure in the late 1200's. The interior also contains faded paintings sourcing from the 1600's

The early history of this structure is poorly understood. It has suffered significant reconstructions, and been expanded several times. It is generally believed this church was moved from another location and rebuilt in its current location. The ridge turret was constructed in 1727. The original chancel was torn down (and the external ambulatory extended) in 1826. There were extensive renovations done in 1845, which were then removed in another series of extensive renovations finished in 1929. The goal of the later renovation was to restore the building to its 17th century state. (Summary from Anker and Havran 2005: 164).

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Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source:
Ankar and Havran 2005: 164.

The western part of the nave, the cardinal staves of the original nave are in bold above, are original. The chancel, which originally would be expected to be smaller and square,

was torn down and replaced in 1845. It is believed that parts of the pentice are original as well (Hohler 1999: V1 127). The rest of the structure is modern.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 162-167

Anker, P., 1997. *Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie* Oslo: Cappelen p. 166-8

Eliassen, G. 1930 Restaureringen av Eidsborg Stavkirke. *Fortidsminneforeningens Årbok 1930*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring p. 51-58

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 127-9

Morten, Øystein 2008. *Stavkyrkja i Eidsborg, Ein Biografi*. Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press

Church Website: [www. Vest-telemark.museum.no](http://www.Vest-telemark.museum.no)

1.3 Flesberg Stave Church



Flesberg Stave church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 180.



Flesberg Church in 1701 by Niels Hansen Bragerne. It is located in the church.

Location: 59.8627, 9.433

The town of Flesberg lies in the valley of Numedal

Dating: The dating on this church is controversial. The church can only be indirectly cross-dated. The portals are original and are stylistically similar to the ones in Atrå. An inscription on the Atrå portals mentions a bishop who resided from 1163 to 1189. That appears to put the church in this same time frame (Anker and Havran 2005: 182; Hohler 1999: V1 110-1; Hohler 1999: V2 90-1).

Little in the external image of the Flesberg church presents the appearance of a stave church. The square windows, log-cabin construction, and lack of interior staves supporting a central room seemingly argue against stave church construction. Internally, with the exception of the west portal nothing is preserved from the medieval past. To all appearances this is a traditional wooden church of the type that could be seen in any village in Norway in the 18th century. As is the case with several of the stave churches, under the century's worth of construction originally stood a stave church. What little remains of the stave construction can be seen in the west cruciform arm. The sills here are original, as is some of the vertical interior planking. The west portal is original and belongs to the Sogn-Valdres decorative group. It remains the only obvious evidence that this is anything but a modern church.

As the painting located in the church from 1701 makes clear, the church had several renovations and expansions over its history. Most of these source from an expansion done in 1735, the painting suggests most of the medieval construction existed at that period. The cruciform arms were added at this time, and the chancel torn down.

Bibliographic Details

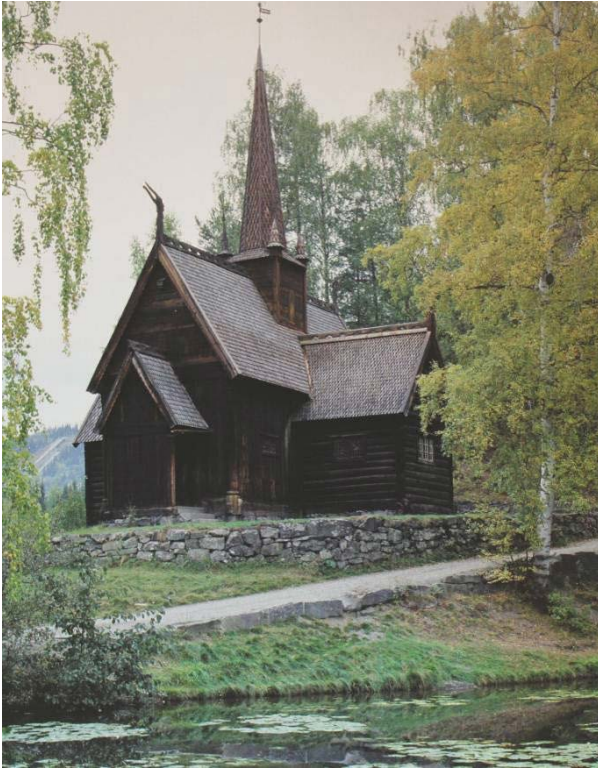
Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 180-183

Blindheim, M. 1985 *Graffiti in Norwegian Stave Churches*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, Norway p. 23

Christie, Sigrid and Christie, Håkon. 1981: *Norges Kirker, Buskerud*, Oslo: Vol I:267-268, 272, 276-77.

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture* (Volume 1), Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 130-132.

1.4 Garmo Stave Church



Garmo Stave Church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 292.



Garmo Stave Church in 1870. Source: <<http://media31.dimu.no/media/image/NF/-724/0?byIndex=true&height=800&width=800>> [Accessed 15 May 2015]

Location: 61.110916, 10.4764.

Dating: this dating of this structure is suspect, it appears as an amalgam of several churches. Two 18th century inscriptions inside the church suggest it was built in 1130.

This church is currently located at the outdoor building museum at Maihaugen, Lillehammer. Originally it stood between Lom and Vågå. In all likelihood this church would have been forgotten, except that St. Olaf's saga mentions a church from Olaf's visit to Lom and Vågå in 1021. This church (no dating places it in the correct time frame) became associated in the romantic mind with Olaf's visit.

The church is a small cruciform construction. The arms are made in log cabin style construction, while the nave and chancel maintains the standard stave construction. Dragon gables and ridge combs complete the image of a stave church. The church contains an original soapstone baptismal font, but all other inventory is from other churches.

The church's scenic location in a park belies a complex past. It was rebuilt in 1690, the transept arms added in 1730. The church was pulled down in 1882, with its parts sold at auction. Some structural parts were purchased in 1909 and the structure (complete with new dragon headed gables) was rebuilt in Maihaugen in 1921. (Summary after Anker and Havran 2005: 293-294). Judging by the different construction methodologies and different wood planks visible in the interior, it is unlikely any of the structure is original or medieval. To all appearances, this church was rebuilt, possibly from other church architectural remains, in the style of the local churches.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 292-295

Anker, P. 1997. *Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie*. Oslo: Cappelans p. 109-10

1.5 Gol Stave Church



Gol Stave Church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 216.



Gol Stave Church in 1846. Drawing by J. N. Pram. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Christie, Håkon 1978. It should be noted that this drawing was apparently copied by Hans Fredrik Gude in c. 1882.

Location: 59.908, 10.6833

Similar Styled Churches: Hegge and Høre

Dating: Dendrochronological sampling has been surprisingly controversial. Dates of the supporting staves, have ranged from 1123-1213. One sample was dated 1074. This range is believed to be caused by the reuse of older wood (Storsletten 2013: 41-2). The generally agreed dating is *c.* 1200.

Gol Stave Church, originally from Gol, Hallingdal, is located in the *Norske FolkMuseum* in Oslo. Ease of access from the capital city in Norway, and its location up the street from the Vikingship museum, make this the only stave church a casual visitor to Norway will likely see.

The church was extensively rebuilt in 1739 and 1802-3. The medieval parts of the church were purchased by the Society for the Preservation of Monuments in 1881. King Oscar II donated some land (creating the world's first outdoor museum) and paid to have the church reconstructed in 1884 (Hohler 1999: V1 141). The images above demonstrate how different the church today looks in comparison to its 19th century drawings. Its reconstruction was clearly based on Borgund, with its dragon heads and combs. The church has two original carved portals, and the remains of interior paintings from the 17th century.



Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 218. This section and plan is after the church was reconstructed in 1884. Note the similarity of the side view (top photo) to Borgund. Only the superstructure of the nave is believed to be medieval.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 216-223

Blindheim, M 1985 *Graffiti in Norwegian Stave Churches* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget p. 27.

Christie, S. og H. 1981. *Norges kirker, Buskerud , b. I-III*, Oslo: I:39-60.

Hansteen, W. 1886. *Den gamle stavkirke fra Gol i Hallingdal*. Christiana: Fjerde Beretning om Bygdø Kongsgaard med Tillæg.

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 141-144.

Jensenius, J.H. 1996. Fra en omvisning i Gol stavkirke. *Middelalderforum*, 2:15-23.
<<http://www.stavkirke.info/wp-content/artikler/artikkel-gol>> [Accessed 15 February 2015] (Provides an overview of Gol church and its issues).

Storsletten, Ola 2013. "Bevaret af den gamle kirke". *Registrering av opprinnelige deler i Gol stavkirke*: NIKU Oppdragsrapport;101/2013 Oslo: NIKU Available online at:
<http://www.nb.no/idtjeneste/URN:NBN:no-bibsys_brage_43254 > [Accessed 12 August 2016]

1.6 Grip Stave Church



Grip Stave Church. Source: Valebrokk, and Thiis-Evensen 2001: 86.



Grip Stave Church in 1923. This is before the 1930's renovations that were done to reverse the earlier renovations from the 1870's. Externally this can be seen in the different turret structure and the windows. From the personal photo collection of Kristian Berge, source: <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/fylkesarkiv/8422944209/in/photostream/>> [Accessed 25 January 2015]

Location: 62.3338, 7.6095

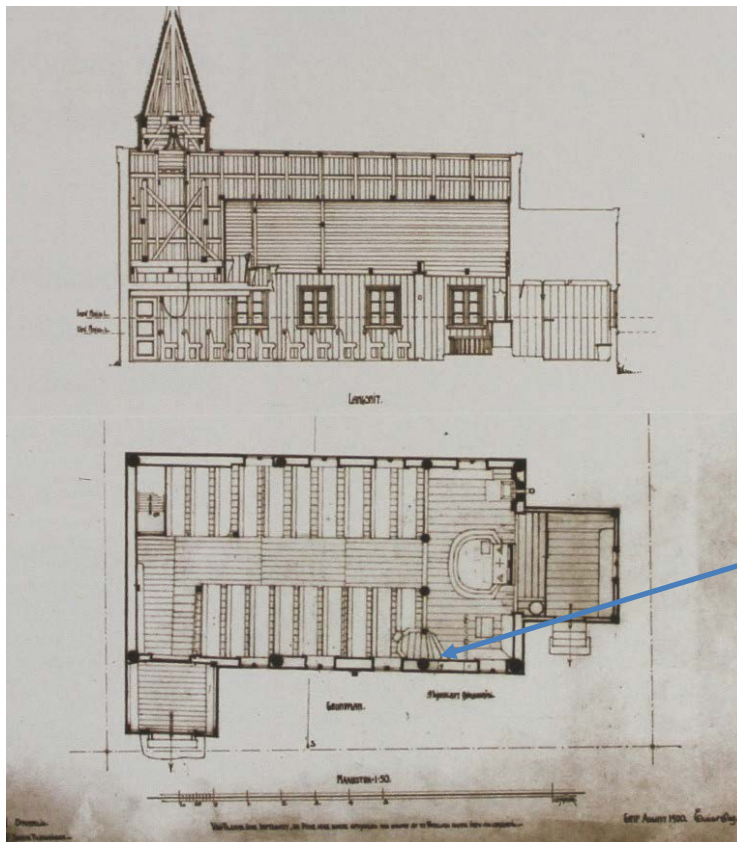
Similar Styled Churches: Rødven and Kvernes (Møre style churches)

Dating: Dating for this church is unknown. General consensus places this in the late Middle Ages *c.* 1400 to *c.* 1500. This date is supported by the intermediary staves which are generally dated to this time frame, stylistic cross dating with the other Møre style churches, as well as an economic boon seen during this time frame.

Grip is a small island with an abandoned fishing village, now part of Kristiansund. It is only accessible by boat. Numerous storms, some washing the city itself away have relegated this community to oblivion (details in Dahlstedt 1973). The church though always survived the storms. Grip Stave Church is located in the middle of the island. It has a strong architectural resemblance to other Møre style stave churches. The church itself is one of the poorest preserved stave churches, with little remaining of its original medieval structure. There are no early photographs or paintings of it, and its original appearance is unknown.

Structurally the church lacks the *skorder* braces seen in the other two Møre style churches. Like them, it lacks knee braces and has intermediary staves. The external panelling runs vertically. The interior is plain, the visible inventory and structure is modern. Traces of paintings can be seen inside, but little of medieval origin is visible.

There is a complex history of renovations to this church. Documentation (an inscription in the nave) suggests the church was rebuilt in 1621. It was extensively renovated in the 1870's, then another series of renovations in the 1930's attempted to reverse the renovations of the 1870's. At this point, the church was jacked up and placed on a concrete foundation (summary by Anker and Havran 2005: 324-327).



Intermediary Staves

Drawing by O.S. Einer in 1900. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 326.

An important point to note in these drawings is the existence of intermediate staves in the walls. This is a characteristic that can be seen in the other Møre style stave churches and acts as the field marker for these types of churches.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 324-327

Anker, P., 1997. *Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie*, Oslo p. 177-179.

Dahlstedt, G. 1973. *Fiskeværeret Grip. Trebygg i Norden*. Oslo.

Olstad, Tone 2009. *Grip stavkirke. Alterskap, alterduk, antependium og andre interiørdetaljer. Tilstand 2009*; NIKU Oppdragsrapport: 128/2009. Available online at <<http://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/handle/11250/176379>> [Accessed 20 August 2013] (This provides an overview of the interior of the church)

Solberg, Kristin; Genfors, Malou; and Wedvik, Barbro 2006 *Grip stavkirke - konserveringsarbeider i 2006 Rapport Kunst og inventar*; 62/2006 Available online at <<http://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/handle/11250/176379>> [Accessed 5 June 2013] (This is a conservation report, but provides details on the buildings history).

1.7 Haltdalen Stave Church



Haltdalen Stave Church. SMT



This unprovenanced photo appears in several sources purported to be the only existing image of the original Haltdalen church (before it was moved and reconstructed).

However, this structure appears very different from the church that can be seen today.

There is no evidence in the photo of carved portals or bulbous based cardinal staves.

Also, windows and a tower can be seen where no evidence of this exists today. For this reason, this photo is suspected, and may not be the correct church. Source:

<<http://www.vertshusetcaroline.no/pld.htm>> [Accessed 15 August 2015]

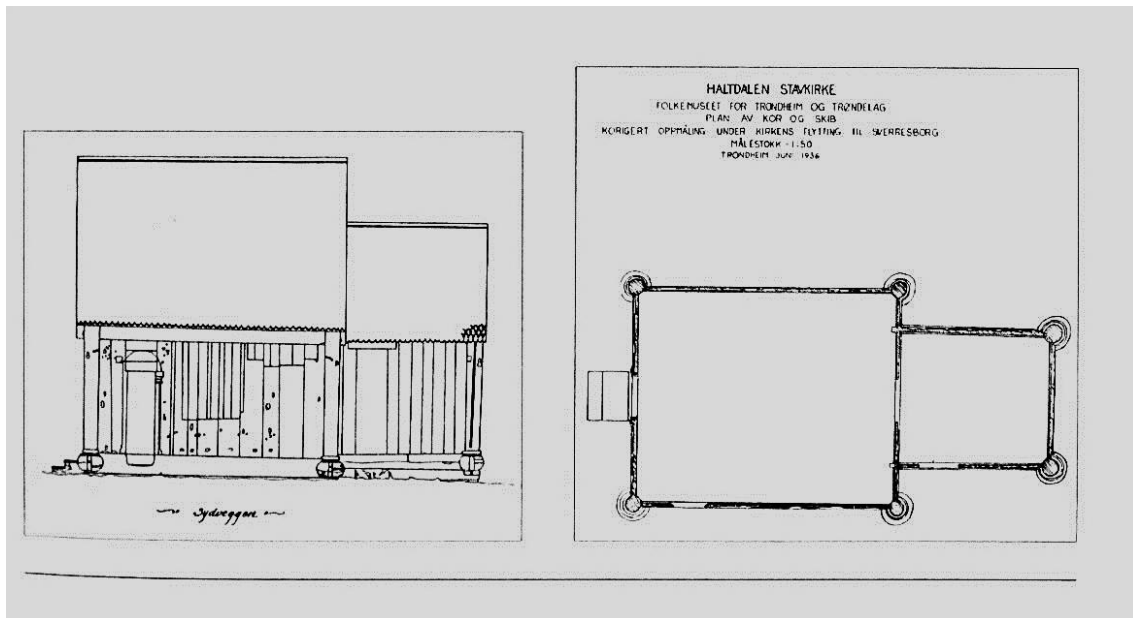
Location: 63.417903, 10.355113, located in Sverresborg (outdoor building) Museum, Trondheim.

Similar Styled Churches: Undredal and Eidsborg (German sources separate these out, considering the latter two as a modification of the former, Ahrens 2001: 252-254).

Dating: A Dendrochronological date from the northern transept provided a felling date of 1159, however other attempts at dendrochronological dating have placed this in 1170 (Storsletten, O 2000; Anker and Havran 2005: 314). The building contains timber from other structures, so the dating must be considered tentative.

Archaeology suggests this two-cell nave and chancel form is the precursor to the Norwegian Stave Churches. This style of church is often found buried in the floors of modern churches. Stone examples of this are numerous as well (documented in Appendix B). This church is a simple rectangular building, with a small square chancel. There is no raised central room, nor bays, and it has a simple roof structure. The wall planking is vertical and sits in a wall sill, this and the supporting staves are elevated on a rock foundation. One of its most distinctive features is the bulbous column bases on the supporting staves. These have proven unique, in that they are more similar to stone constructions, than any other timber church. The west wall is a reconstruction from the torn down Ålen stave church (Dietrichson 1892: 390). This is the only standing original example of the medieval wooden two cell church style widely seen in the North Sea region. The late (1506) Hedared stave church in Sweden is its only counterpart.

This building has been disassembled and moved three times since it fell into disuse in 1881. In the earliest recorded disassembly, evidence was found that this has been disabled and moved previously (summary by Anker and Havran 2005: 314).



Haltdalen Stave Church. Source: Grong 2008: 27.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, P. 1997. *Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie*, Oslo p. 179-181.

Anker, Leif and Havran Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 312-314

Christie Håkon, 1981. Stavkirkene-Arkitektur, *Norges kunsthistorie* Vol I. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag p. 139-252

Grong, Bertel (ed) 2008. *Årbok for Namdalen 2008*. Namdal: Namdal Historielag

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 147

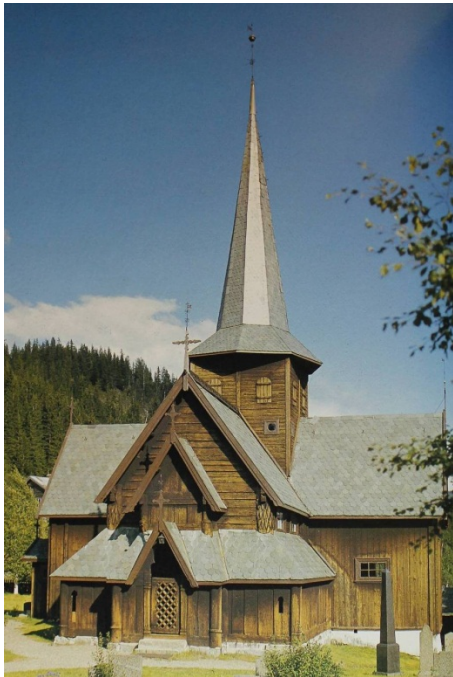
Nygaard, J.H., 1950. *Den Gamle Haltdals-Kyrkja*. Trondheim: Turistf

Storsletten, O 2000 Haltdalen Stavekirke, en bygningsbeskrivelse. In *En stavkirke til Island*, Seip, E. (ed.) Oslo: NIKU p. 63-78. (This describes the building and secondarily provides dating evidence)

Storsletten, O. 2001. *Takene taler, Norske takstoler 1100-1350, klassifisering og opprinnelse, I-II*. Oslo: Con-Text, Avhandling 10, II:246-249. (This describes the simple roof structure of the building).

Church website: www.sverresborg.no

1.8 Hedalen Stave Church



Source: Valebrokk and Thiis-Evensen 2001: 52



Hedalen as it appears in a postcard from 1903 (before reconstruction). Source:

<http://media31.dimu.no/media/image/NF/NF.04887->

104/0?byIndex=true&height=800&width=800> [Accessed 13 March 2015]

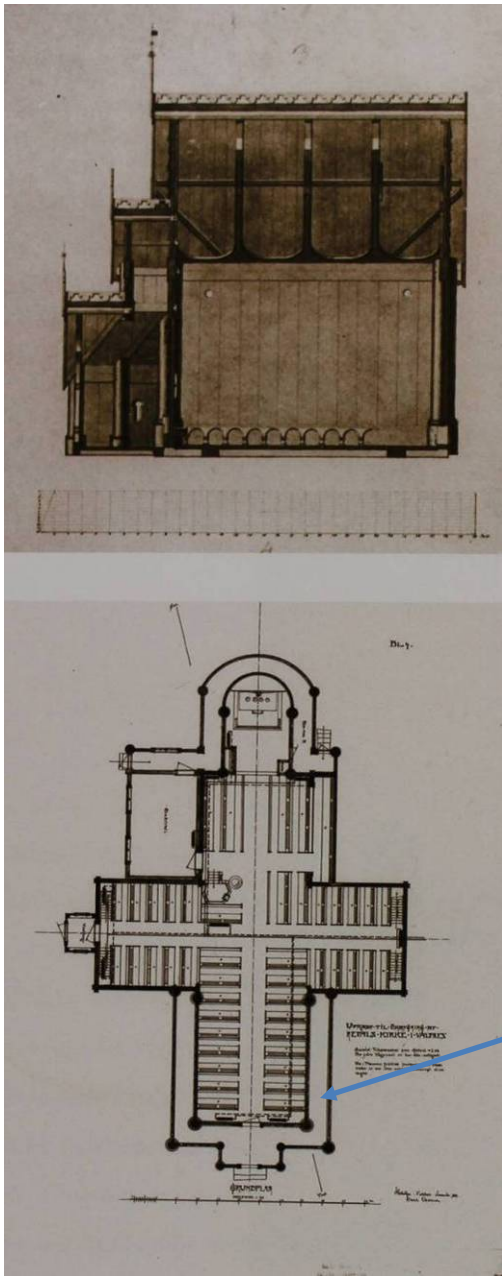
Location: 60.6225, 9.6907

Similar Styled Churches: in its original form this was a Simple styled church. It shared its two cell structure with Haltdalen.

Dating: Four dendrochronological dates for this church suggest the timber was felled between 1161 and 1163 (Thun, Stornes, Bartholin, and Storsletten 2004: 204).

Hedalen Stave Church is located in Sør-Aurdal, Oppland. It is off of a what was once the main road though Valdres, but today is a small side road. It is best known for its well preserved west portal which includes the finely wrought original ironwork. Also of note is the chancel reliquary (the Hedalen Reliquary). Five intact reliquaries are extant in Norway, but this is the only one in-situ. In that the dragon headed reliquary is a copy of a church, it provides details on what these early churches looked like. The church interior also preserves an altar piece that is an early wooden copy of the church. Although the walls are unpainted, the church contains a large number of wooden carvings. The decorative Romanesque door fixtures are the among the best wrought in Norway.

Structurally only the west arm of its current cruciform shape is original. The building was expanded significantly including the building of the transept arms in 1699, and the addition of a spire in 1740. A further series of renovations occurred in 1902.



The original medieval stave structure can be seen in the west arm.

Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 236. The west arm shows the original nave with intact medieval cardinal staves. The external ambulatory is likely original (Hohler 1999: V1 147). This church in its original form was a simple rectangular building without a raised roof. All the other additions have been added later. In a detail that is rare, it is believed that the outside wall panels (which run horizontally) is medieval.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, P., 1997. Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie, Oslo p. 129-132

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 234-241

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture* (Volume 1), Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 147- 150.

Thun, Terje; Stornes, Jan Michael; Bartholin, Thomas and Storsletten, Ola 2004. Nye Dendrokronologisk Dateringer. *Årbok 2004*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (Dating evidence)

Church Website: www.hedalen.no/stavkirka

1.9 Heddal Stave Church



Heddal Stave Church. Source: Kunstforlag 2005: 4.



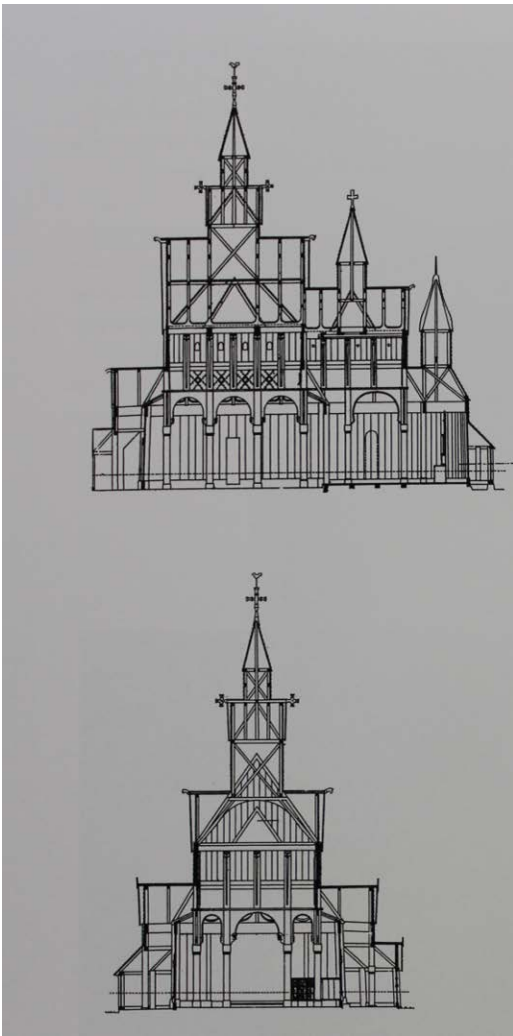
Heddal Stave Church in 1837. Source: Dahl 1837: Plate2.

Location: 59.5795, 9.1763. The church is outside the town of Notodden.

Dating: The church has been radically altered over time. Thus, the dating of the structure via dendrochronology has been unsuccessful. It contains original inventory dating to the mid-thirteenth century. The earliest documentary evidence for the church is a mention of it in a document dated 1315. (Anker 2005: 176). Although there are several contradictory stylistic dating schemes, the 1315 date remains a definitive *terminus post quem*.

At 8 by 20 metres and a turret that towers 25 meters above the ground, this is the largest of the stave churches (Anker 1997: 168). It bears a striking resemblance to the later large wooden churches seen in Eastern Europe and Russia. The church has animal heads on its gables and masks along the inside (although only a few are medieval). The interior was originally extensively painted in the 17th century, some medieval artwork can be seen under it. Several pieces of medieval inventory are extant.

In 1699 it was enlarged and converted to a cruciform church (Bugge 1983: 28). It has been rebuilt at least twice since 1849. There is little left of the original medieval stave church. Its importance to stave church studies is more in its historical importance. This church was the first stave church documented in survey (in 1834 by Johan Flintoe, whose drawings are in Dahl 1937) and was investigated by Dahl's (1837) early work on stave churches.



Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 170. This much altered church originally sources from the Middle Ages. The staves in the church have been dramatically altered (being replaced, removed, or extended). The original appearance of the church is not clearly known. However, there is an early painting of the interior, as well as some pre-restoration ground plans that show what appears to be an off centre central stave. Although there is little evidence of it today, this suggests that during part of its lifetime (the imagery sources from the 19th century) this may have been a mid-mast church. All of the fabric visible today sources from later reconstructions.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, P., 1997. *Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie*, Oslo: p. 160-166.

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 168-179

Blakstad, G. 1956. Heddal stavkirke, før og efter restaurering, *Fortidsminneforeningens Årbok 1956* p. 1-24.

Brendalsmo, A. et al 1990. Arkeologiske undersøkelser på Heddal prestegård. *Varia* 20, Oslo.

Bugge A. 1954. *Heddal Stavkirke*. Oslo

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 150-156

Stave church website: <http://www.heddalstavkirke.no/>

1.10 Hegge Stave Church



Hegge Stave Church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 250.



Hegge Stave Church c. 1890. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

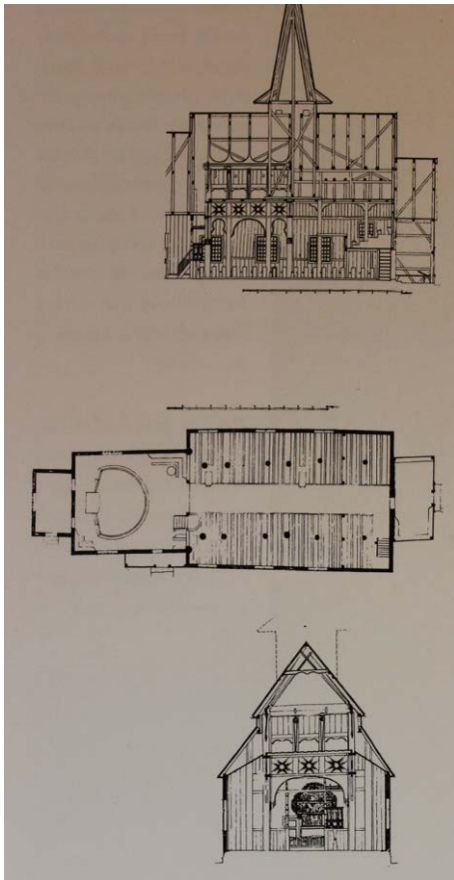
Location: 61.1577, 9.0237. This is located in Østre Slidre, in Valdres.

Similar Styled Churches: Gol and Høre (not coincidentally, they were all rebuilt at the same time).

Dating: The dating of the church is provided by three dendrochronological dates. They show the timber felled 1214-1216 (Christie, Stornes, Storsletten and Thun 2000: 273). However, there is some evidence that this church may contain parts from an older church. There are reasons to suggest the porch portal is older and not original to this church (Hohler 1999: 158).

Hegge church today appears a modern church with vertical panelling, and square windows. It has a central room with painted brown stave superstructure, green walls and a white ceiling. Little is left of its medieval origins. The staves in the central room are original. The ornate west portal is original (the other carved portal in the porch is believed to be a transplant). The decorative item Hegge is best known for is its masks. The top of the staves in the central room have carved faces, outlined in black. Although not unusual, the Hegge masks are more ornate than most. The baptismal font, in common with several other stave churches in the region, and an incense censor is all that remains of the medieval inventory.

Structurally, the chancel was expanded in 1807, and the nave in 1844. An extensive restoration by the architect Arnstein Arneberg in 1924-1925 resulted in the church seen today (summarized by Ankar and Havran 2005: 250).



Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 252. The staves in the central room are (on the left in the middle plan) are original. The upper section of the central room is covered with a ceiling, blocking direct viewing of the masks. It can be accessed via a loft.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, P., 1997. *Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie*, Oslo p. 122-125

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 250-259

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 157-162

Christie, Håkon; Stornes, Jan Michael; Storsletten, Ola and Thun, Terje 2000. *Årbok 2000*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (Dating evidence)

1.11 Hopperstad Stave Church



Hopperstad Stave Church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 128.

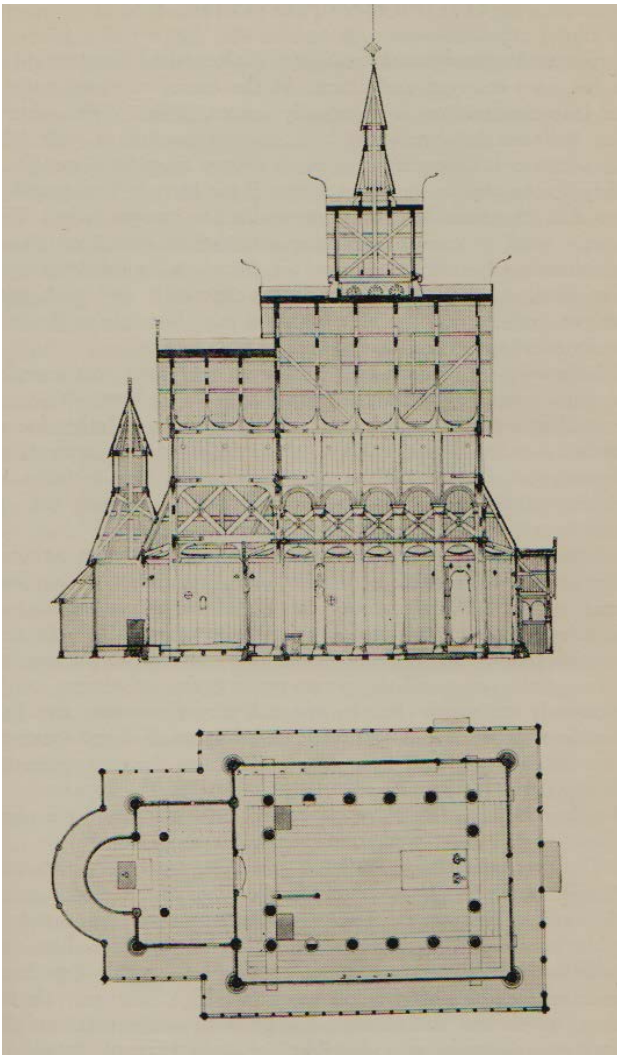


Hopperstad in 1884. Drawing by Peter Blix, Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Christie 1978: 52.

Location: 61.0773, 6.5689

Dating: There is no concrete date for the church. Dating of various types has been attempted, but since what is actually original in the church is open for debate no dating systems has proven conclusive. The portals appear to be related to the Urnes style (possibly 1100's) and there is evidence that the original church, whatever it actually looked like, was richly decorated. Pieces of decoration (likely from a stave) in the Urnes style (supporting the dating in the 1100's) were found under the floor during the 'restoration'. All other details are unknown, and likely to not ever be known.

Hopperstad church presents a microcosm of the hazards of preserving these old wooden structures. The church that can be seen today can best be described as a combination of a late 19th century church deconstruction, and a romanticized medieval stave church reconstruction. This structure during its history has been: the wealthiest church in Sogn, an active regional seat, an abandoned building, and a storage barn. This church was purchased in 1880 by the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments. But, only the medieval parts were actually purchased. The post-medieval rooms and furnishings were torn down and sold. Architect and Engineer Peter Blix was hired to 'restore' the church. The first step was to completely clean and scrape off the decorative paintings (baroque and medieval) on the inside. So little was left of the original medieval structure, its original appearance is not known. Blix then recreated the stave church based on what little evidence he could gather, but mainly on his conceptions of what a stave church should look like (which was effectively based on Borgund).



Longitudinal section source: Kloster and Bjerknes (undated) page 6. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage. It is likely that the cardinal staves in the nave and the two in the chancel follow the original floor plan (although these were reconstructed). The drawing of the original parts by G. A Bull in 1854 suggest this. However, none of this is definitive.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 128-137

Bjerknes, Kr. 1944. Romansk og gotisk i våre stavkirker. En studie omkring Hopperstadkirken. *Årbok 1944*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring p. 7-42.

Christie, Håkon 1978. Da Stavkirkene ble Reddet. *Årbok 1978*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (photo source)

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 168-172

Kloster, R. 1969. Hopperstad stavekirke i Song. *Årbok 1968*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (photo source)

Kloster and Bjerknes (n.d.) *Hopperstad stavekirke* (this is a church pamphlet, published by Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring). p. 6

1.12 Høre Stave Church



Høre Stave Church. Source Anker and Havran 2005: 270.



Høre Stave Church (left) as it appeared in a photo dated 1900. Source: Hermundstad and Frøholm 1968: 7.

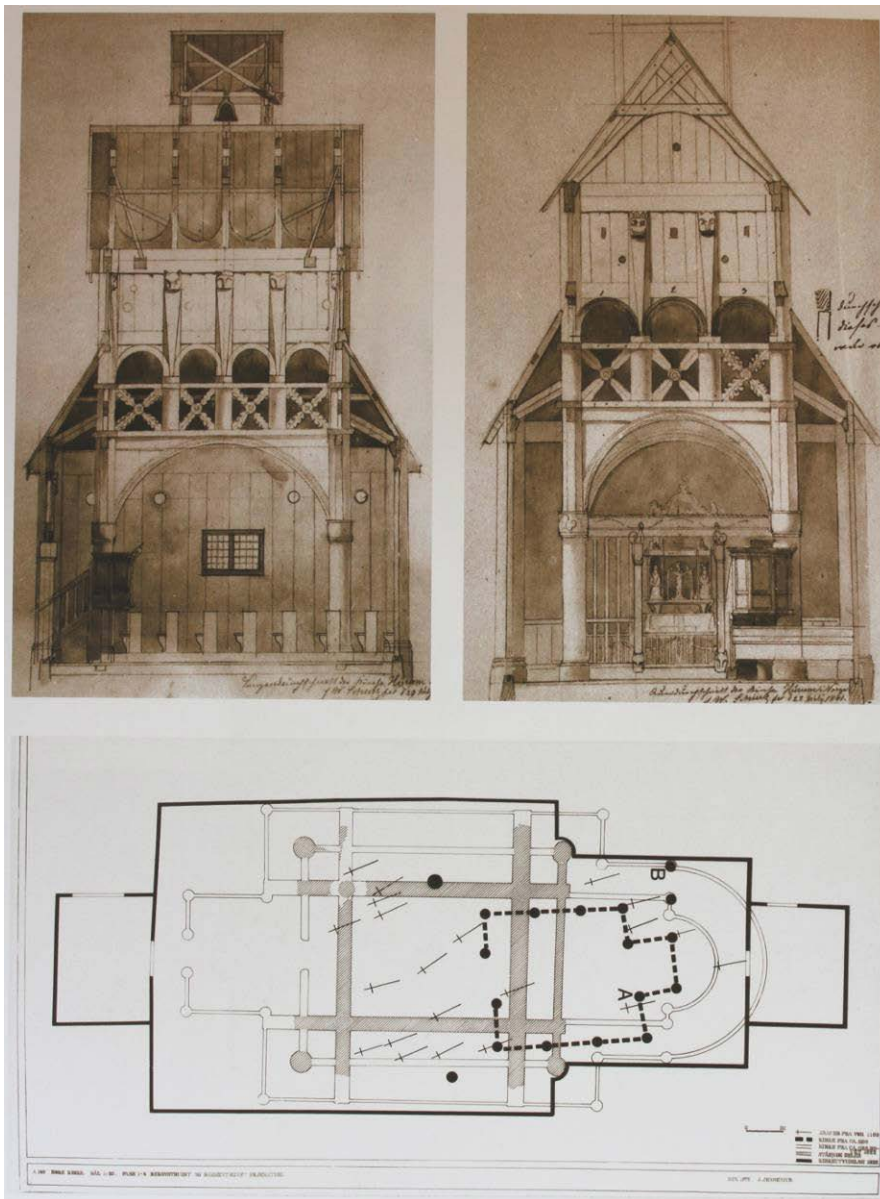
Location: 61.1533, 8.8039. The church is located in Høris.

Similar Styled Church: Lomen

Dating: There is a runic inscription on one of the staves (SE corner, centre room). It relates that the timbers for the church were felled by two brothers (Elling and Audun) in Nidaros. It also mentions an Erling J... (the inscription breaks off here) of Nidaros. It is presumed this refers to Earling Jarl (killed in 1179). The Elling is the Elling of Kvie, mentioned in saga sources. This is supported by coin evidence (detailed in Berg 1981: 69-84) and well as a dendrochronological sample (Christie, Stornes, Storsletten, and Thun 2000: 274) of the same stave that shows a felling date of winter 1178-1179.

Høre is second only to Borgund in its extensive decorations. From the outside it resembles a high nave basilica, complete with an octagonal pinnacle. This is however deceptive, in that the exterior has been completely altered. The interior, like Borgund is highly decorated. The main focus of this decoration is carvings. There are two original carved portals (the west portal is the most complete). The interior is decorated with masks. The impression given to the observer is that there are similarities here with the decorative elements at Borgund, Lomen and Lom. These are so similar in design, execution and date that the influence of one master builder, or perhaps school, can be suspected. With the exception of an incense thurible, nothing of the medieval inventory is left. The walls are unpainted.

The church was rebuilt in the early 1800's. A pen and ink drawing demonstrates that little of the external portion of the church resembles what it looked like before changes.



Upper photo is from the survey done in 1853 (long after the reconstruction of the early 1800's) by G.A. Bull. The image on the bottom provides excavation details imported on the modern survey of Jørgen Jensenius (1978). The archaeological remains of the original church and graveyard are in dotted lines. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 272.

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1.13 Høyjord Stave Church



Høyjord Stave Church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 210.



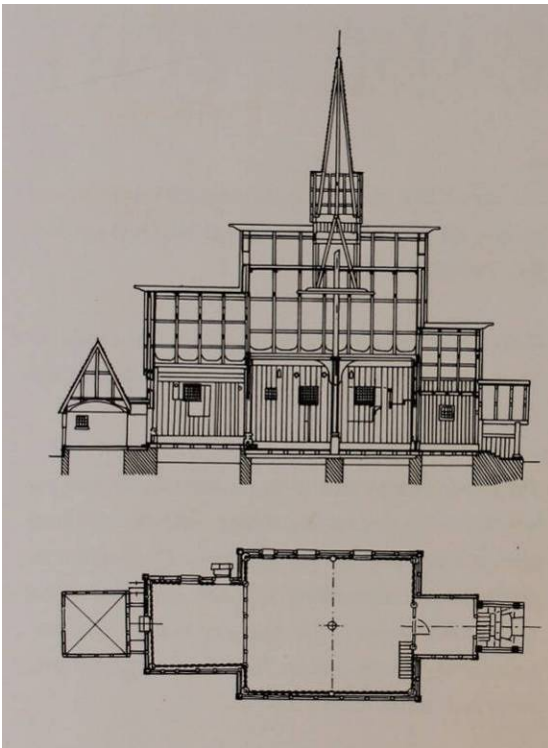
Høyjord Stave Church before the post war restoration. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

Location: 59.3674, 10.1211

Dating: This is one of least known stave churches. A program was initiated to survey and analyse the structure in 2007. Previous to this, it was noted that parts of the structure, specifically the pointed arch, appear to be based on stone gothic architecture. The church parish first enters documentary evidence in 1274. Therefore a date in the 1200's was assumed. However, an unexpectedly early successful dendrochronological date of 1160 was recovered (Storsletten 2008: 3).

This church is unique for being the only stave church in eastern Norway's flatlands. Although this region is well known for its preserved medieval stone churches, this is the only stave church. This structure was discovered fairly late (1904). A large free-standing mid-mast is the most visible interior super structure (in the centre of the nave). This was added during the restoration of the structure, based on the find of a round stone in the area. No traces of the expected roof bracing for this exist, and this appears spurious. The interior as seen today, bears no resemblance to the photos of the interior from the 19th century. The interior walls with the exception of some reconstructed medieval paintings, and the remains of a few late medieval drawings, are bare. There are no medieval carvings extant.

The building was extensively restored between 1948-1953 (Anker and Havran 2005: 212 terms it more a reconstruction than restoration). The interior and exterior walls were replaced, the building jacked up, and placed on a concrete foundation. The appearance it has today is very different than that the church looked like originally.



Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source:
 Ankar and Havran 2005: 212. The rectangular nave and square chancel can be seen in the lower floor plan. The cardinal staves inside the walls can also be glimpsed. It is believed that much of the stave structure is original.

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Berg, O. 1947-48. *Høyjord Stavkirke*. Vestfoldminne p. 54-71

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 182.

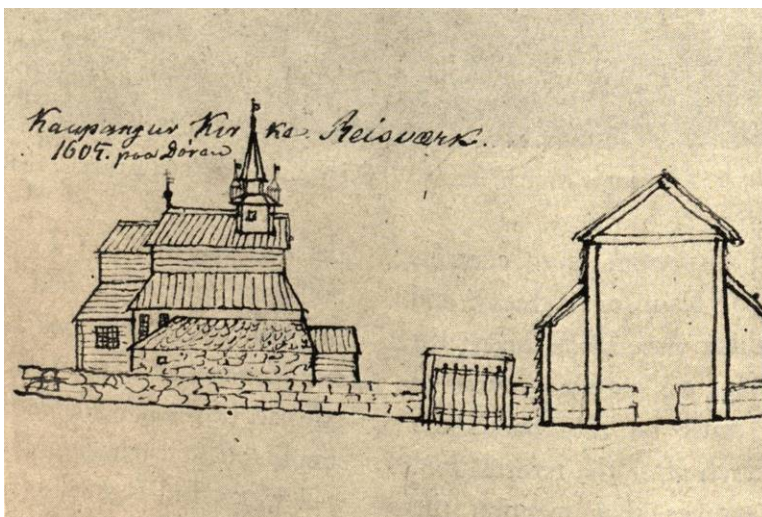
Pettersen, F. 1905. Høyjord Stavkirke. *Årbok 1905*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring p. 307-323

Storsletten, Ola 2008 En gotisk stavkirke! Oppmåling og undersøkelse av Høyjord stavkirke. *Rapport Bygninger og omgivelser*;17/2008, Oslo: NIKU. Available online at <
http://idtjeneste.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-bibsys_brage_25221>

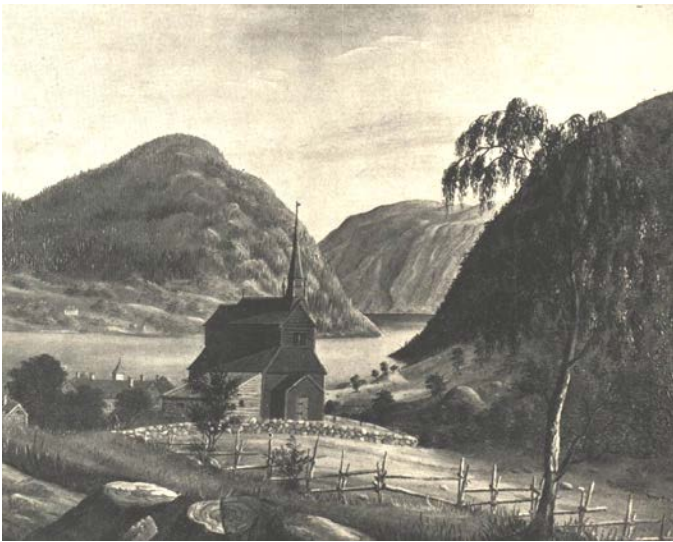
1.14 Kaupanger Stave Church



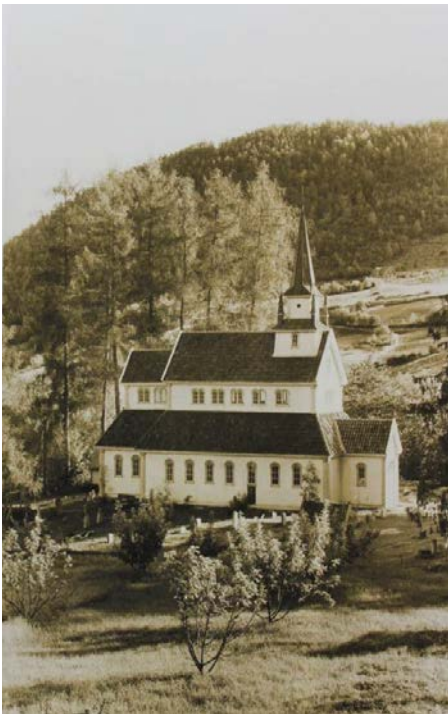
Kaupanger Stave Church. This structure is unique in that the changes in the church structure can be seen in 400 years of preserved imagery.



Kaupanger Stave Church as drawn in 1609. Source: Bjerkens 1975: 50.



Kaupanger Stave Church in about 1830. Source, an oil painting by Knud Baade (Bjerkens 1975: 49).



The church as it appeared in 1964. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

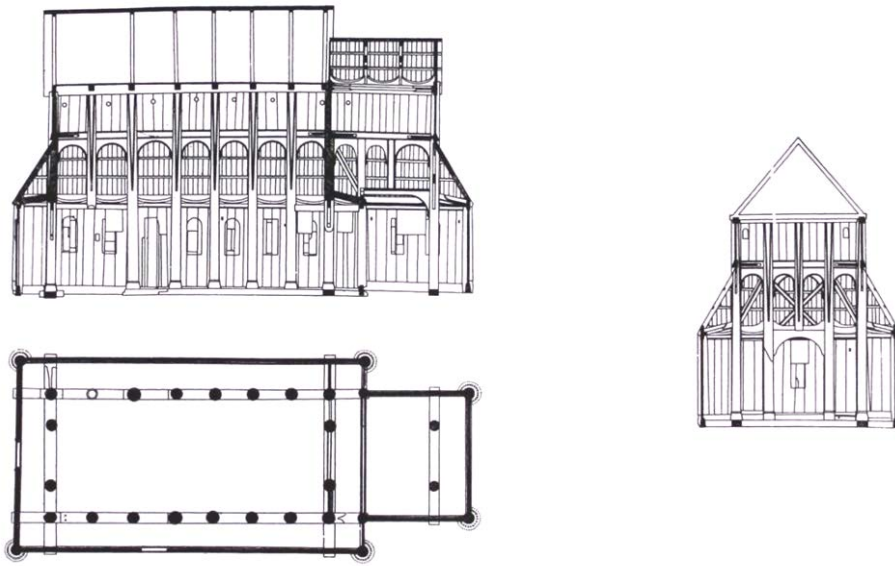
Location: 61.1842, 7.2334

Dating: The dating of the current church is controversial. A coin found during the excavations and reconstruction in the late 1960's dated the first church to 1177-1202. The burning of that church is usually related to the historical burning of Kaupanger in 1183-1184. This event is detailed in Sverre's Saga. A dendrochronological date of the south portal of the current church provided a date of 1137 (the report is unpublished but stored at the Riksantikvaren in Oslo, with the details in Anker and Havran 2005).

The church sits at the Bay of Able, at Sognefjord. The town sits in a sheltered harbour that was once a trading centre, the term *kaupang* means trading centre or town. The church is important for a number of reasons. First, it is surprisingly well documented, both via drawing and painting, as well as early documentary evidence (including mentions in Sverris Saga). Secondly it has been extensively excavated.

The church is a particularly long church. Its interior decorations are almost exclusively from the 1600's. The west portal is original, although altered. The arch over the chancel entrance is also medieval, although originally part of an altar baldachin. Church restorations done in the 1600's and 1862 (detailed with photos in Bjerknes 1976) removed any visible medieval stave construction. Only the original superstructure invisible behind the walls remains. Further restorations in the 1960's returned the building to its appearance in the 1860's.

The church preserves the remains of two preceding post churches in its floor. A small church (Building 1, Bjerknes et al 1975: 21-3) dating from the second half of the 1000's, and the second (Building 2, Bjerknes et al 1975: 23-7) from the early 1100's.



Source: Image above, Bjerkens 1975: 62, Right image Bjerknes: 1975: 54. The cardinal staves in the nave and the two in the chancel provide clues to its medieval structure. The rest of the structure is covered by modern walling.

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Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 184-185

1.15 Kvernes Stave Church



Kvernes Stave Church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 316.



Kvernes Stave Church recorded in a water colour by J.F. Dreier in 1826. Source: Storsletten 1993: 153.

Location: 63.0055, 7.722

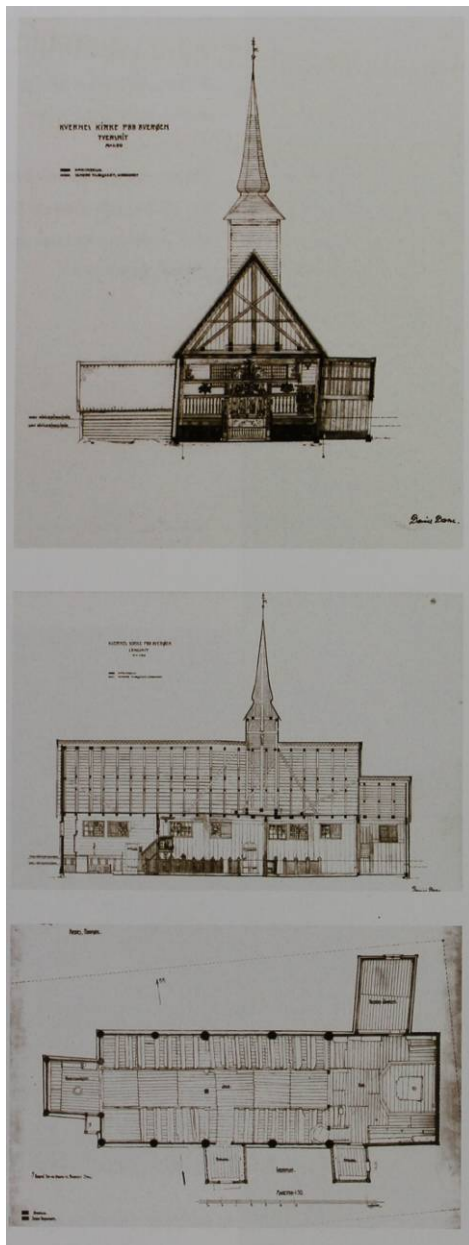
Similar Styled Churches: Nore and Grip (Møre style stave churches).

Dating: Mentioned in a primary source document (Archbishop Aslak Bolt's cadastre or rent book) in 1432, it likely dates only a century or so before that. The intermediary staves seen in this structure can be cross dated to the 14 century.



Kvernes Stave Church reconstruction from 1633. Source: Valebrokk and Thiis-Evensen 2001: 82. The painting is located inside the church.

Kvernes stave church is a Møre style church. This style is characterized by the angular *skorder* braces that hold up the sides, as well as the intermediary staves and simplified roof structure. It is one of three remaining churches of this style. Written descriptions and traveller's tales suggest that the style of this church (using shoring braces in lieu of angle braces) may have been a common regionalism in the 15th century.



Survey drawings signed Daniel Dane (c. 1900). Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 318.

The staves composing the nave of this church are all that remains of the medieval structure. This church, like the others of the Møre type have been extensively and continuously rebuilt and altered. The intermediate staves can be clearly seen in the lower drawing.

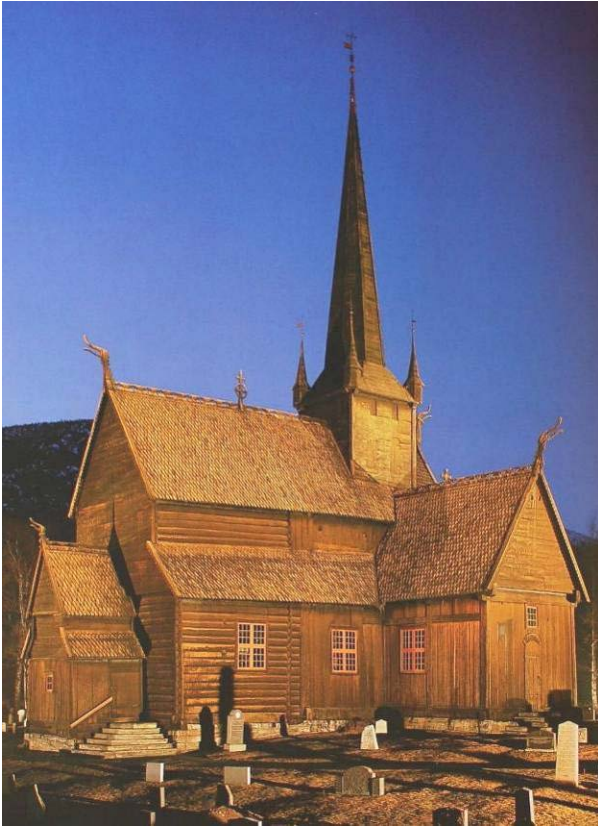
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Christie Håkon, 1981. Stavkirkene-Arkitektur, *Norges kunsthistorie*, b. I-VII, Oslo: I, 239-241.

1.16 Lom Stave Church



Lom Stave Church. Source: Kunstforlag 2005: 28.



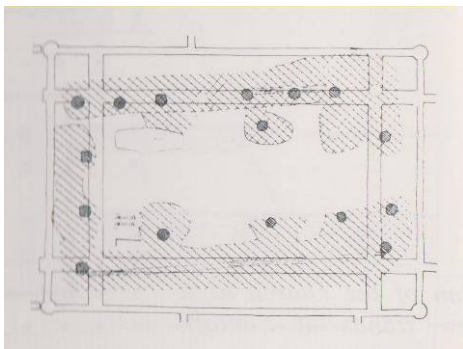
Engraving of Lom church in 1863. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

Location: 61.8399, 8.5661

Dating: The church was built in various phases and the dating of the nave does not appear to match the dating of the chancel. Initial dendrochronological dating was inconclusive due to a lack of finding the original wooden superstructure (Christie, Stornes, Storsletten, and Thun 2000: 275). A re-examination of the site (Thun, Stornes, Bartholin, and Storsletten 2004: 203-204) uncovered a cluster of sample dates from the winter of 1157-1158. This is supported by archaeological recovery of about 300 coins from the late 1100's.

Lom is the medieval city of Loar, famous because its first priests were ordained by St. Olav. The church is one of the largest stave churches. It has been continuously added to but the original nave and chancel appear intact. The original staves, wall plates and sills are still in place. The chancel has several design features that are different than the nave, but also different from any other stave church. For example, the staves are shaped differently, the corner staves are round, but the intermediate staves are square. Also, the bracing structures in the chancel are not symmetrical, as would be expected. There is no apparent explanation for this. The church has three preserved medieval portals. The dragons on the gables are replacements. The interior decoration reflects the 17th century reconstruction.

Lom is also known for the archaeological discoveries made in it. Excavations in the 1970's shows that this church has a post church underneath it. Rather like Urnes and other churches, this is not the first church at this site.



The excavation diagram above shows the traces of the earthen posts of the earlier church. These trenches were lined with wood and well drained. Coins found in the soil dated to

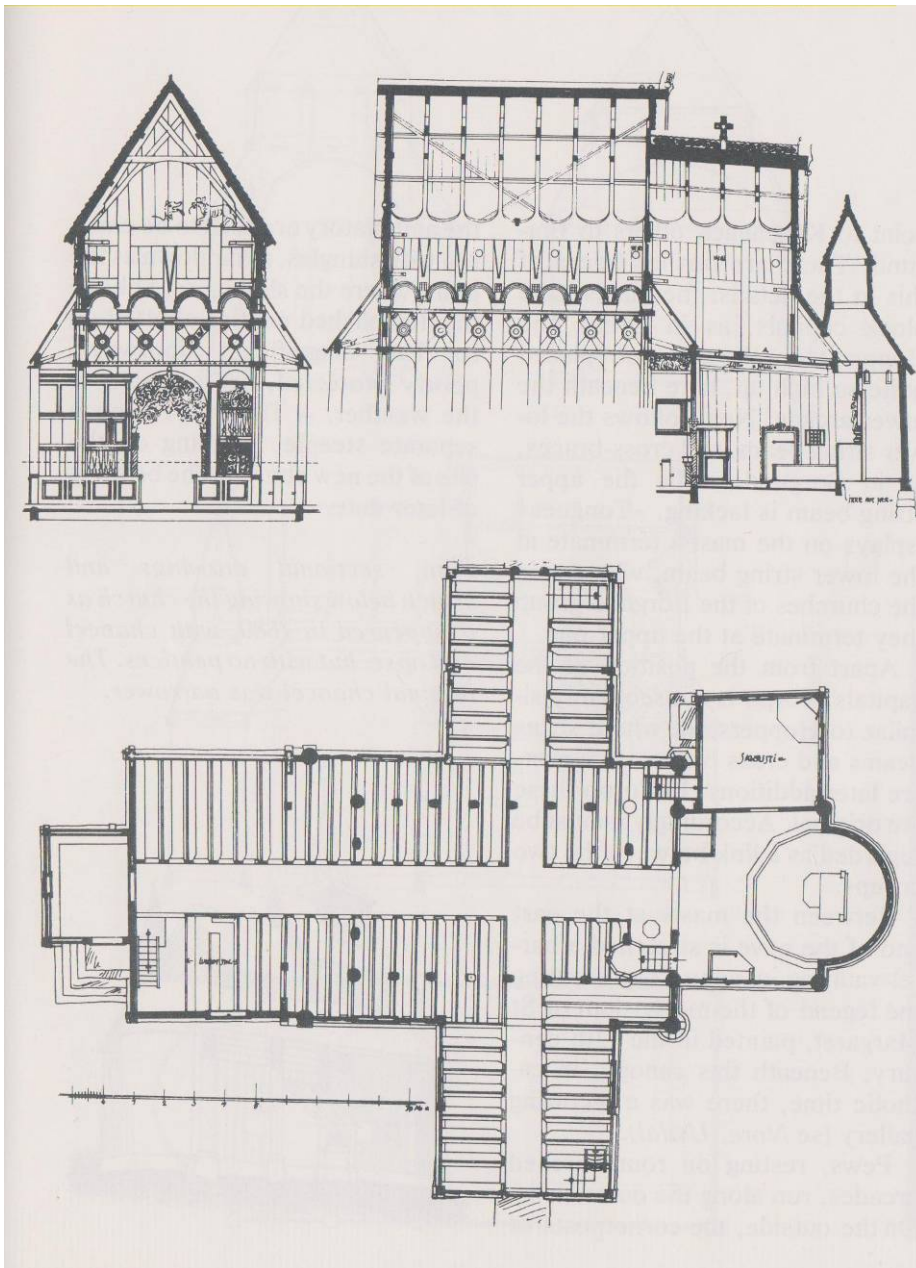
1030 to 1060. Håkon Christie has suggested that some inner posts found in the excavation may be evidence of an inner room, perhaps a fore runner of the existing raised centre room type churches (Christie 1978: 101-112). These three central posts can be seen in the centre of the photo above.

One of the post holes (upper left central post in the excavation image above) was on top of what appeared to be a Christian grave. This, and the literary evidence of St Olav, suggest a long Christian lineage in this area, and the possible existence of an even older church.

Excavations were extensive and also provided other interesting finds (Christie 1978a: 197-200). This included:

- A pilgrimage badge from Bari, Italy.
- Fragments of stained glass.
- Various documents including a Latin grammar and some hymns.
- Various magical items (inscriptions and bags containing animal parts).
- Under the floor a burial location for aborted (or miscarried) fetuses was discovered.
- 2245 coins, of which six were from the 11th century and suggested to be from the earlier church at the site.

The pilgrimage badge serves to remind us that travel, often of great distances, was not as uncommon as would be supposed. This becomes important to keep in mind as we look overseas for the inspirations of stave churches.



These survey drawings source from Budge (1983: 59, after Christie H. 1978). The bottom floor plan shows the medieval structural remains in the center of the photograph. The original structure appears to consist of a nave with interior staves, with a chancel and apse possibly added later in the medieval period (Hohler 1999: V1 187).

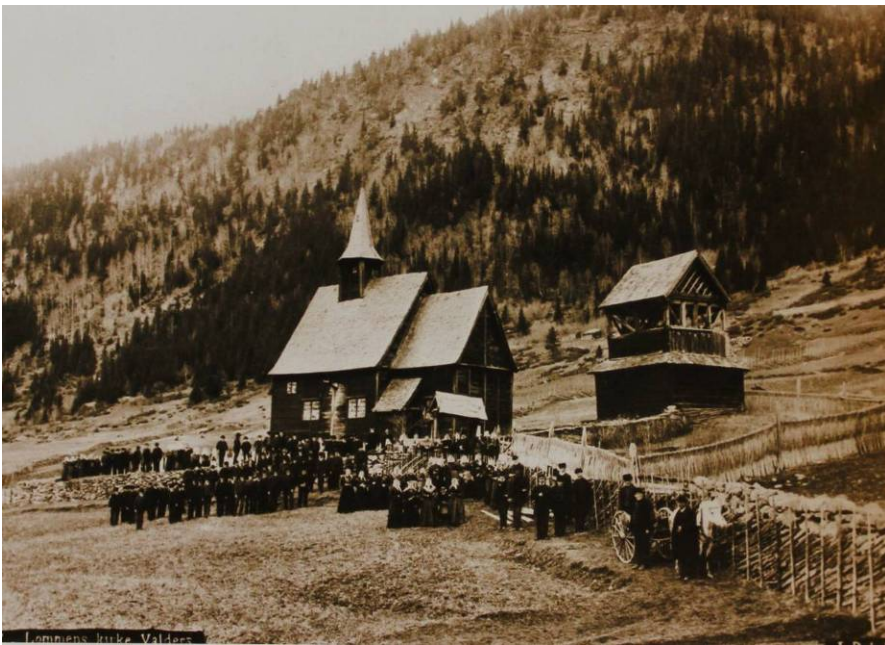
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1.17 Lomen Stave Church



Lomen Stave Church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 260.



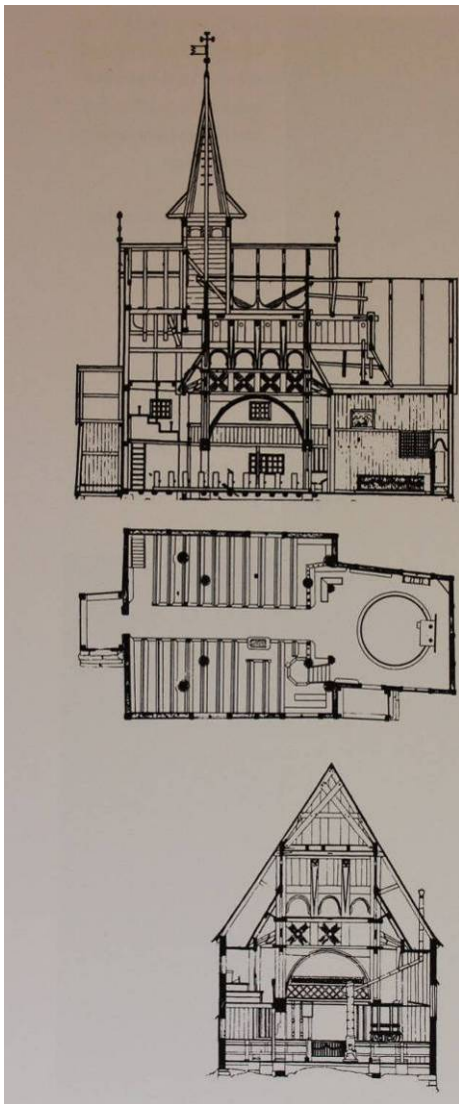
Lomen Stave Church c. 1900. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

Location: 61.1328, 8.8907

Similar Styled Churches: Høre and Borgund.

Dating: It is suggested that the same work master builders created all three churches. If this is the case, then this would date to around c. 1180. Several dendrochronological dates have been recovered, the most recent is a felling date of 1179 (Riksantikvaren 2005)

The church was expanded in 1779. This entailed moving the walls out. Hence the interior outside walls (the original medieval ones) are now on the inside of the building. The original staves on the elevated centre room are still extant. The original chancel is no longer extant. There are three carved portals, and the corner staves have carved capitals. Little of the medieval inventory remains. The interior is plain, with green painted walls.



Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source:
Ankar and Havran 2005: 262. The centre floor plan preserves the medieval staves of the original church (they form a rectangle). These staves hold up the roof today. The design methodology for creating this structure (one of the most comprehensive studies of this type) are covered in Jensenius 1988.

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Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 260-269

Christie, H, Stornes, J. M.; Storsletten, O and Thun, T. 2000. Dendrokronologiske dateringer av Norkse Bygninger. *Årbok 2000*. Oslo: Foreningen Til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring

Hauge, K. (1971) 1990. *Lomen stavkyrkje frå ca. 1200-åra og fram til 1970*. Fagernes

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p 191-194

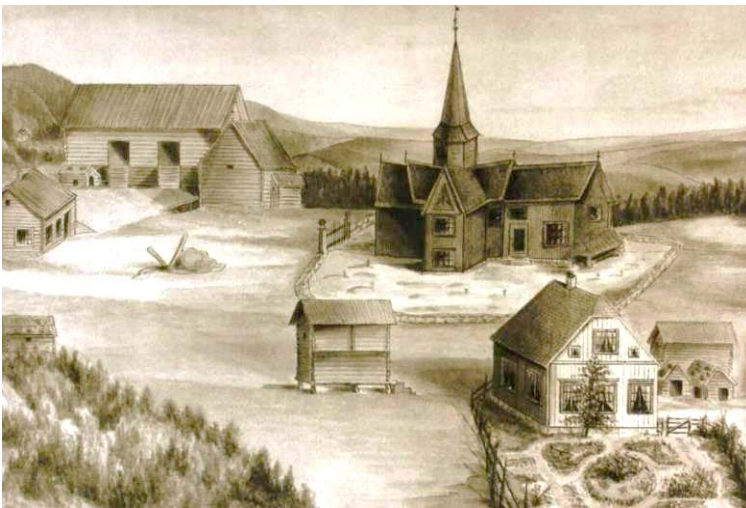
Jensenius, Jørgen H. 1988. *Lomen Stavkirke: En Matematisk Analyse; The Stave Church of Lomen, A Mathematical Analysis*. Oslo: Alvheim & Eide

Riksantikvaren 2005 *Lomen stavkyrkje (faktaark)* Available online at:
<http://idtjeneste.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-bibsys_brage_24927

1.18 Nore Stave Church



Nore Stave Church Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 190.



Nore Stave Church in 1857. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 196.

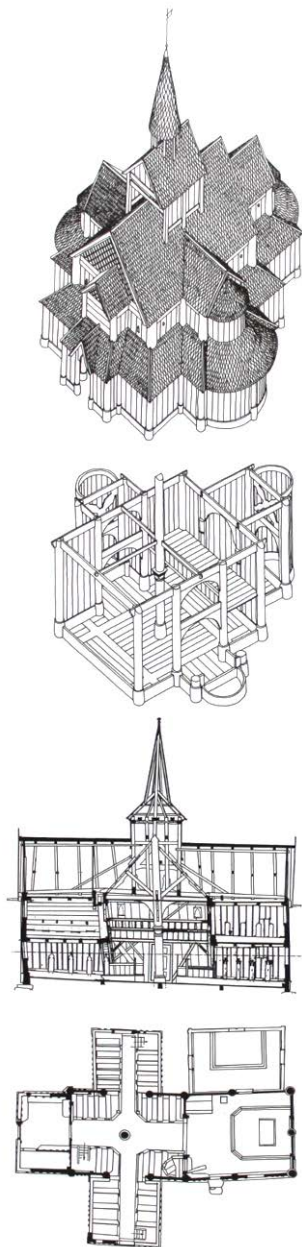
Location: 60.1646, 9.0103

Similar Styled Churches: Uvdal

Dating: Dendrochronological dating on the mid mast and SE corner staff shows a felling date of winter 1166-1167 (Christie, Storsletten and Thun 1999: 146-148).

Nore is one of only two churches in Norway (the second being Uvdal) built with an equal arm cruciform pattern originally. The thesis suggests this may be based on brick or stone models. Structurally, the church was designed with the cruciform pattern from the start. This is demonstrated by the traces on the mid-mast and the wall plates. The intermediary staves in the transept suggest, as do some dendrochronological dates, this was actually built in the fifteenth century. Some have suggested this sample may have been a repair (the controversy is summarized in Ankar and Havran 2005: 196). The interior of the church is extensively painted with styles and colours of the period from 1650-1730. The baptismal font and the carved west portal are survivors from the medieval period.

The church was expanded in 1683, and pews were added in the 1700's. The ridge turret that can be seen today is from 1730. An interesting historical point is that this church was owned by Lorentz Dietrichson (the stave church researcher) who donated it to the Fortidsminneforeningen in 1890.



Drawing by Håkon Christie (1969) of a hypothetical reconstruction as the church would have appeared in its various reconstruction stages. The top image shows the church exterior with all of the various additions as it may have appeared originally. The second image down shows the likely view of the supporting structure (excluding the external ambulatory). The bottom two images show the church as it currently appears. Note the

oldest part of the structure is marked in bold on the bottom image. It is worth noting this is still somewhat hypothetical, the exact nature of the cruciform is still under debate. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 192.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 190-199

Christie, Håkon; Storsletten, Ola and Thun, Terje 1999. *Årbok 1999*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (Dating evidence)

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 201-3

Riksantikvaren 2004. Nore stavkirke (faktaark) Available online at:

<http://idtjeneste.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-bibsys_brage_24931> (This is a summary of current research).

1.19 Øye Stave Church



Øye Stave Church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 288



Øye Stave Church in 1960 with the original 156 discovered parts reconstructed. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

Location: 61.1678, 8.3999. This church is located in Valdres, along the main road in Øyebakken.

Dating: Dating is based on the style of the original portals. Stylistically, this places the church in the thirteenth century. Concrete evidence for the dating of this church is quite lacking.

This church has a unique history. When repairs were being done to the local church in 1935, workmen found the remains of its stave church predecessor neatly stacked under the floor of the church. Eventually a suitable location was found and the church was reconstructed between 1960 and 1965. Some of the original parts of the stave church (mainly the portals) were originally preserved in the modern church, built in 1747. They were sent to the Cultural Museum in Oslo. There is an interesting opening preserved in the nave floor. It has been theorized this was a burial place for deceased infants and unborn embryos (the so-called embryo packets occasionally seen in other churches).

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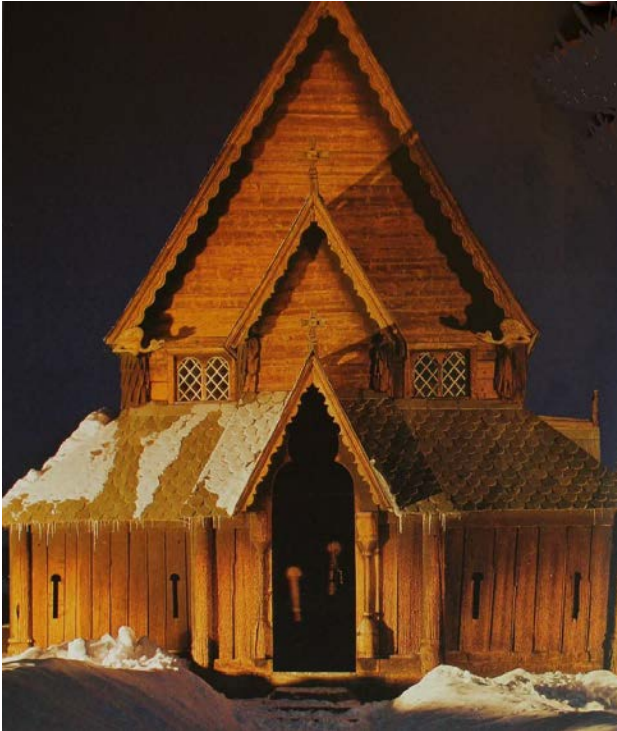
Anker, P., 1997. *Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie*, Oslo p. 111

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 288-91

Christie Håkon, 1981 *Stavkirkene-Arkitektur, Norges kunsthistorie, b. I-VII*, Oslo: I, 228

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 262-3

1.20 Reinli Stave Church



Reinli Stave Church. Source: Valebrokk and Thiis-Evensen 2001: 68.



Reinli Stave Church c. 1890 with the priest and the congregation. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

Location: 60.8315, 9.4929

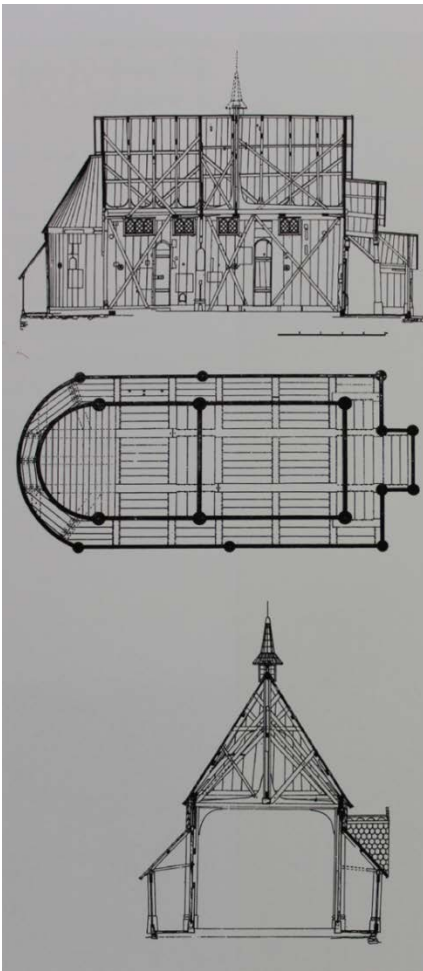
Similar Styled Churches: this 'Long Style' church is unique in a wooden version. However, several long churches exist built of stone.

Dating: dating of this church has been confused and controversial (summarized Ankar and Havran 2005: 246-7). Carvings in the church are clearly gothic in origin (late 1200's). There is an earlier church buried below this church, which has a fire stratum. Above this stratum were found coins from Håkon Håkonson reign (1218-1263). This would seem to suggest the church was raised in the first part of the 1200's.

Dendrochronological dates, and these include a bark edge, from the raft beams show a felling date of 1323-1324. A second date provides 1325-1326 (Thun, Stornes, Bartholin, and Storsletten 2004: 204). The oldest iron door fittings date from 1150-1200. The confused dating has prompted suggestion of an earlier church on the site that burned down (perhaps the source of the iron fittings). Then one was built on top of it in the 1200's (explaining the decoration), which was then torn down and rebuilt using parts from the second church (explaining the dendrochronological dates).

This slate covered church is still used today. It is important and unique for some interesting architectural features. It is the only surviving church that was built with a nave and chancel of the same width. This type of church (it gives the impression of looking down a hall) is usually referred to as a 'long' church. Although unique in existing stave churches, there are examples of similar stave churches no longer extant (Rinde Stave Church in Sogn being a well-known example). This pattern, remaining examples are in stone, became popular in the 1200's. It is generally agreed that this was brought to Norway by the Franciscans and Dominicans during the first half of the 1200's.

The outside of the church has maintained an essentially intact medieval structure, although the slate roof is new, and the front porch or *skruv* is reconstructed. The interior has been radically altered. Reinli has none of the interior carvings that decorate the other churches from this era. The only medieval inventory is the altarpiece (which sources from another church); the 12th to 13th century Iron door fittings; and the stone baptismal font. A modern collection of medieval consecration crosses can be seen in the sanctuary.



Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 244. The church is unique in that the nave and chancel are of the same width. The long church style is actually a continental European one, St. Chapelle in Paris is a well-known example. This examples reinforces the suggestions that church styles used in Europe were known to the stave church master carpenters

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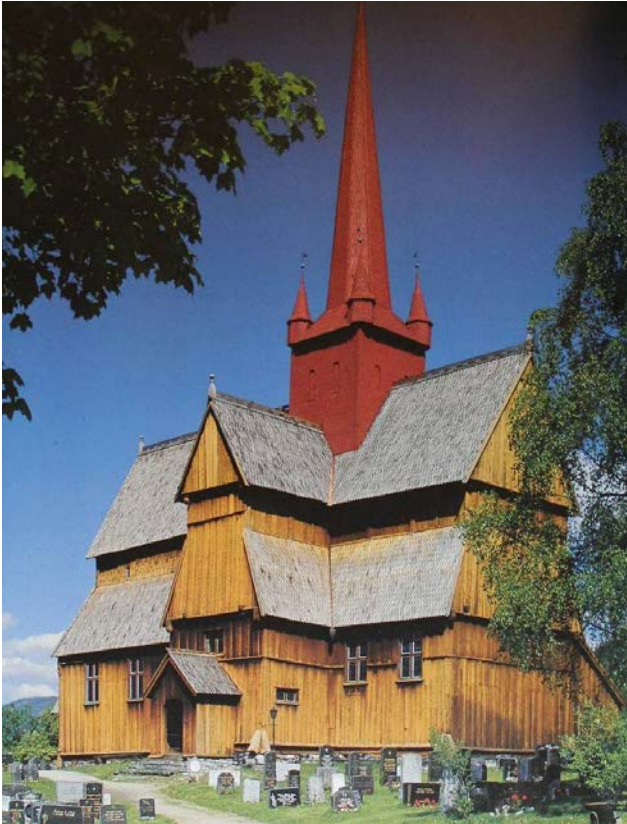
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Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 203-4

Thun, Terje; Jan Michael; Bartholin, Thomas and Storsletten, Ola 2004. Nye Dendrokronologisk Dateringer. *Årbok2004*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (Dating evidence)

1.21 Ringeby Stave Church



Ringeby Stave Church. Source: Valebrokk and Thiis-Evensen 2001: 98.



Ringeby in 1899. Photo by Hans H Lie. Source:

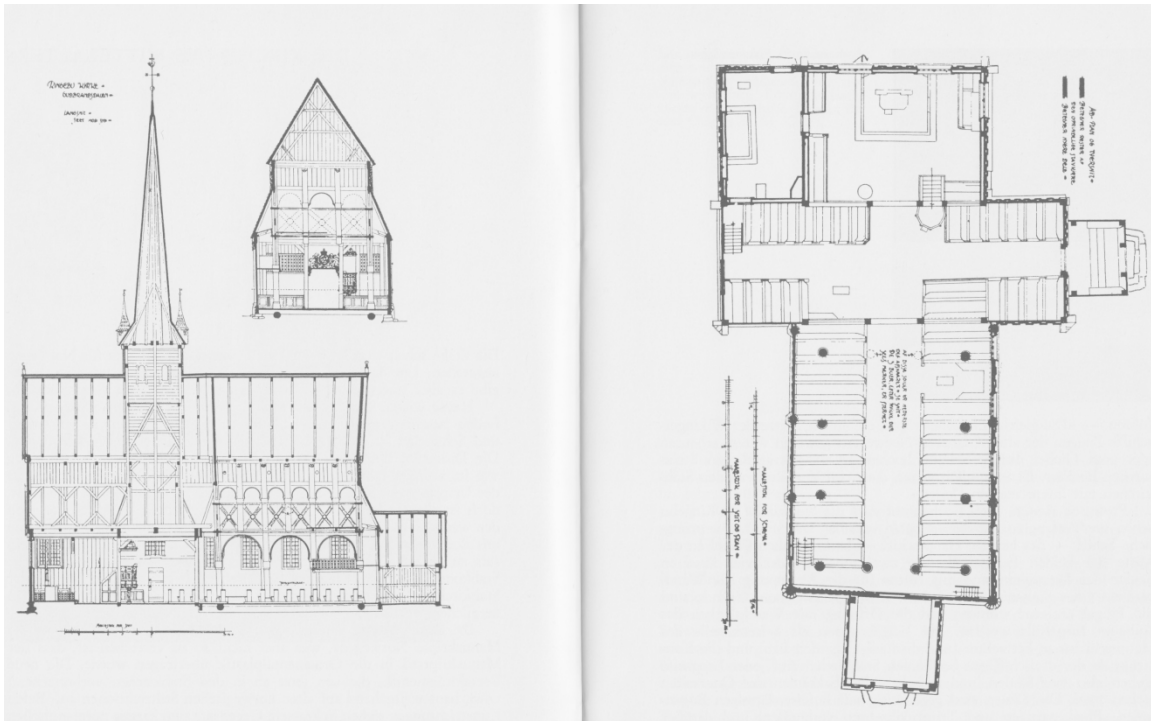
[http://media31.dimu.no/media/image/MH/SS-HHL-](http://media31.dimu.no/media/image/MH/SS-HHL-04895/0?byIndex=true&height=800&width=800)

[04895/0?byIndex=true&height=800&width=800](http://media31.dimu.no/media/image/MH/SS-HHL-04895/0?byIndex=true&height=800&width=800) [Accessed 01 October 2015]

Location: 61.5093, 10.173. Ringeby is located in Gudbrandsdalen. The region has a long history, including a local 'thing' site, as well as traditions suggesting this area was used as a cultic site before the church.

Dating: Dating for this structure has been confused. The west portal (which appears original) stylistically dates to the late 1200. Dendrochronological dates of the raft beams places this in 1196 to 1197. Coins have however been found under the flooring dating to *c.* 1220.

The church was one of the few to have had a transept in the middle ages. Only the medieval stave construction in the nave is intact. The church as it appears today is a result of massive renovations that occurred through the 1630's. Another renovation in 1921-1922 attempted to return it back to its original appearance. It is painted in the interior with a style associated with the mid-1600's to mid-1700's. The supporting staves are painted green with orange cushion caps and red highlights. Ringeby preserves an earlier post church underneath it. The dating suggested for this church is from 1000 to 1090.



Plans of Ringeby by Johannes Klöten 1904. Source: Greig 1972: 10-11. The preserved medieval parts are located in the stave superstructure (here seen on the right, below). The internal and external staves located in the nave are original.



The reconstruction of 1921-1922 was extensive. Photo by Jørgen N. Elstad. Source: <http://media31.dimu.no/media/image/MH/SS-JNE-0124/0?byIndex=true&height=800&width=800> [Accessed 05 January 2016]

Bibliographic Details

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Greig, Sigurd 1972. *Die Stabkirche zu Ringebu* [German]. Oslo: Ringebu Menighetstråd

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 207-8

Jensenius, J. 1983. *Ringebu Stavkirke Forteller*. Hemgbrenda, Ringebu Historielag Årsskrift (excavation and dating details p. 7-29, coin finds detailed on p. 49-36)

Jürgensen, Heinrich 1901. Ringeby Kirke I Gudbrandsdalen. *Årbok 1901* Oslo:
Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring .

1.22 Rødven Stave Church



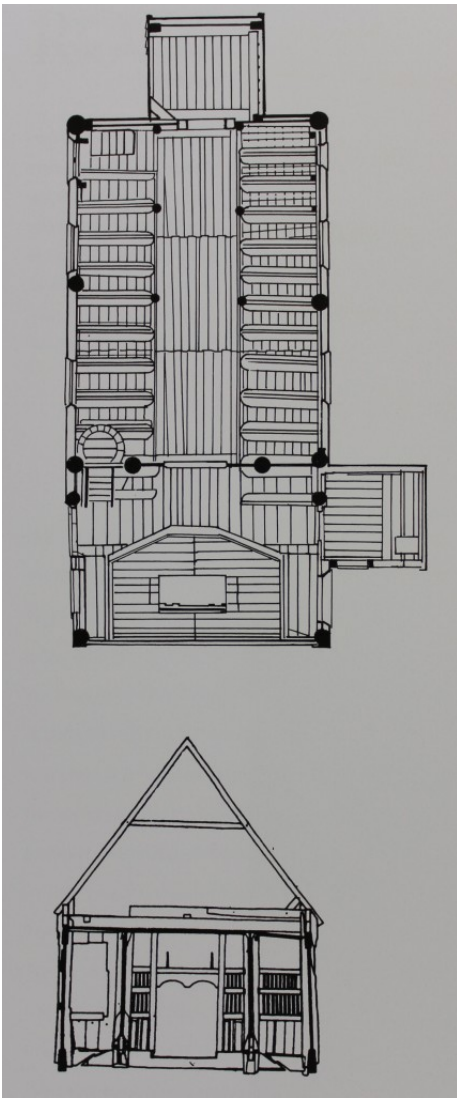
Rødven Stave Church. Source: Valebrokk and Thiis-Evensen 2001: 80.

Location: 62.6242, 7.4937

Similar Styled Churches: Kvernes and Grip (Møre style churches)

Dating: This dating of this church is controversial; it is not known how much of the church is original. There is some evidence of a former church on this site in the form of coins from the early 1200's. A 13th century crucifix is inside the church. The south portal, which has been reused, can be dated on stylistic grounds to the late 1100's. How this is related to the present church is unknown. Scholarly consensus places this in the 1300's.

Rødven church is located almost on the shores of Romsdal and Rødven fjord. This has proven to be its undoing, in that in 1689 it was blown into the fjord during a severe storm. The church was reconstructed in 1712, and the building that was constructed then is what can be seen today. This interior is extensively painted with the styles of that era.



Original plan by Håkon Christie (1962-1963). Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 330.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, P., 1997. *Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie*, Oslo p. 171-4

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 328-36

Christie Håkon, 1981 Stavkirkene-Arkitektur, *Norges kunsthistorie, b. I-VII*. Oslo: I, 142.

Christie, Håkon 1969. Rødven Stavkirke i Romsdal. *Årbok 1968/1969*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring p. 80-83

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 210-11

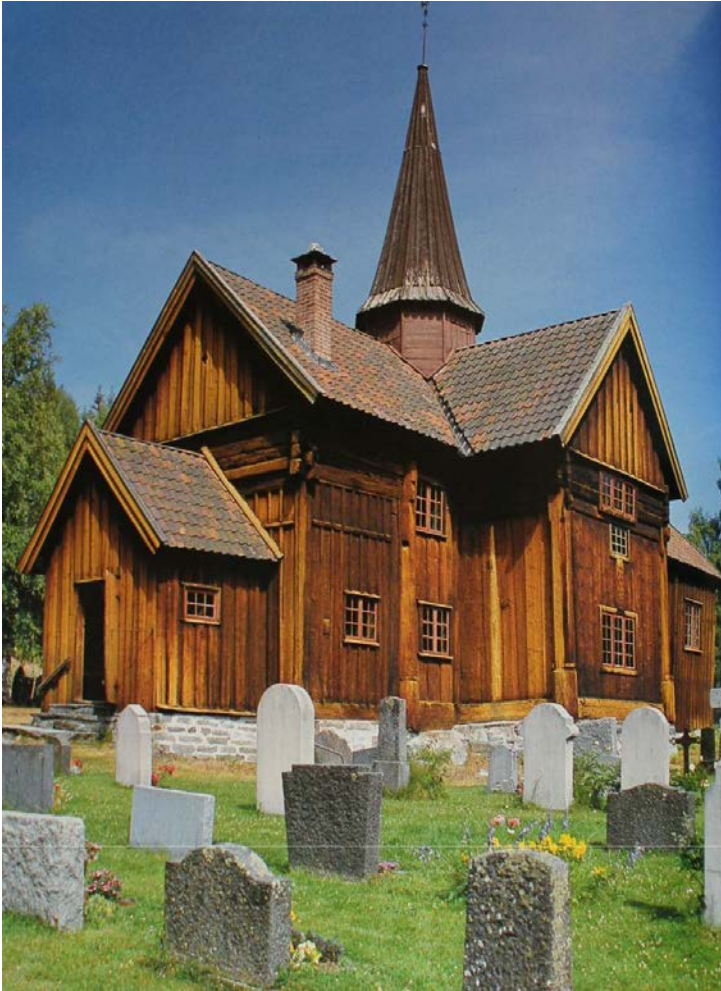
Stein, Mille 2011 *A 328 Rødven stavkirke, Rauma kommune, Møre og Romsdal*.

Tilstandsregistrering av kunst og inventar.NIKU Oppdragsrapport;163/2011 Oslo:

NIKU. Available online at: < http://idtjeneste.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-bibsys_brage_26172>

(this is the official state list of the inventory in the church, the early crucifix is detailed herein).

1.23 Rollag Stave Church

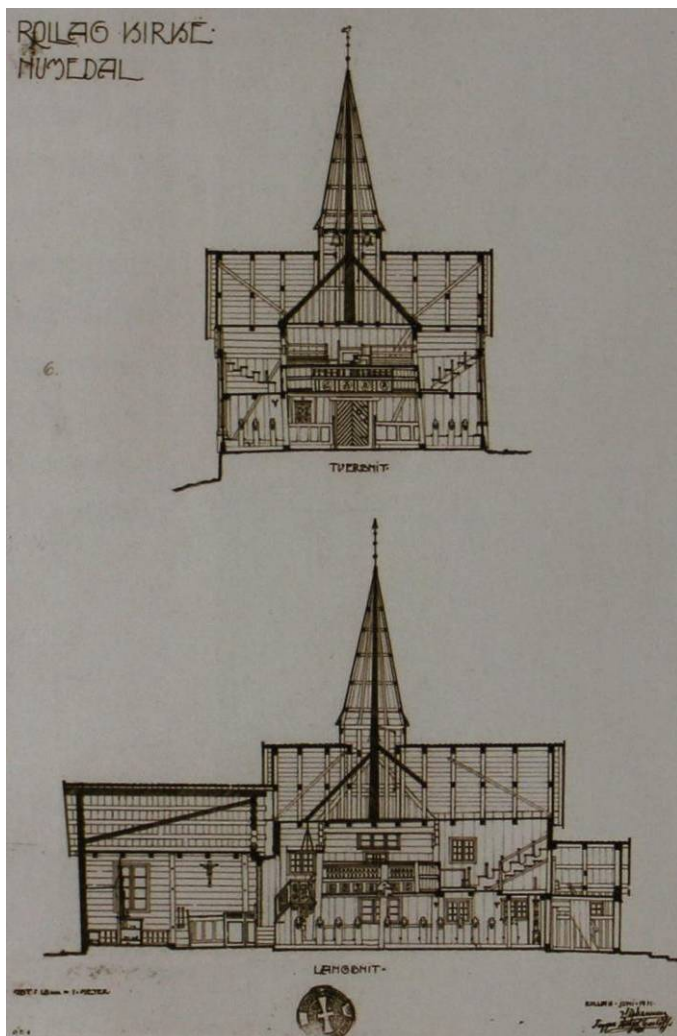


Rollag Stave Church. Source: Valebrokk and Thiis-Evensen 2001: 42.

Location: 60.0211, 9.2731

Dating: The church remains undated. The only clue to a date lies in the bulbous base of the staves. These follow a style reminiscent of gothic stonework and place the church potentially in the late 1200's.

This church possess little of its medieval remains. The staves that form its foundations are buried underneath more modern constructions. The interior of the church is what would be expected from any 17th century Lutheran church. Nothing medieval is visible. The walls are decoratively painted with 17th century styles.



Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 186. The medieval remains of the church are unrecognizable. The four corner staves and some parts of the transept in the nave are all that remain. However, the original church appears to have followed the pattern of rectangular nave and square chancel.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 184-9

Christie, S. og H. 1981. *Norges kirker, Buskerud, b. I-III*, Oslo: 320-331, 351

1.24 Røldal Stave Church



Røldal Stave Church. Source: Anker and Havran 2005: 156.



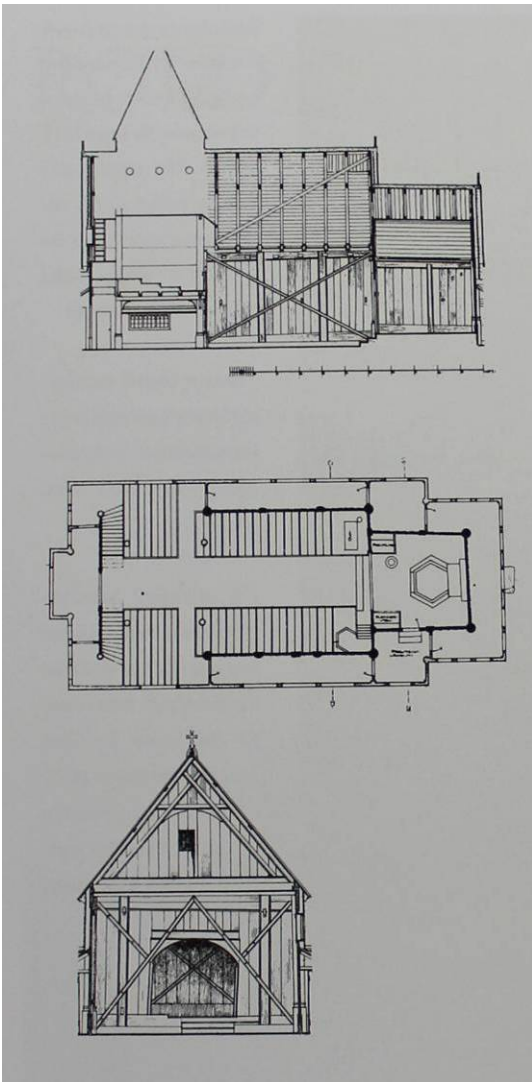
Røldal Stave Church, circa 1900. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

Location: 59.8309, 6.8227

Dating: Dating this structure is difficult. No dendrochronological dating has been done at this point. There are few original decorations inside the church to base a stylistic typology on. However, the corner staves have the cylindrical bases clearly influenced by Gothic stone work. If we accept this for cross dating purposes, this would date to about 1200.

This church with its horizontal Westfold planking appears plain on the outside. Inside it has all the appearance of a more or less traditional 17th century construction. This is though deceptive. Behind the walling, and mainly hidden from view lies a fully preserved stave church. The original church was a medium sized nave (about 7.8m by 6.7m wide) with a small chancel. The interior walls are extensively painted with 17th century paintings.

This church suffered from a restoration between 1911 and 1918. One can see the extensive changes done to the exterior as well as to the basic structure. However the stave construction inside was undamaged.



Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 158. The staves making up the east wall in this structure are unique and controversial. There is evidence that these stave were originally buried in the ground (versus placed on rocks). This suggests that this may have originally been used as another type of building, or potentially this structure was originally a palisade or post church (Jensenius 1998: 131-145).

Bibliographic Details

Anker, P., 1997. *Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie*, Oslo p. 169-171

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 156-161

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 211

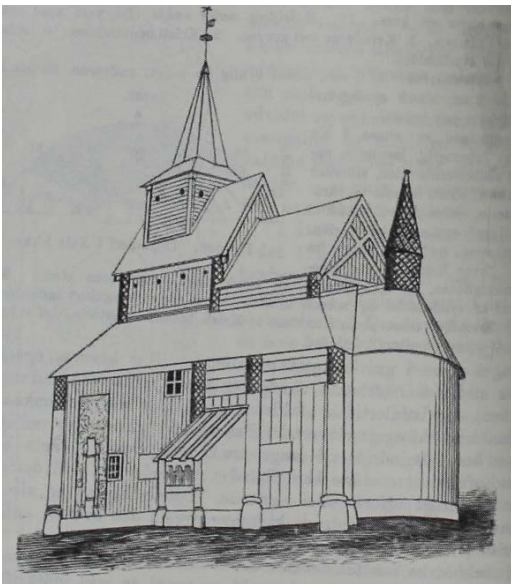
Jensenius, Jørgen 1998. Røldal, Stavkirke eller? *Viking* 1998: 131-145 . Oslo (this details research suggesting the staves were originally buried in dirt)

• .

1.25 Torpo Stave Church



Torpo Stave Church. Source: Valebrokk and Thiis-Evensen 2001: 71



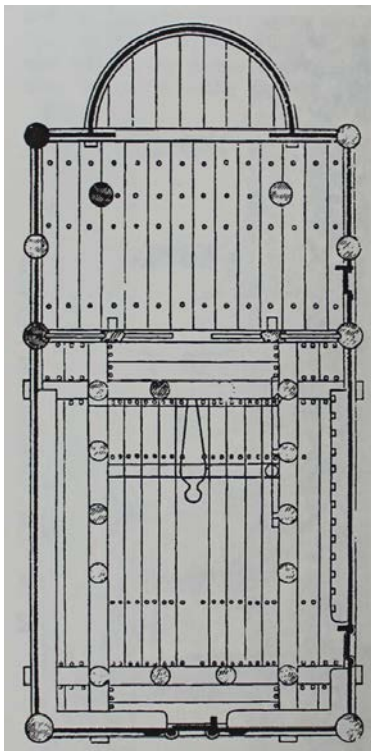
Torpo Stave Church in 1855. Source: Dietrichson 1892: 276. The rear section is what is preserved today.

Location: 60.6642, 8.7081

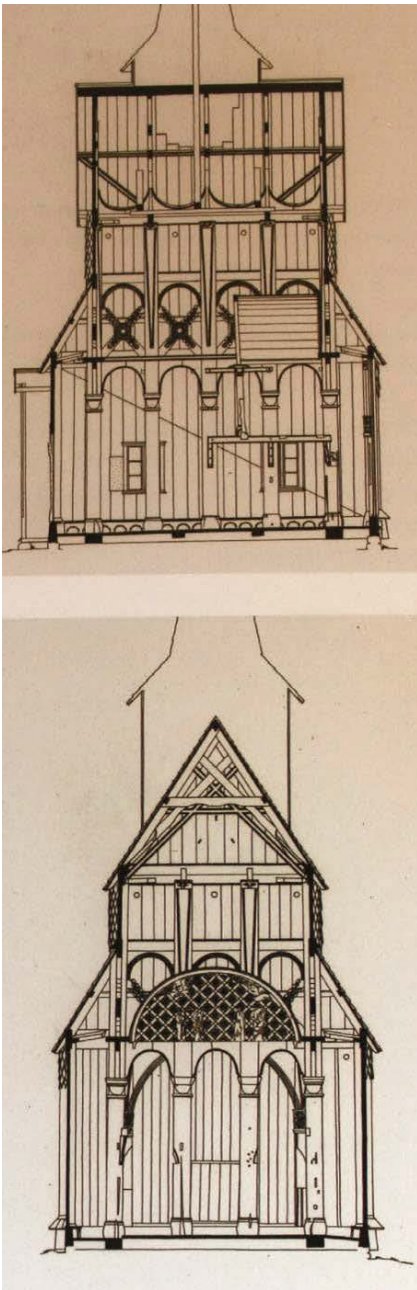
Similar Styled Churches: a runic inscription hints that the same builder who built this structure may have built the church in Ål. However, the two structures are quite different.

Dating: Dendrochronological dating places this structure in 1163 (detailed in Storsletten 2002). There have though been some controversies regarding this dating.

The original church is known to have had several expansions and alterations. The towering structure seen today is only the nave of the stave church. By the time the Society for the Preservation of Ancient monuments was able to purchase the building (in 1880), the rest of it had already been destroyed. There are several unique items that can be seen in the Torpo structure. The first and most famous is the painted Vault. It is the only one in-situ (a similar one from Ål church is in the National Museum Oslo). In addition there are two intact carved portals, as well as extensive graffiti. This is suggested to contain sketches used in the making of the portal (Blindheim 1985: 45-47).



The church plan when it was intact. The nave (bottom) is all that remains today. Source: Dietrichson 1892: 278.



Torpo, as it appears today. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 226.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder i Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 224-233

Blindheim, Martin 1985. *Graffiti in Norwegian Stave Churches, C. 1150 – C. 1350*

Oslo: Scandinavian University Press

Christie, Sigrid and Håkon 1981. *Norges kirker, Buskerud* Oslo: Norske Mindesmerker.
p. 116-140; 144-145.

Grieg, S. 1950 *Torpo Stavkirke*. Kulturhistoriske streiftog.

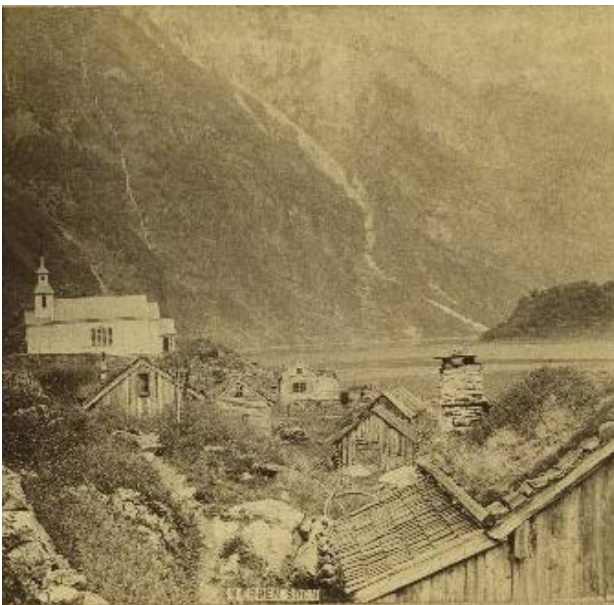
Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo:
Scandinavian University Press p. 218-224

Storsletten, O., 2002. *Takene taler: norske takstoler 1100-1350 klassifisering og opprinnelse: Katalog og tillegg*. Oslo: Arkitektthøgskolen i Oslo.

1.26 Undredal Stave Church



Undredal Stave Church. Source: <http://www.kirkesok.no/kirker/Undredal-stavkyrkje>



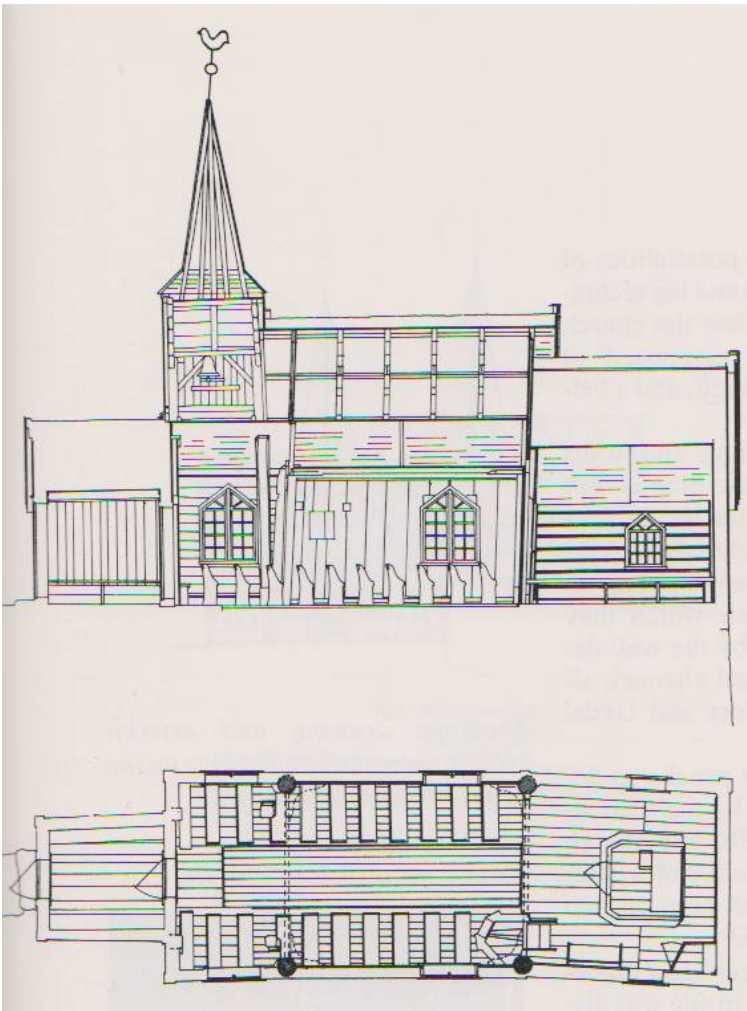
Undredal church between 1890 and 1920. This is half of a stereoscopic image. Source: <http://hordaland.kulturnett.no/delving/search/item/Foto-SF/8A81E8E427588D863FCC9805AAF59C6FE72E9DCE> > [Accessed 12 June 2016]

Location: 60.9508, 7.1025

Dating: This church has conflicting dating. An inscription on one of the collar beams (which support the roof) appears to say 1147. This date is widely given as the creation date, although this has been questioned on epigraphic evidence. However, the stylistic dating based on the roof structure, as well as the general style of the church itself appears to confirm that date. Dendrochronological dating has not been conclusive at this point.

This church, dedicated to St Nikolai, is likely the smallest church in Scandinavia. The nave measures 3.8 x 5.3 meters (Bugge 1983: 22) and seats 40. It has been reconstructed and renovated several times. As such it remains a hodgepodge of different styles and time periods. The walls are covered with Baroque and Romanesque paintings.

The outside of the church does not preserve any of its medieval origins, the church was painted white and a bell tower added (likely in 1447, Bendixen: B. 1905: 162-165). A barrel vault ceiling was created (likely in 1722 as part of a large reconstruction, Bugge 1983:22).



This architectural drawing (by Jørgen Jensenius, sourcing from Bugge 1983: 23). The bottom drawing shows the oldest (medieval) section of the church. The original four cardinal staves and the medieval section are shown in the centre with dotted lines showing the original sills.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, P., 1997. *Stavkirkene, deres egenart og historie*. Oslo p. 93-96.

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 138-143

Bugge, Gunnar. 1983. *Stave-Churches in Norway: Introduction and Survey*. London: Dreyer Forlag A/S. (Ground plan and brief mention only)

Christie Håkon, 1981. Stavkirkene-Arkitektur, *Norges kunsthistorie, b. I-VII*, Oslo: I, 159.

Djupedal, T. (ed.) 1997. *Undredal, kyrkja og bygda*. Førde.

1.27 Urnes Stave Church



Urnes Stave Church.

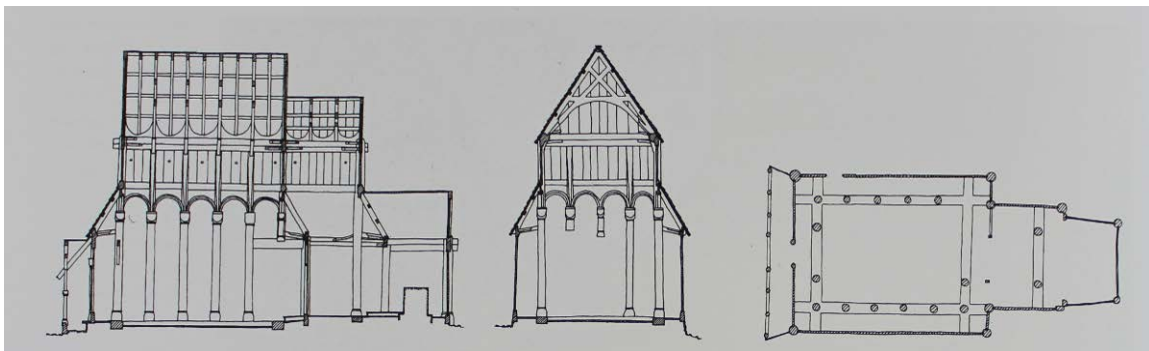


Urnes Stave Church in 1837. This is one of the earliest drawings of Urnes Church (Dahl 1837 Plate 2; Urnes und Hitteredal). The inscription translates to ‘View of the church in Urnes, in the diocese of Bergen in Norway’.

Location: 61.2982, 7.3226 Urnes is located on the eastern side of Lustrafjord (across from Solvorn), the nearest village is Hafslo. Although a small village today, it was a major crossroads in medieval and later periods.

Dating: Dendrochronological evidence places the felling of the trees in the oldest parts of the current structure in the winters of 1129-1131 (Christie, Storsletten and Thun 1999: 148). This makes it one of the earliest stave churches.

Urnes Stave Church is the best documented, and richest decorated stave churches extant. This World Heritage Site provides unique insights important to both the history of medieval art, as well as Church architecture. More medieval carvings and inventory are preserved in Urnes than in any other stave church.



This is how the church currently appears. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 104. Most of the structure is original, although the nave was expanded in the 17th century.

Although the Urnes church is clearly made using standard stave construction techniques, it shows clear inspiration from stone construction. The four cardinal staves can be seen as standard stave construction. However, between the cardinal staves, there are four intermediate staves. The eastern and western walls of the nave originally had three staves. This style of intermediary staves clearly originates with stone church construction designs. The interior Anglo-Norman capitals have also long been suggested to demonstrate the impact of stone structures and foreign influences on stave churches (Dietrichson 1892: 217-9; Blindheim 1966: 34-5; Hauglid 1973: 324-32; Hohler 1999:

V1 240). This demonstrates that by 1130 stone churches were known and being copied. Importantly, the earlier version of the Urnes church was the standard two-cell structure seen across northern Europe. This may suggest that the beginnings of stave church construction was influenced by stone church construction. This is an ongoing area of research.

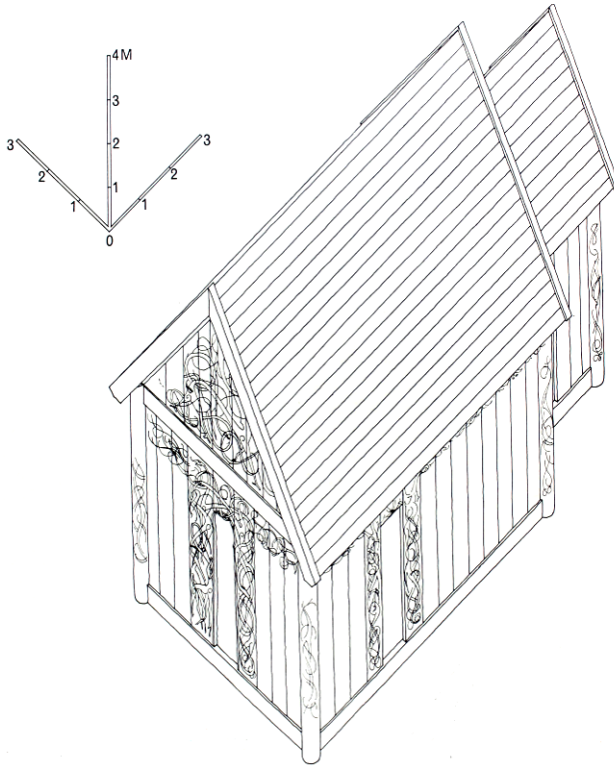
The church's importance to art history lies in the fact that it is the type-site for the Urnes style. This style is often portrayed as the last vestige of Viking era animal ornamentation. Its importance in architecture lies in the fact that a good portion of the church is composed of an older church on the same site. Excavations in 1956-57 demonstrated evidence of at least two additional churches on the site (documented and interpreted in Christie 1959: 49-74, and Bjerknes 1959: 75-96). This has allowed the creation of a fairly comprehensive site history.

Parts of the existing stave church used recycled materials from the previous church. Best known is the Northern Portal stylistically dated with dendrochronological support to 1070-1080. This portal is what provides the type-site for the Urnes decorative style.



Urnes northern wall, the type site for the Urnes style. A metre ranging rod is visible in the centre.

This is what Urnes looked like around 1070.



Isometric perspective of the reconstruction of the earlier Urnes church. This is based on archaeological survey and dendrochronological dating of the various architectural pieces (based on Hauglid 1977: 100 with details from Håkon Christie). The parts detailed in the drawing are the reused parts from the original church. The staves, north portal and wall, and carving on the gables are original and date from 1070-1080.

Bibliographic Details

A recent research program of investigations into Urnes church has been ongoing. This has included the use of new technologies, such as extensive laser scanning of the structure. This, and similar research, has not been published in the literature and hence any bibliography available is out of date. This research is available online in pdf form at: <http://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/handle/11250/176302/>, use the search term 'Urnes'.

Anker, P., 1997. *Stavkirken, deres egenart og historie*, Oslo p. 37-64

- Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 102-119
- Bjerknes, Kristian 1959. Urnes Stavkirke. *Årbok 1958* Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring
- Christie, Håkon; Storsletten, Ola and Thun, Terje 1999. *Årbok 1991*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (Dating evidence)
- Christie, Håkon 2009 *Urnes Stavkirke. Den nåværende kirken på Urnes*. Oslo
- Christie Håkon, 1981 Stavkirkene-Arkitektur, *Norges kunsthistorie, b. I-VII*, Oslo: I, 212-13.
- Christie, Håkon 1959. Urnes Stavkirkes Forløper. *Årbok 1958*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring
- Frøysaker, Tine: 2003. Kalvariegruppen i Urnes stavkirke. *Årbok 2003* p. 125-136
- Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 234-241 (page 241 provides an additional detailed bibliography).
- Krogh, Knud J 1971 Kirkerne på Urnes. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*
- Krogh, Knud, J. 2011. *Urnesstilens Kirke*. Oslo: Pax Forlag A/S
- Svarstad, Carsten. 1961. Myntfunnet fra Kinsarvik Kirke, Myntfunnene I Urnes Stavkirke. *Årbok 1961*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring

1.28 Uvdal Stave Church



Uvdal Stave Church. Source:< <http://www.stavkirke.no/index.php/en/the-stave-churches/ad/uvdal-stavkirke,28>> [Accessed 2 January 2015]



Uvdal Stave Church in 1901. Drawing by E. O. Shou. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Storsletten 1993: 47.

Location: 60.2651, 8.8348

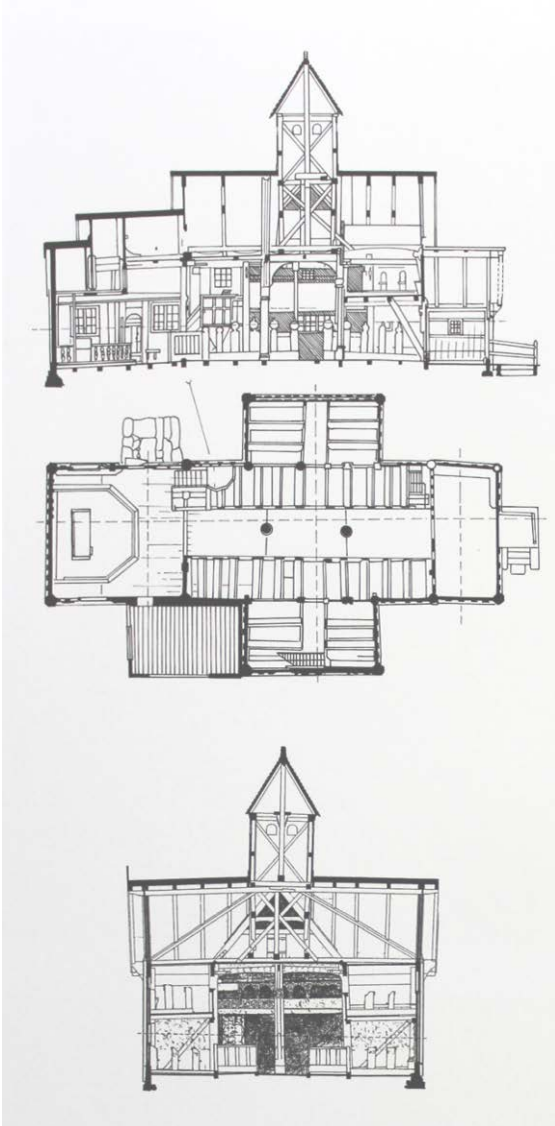
Similar Styled Churches: Nore.

Dating: Dendrochronological evidence places the felling of the trees in the oldest parts of this structure in the winter of 1167-1168 (Christie, Storsletten and Thun 1999: 147-148).

The church when first viewed demonstrates several sections that have been added onto the cruciform structure. Internally, it presents a somewhat chaotic appearance with several different styled paintings (it is richly decorated with 17th century art) covering every surface except the floor. The mid-mast and vertically extended pews obstruct any viewpoint. This church, as it exists today is virtually identical to what it was when taken over by the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments.

The church is extensively painted (stylistically dating to the 1650's). Perhaps most famous are the painted face masks. The site is also well known for an excavation in 1978 (by Håkon Christie and Jørgen Jensenius). Besides finding evidence of a previous church on the site, extensive cultural material was recovered. This included well preserved textiles, and evidence of folk customs in form of magical pouches (Peter pouches) and bear claws.

Uvdal has been expanded many times, although it usually expanded outwards, and preserved its internal medieval structures. Like other churches in the region, it is currently a cruciform church. Recorded expansions are an early church expansion of the nave in the 13th century; pews were added in the 1600's and the chancel expanded in 1694. Between 1721 and 1723 a ridge turret and transept arms were added to the nave. A sacristy was added as late as 1893 (summarized from Ankar and Havran 2005: 204-209).



Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: Ankar and Havran 2005: 146. The original medieval nave is now the church's eastern section. There are two mid-masts. As a comparison point, the other existing medieval cruciform church (Nore) contains only one mid-mast. The church, as originally constructed had only one mid-mast, which was then expanded into a mirror section (hence the second mid mast). The first mid-mast has evidence of a high-seat. This seat would presumably be used by dignitaries, and similar arrangements are seen in pre-Christian halls.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 200-209

Christie, Håkon; Storsletten, Ola and Thun, Terje 1999. *Årbok 1999*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (Dating evidence)

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Christie, Sigrid. and Christie Håkon 1981: *Norges kirker, Buskerud*, b. I-III, Oslo: I: 396-426.

Friis, Nils (Ed.) 1992: *Uvdal stavkirke forteller: funn og resultater etter undersøkelsene av stavkirken i 1978* Nore og Uvdal kommune

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 242-4

Important Stave Churches Outside of Norway:

The structures below are not included in the official Norwegian listings, but have connections to the stave church tradition.

1.29 Vang Stave Church (Świątynia Wang)



Vang Stave Church as it appears today. Source:

<<http://www.panoramio.com/photo/54339467>> [Accessed 11 February 2013].



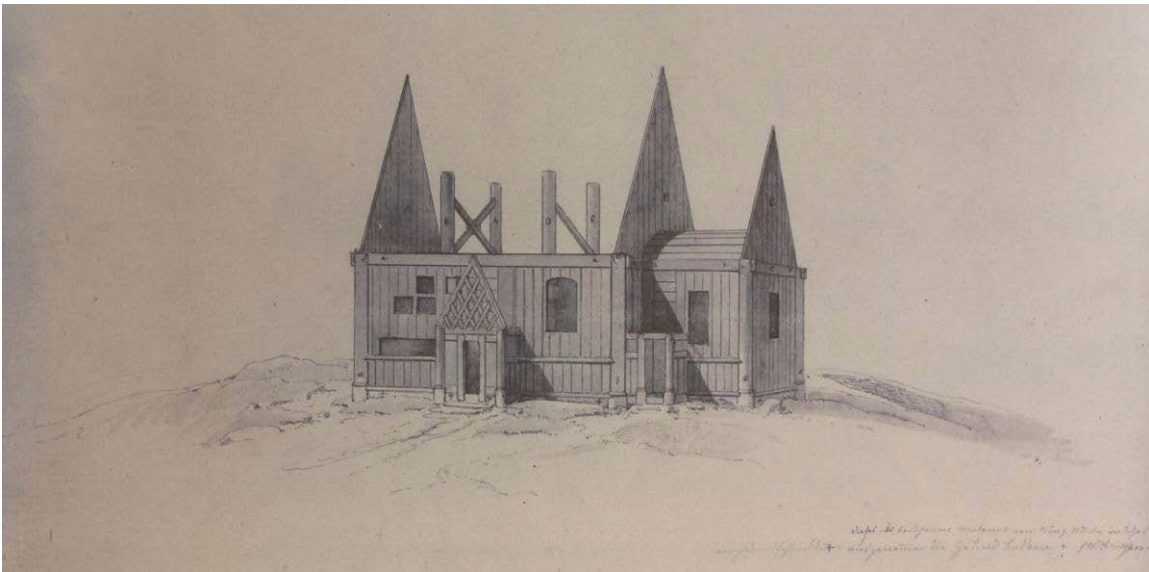
Vang Church in 1841, before being moved. Drawing by Franz Wilhelm Schiertz, used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

Location: 50.7777, 15.724

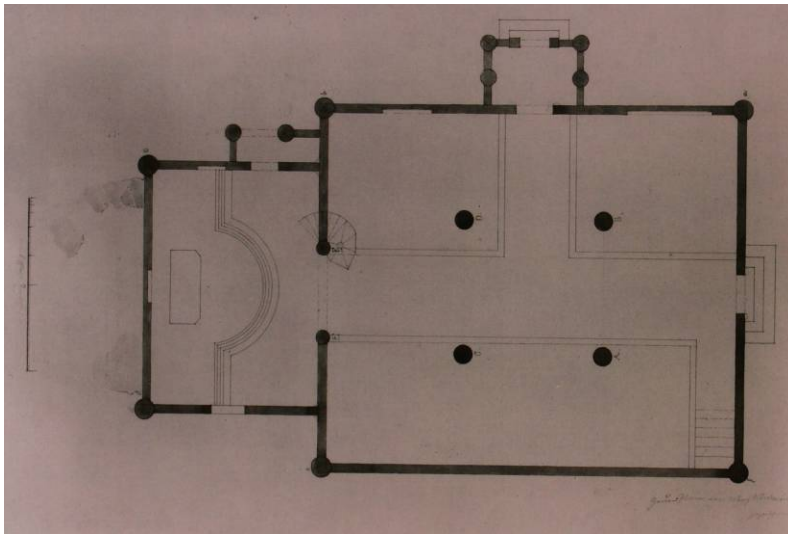
Similar Styled Churches: This church has structural similarities to other of the Valdres Region.

Dating: Dating of the church (given its dramatic changes) is controversial and little definitive evidence for its original date exists. The lack of identifiable original material has hampered attempts at dendrochronological dating (Christie, Stornes, Storsletten, and Thun 2000: 273-274). Stylist dating of the portals, the west portal is thought to be original, would place this early 1200. A runic inscription (Rundata: N 83) no longer visible, may suggest the name of the doorway carver.

Vang Church is located in Karpacz, Poland, although originally located in Vang, Norway. Because it is not currently situated in Norway, it is not part of the official listing of stave churches. This structure was the first stave church rescued from destruction. Abandoned in 1840, it was purchased by the painter and writer J.C. Dahl. Dahl would later found the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments. The church was dismantled and sold to Frederick Wilhelm IV, the King of Prussia, a personal friend of Dahls. The church was reconstructed in 1842 at Brückenberg, Silesia, today known as Karpacz, now part of Poland.



This drawing (also by Franz Wilhelm Schiertz in 1841) details the church parts prior to being crated and sent to Poland. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.



Franz Wilhelm Schiertz ground plan of the original church. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage. The four standing staves are original, as is (it is believed) the sills and stave superstructure. The extent of the original material is controversial, and it has been drastically altered from its original appearance. The reconstruction carpenters had never seen a stave church before, and purportedly much material was not used.

Bibliographic Details

Anker, Leif and Havran, Jiri, 2005. *The Norwegian Stave Churches*, Translated from Norwegian by Tim Challman. Oslo: ARFO (also available in Norwegian as: *Kirker I Norge (Bind 4): Middelalder I Tre Stavkirker*. Oslo: ARFO). p. 278-87

Berg, Arne, Stavkyrkja frå Vang og hennar lange ferd, *Årbok 1980* Oslo: Foreningen til norske Fortidsminnesmerkers bevaring p. 105-140

Christie, Håkon; Stornes, Jan Michael; Storsletten, Ola and Thun, Terje 2000. *Årbok 2000*. Oslo: Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring (Dating evidence)

Hohler, Erla Bergendahl, 1999. *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture (Volume 1)*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press p. 244-251

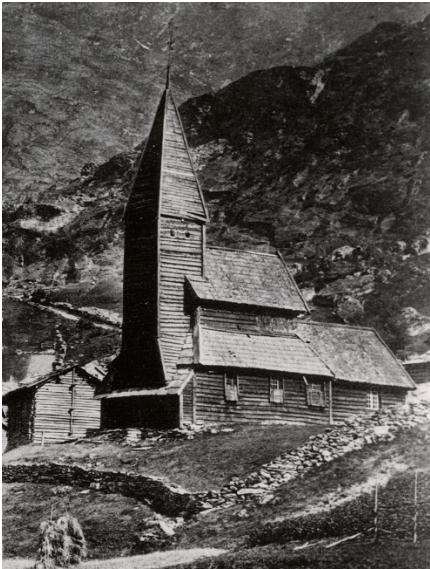
Hermundstad, K. 1969 *Vang Stavkyrkje*. Fagernes

Church Website: www.wang.com.pl

1.30 Fantoft Stave Church



Fantoft Stave Church Reconstruction



Fantoft (Fortun) Stave Church in 1873. Source:

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fortun_old.jpg> [accessed 11 September 2015].

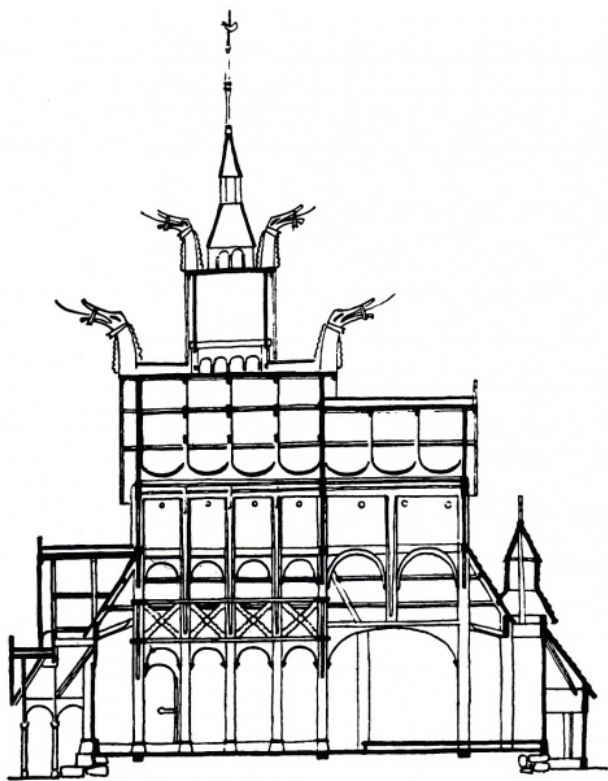


Source: <http://www.nrk.no/sf/leksikon/index.php/Fortun_stavkyrkje_til_Fantoft>
[Accessed 15 February 2014]

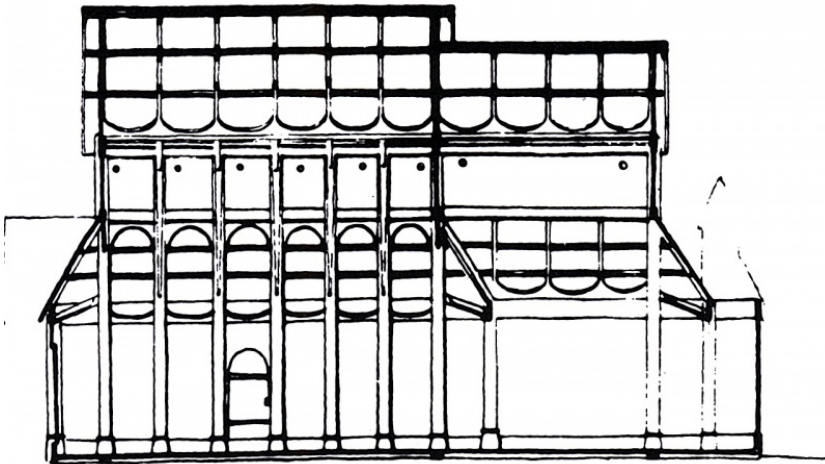
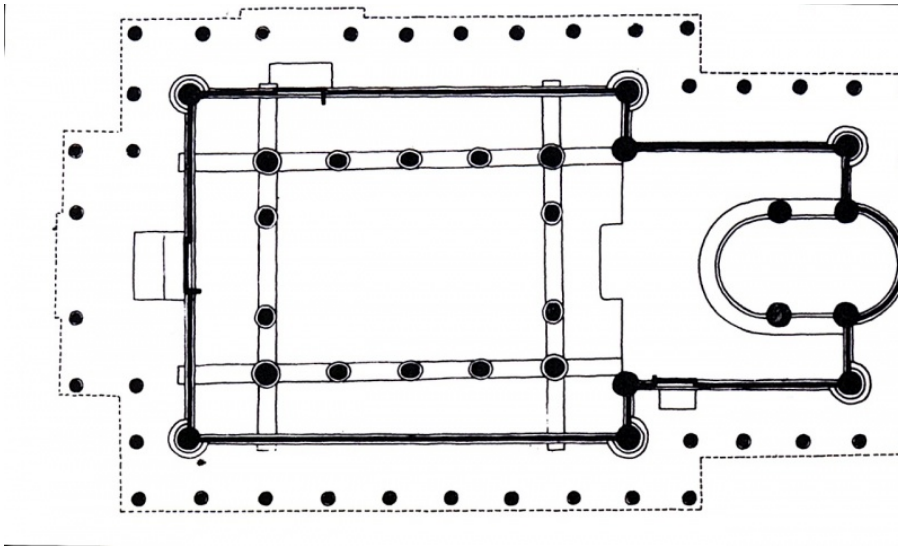
Location: 60.339304, 5.3533

Dating: Stylistically dated to the end of the 12th century.

This church was originally built in Fortun in Sogn. It is stylistically dated to the later 12th century. The church was disassembled and moved to Fantoft (today part of Bergen) in 1883. There it was rebuilt in a style copying Borgund. It was destroyed by an act of arson on June 6, 1992. Reconstruction of a copy at the site began shortly thereafter and was completed in 1997. Because it is a copy, it is not included on the lists of stave churches.



Drawings from 1903, Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage,
secondary source: <http://kunsthistorie.com/fagwiki/Fantoft_stavkirke> [Accessed 17
April 2017]



Drawings from 1903. Used with permission from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, secondary source: <http://kunsthistorie.com/fagwiki/Fantoft_stavkirke> [Accessed 17 April 2017]

Bibliographic Details

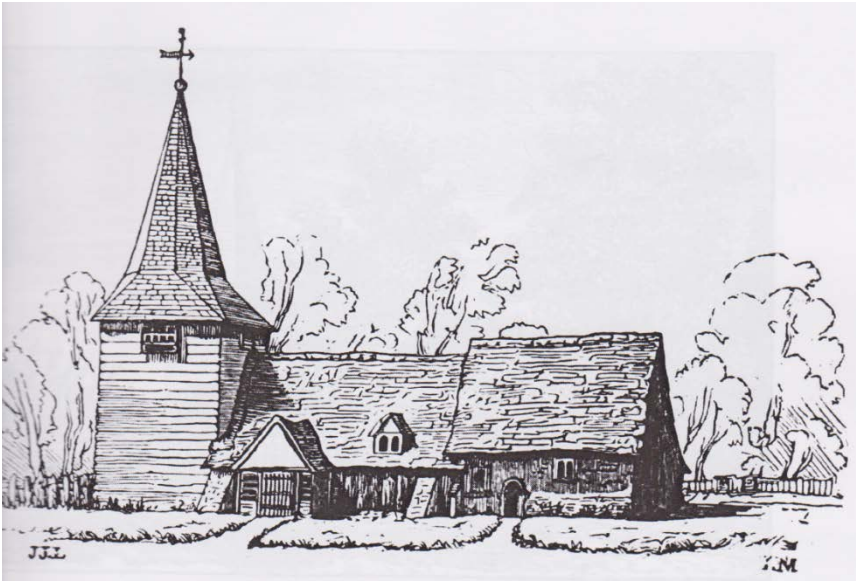
Bjerknes, Kristian 1940 Fantoftkirken, In *Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmerkers bevaring, årsberetning* 1940 p. 49-84

Website: <http://www.fantoftstavkirke.com/>

1.31 Greensted Church, Essex, England



The nave preserves its original stave structure.



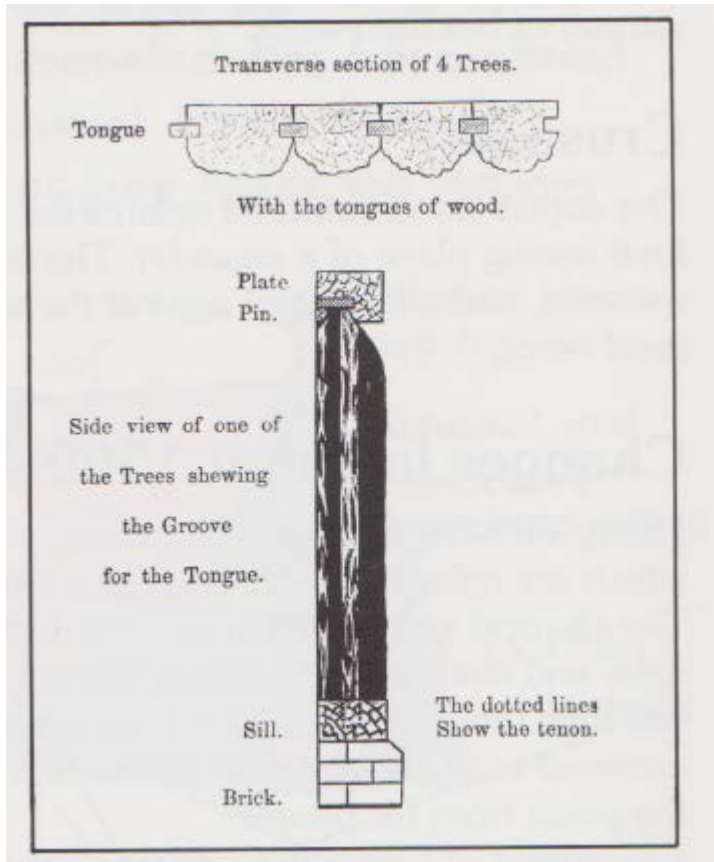
Greensted church before the restoration (1848-1849). Source: William Ray 1871: frontspiece.

Location: 51.7044, 0.2255. Greensted Church (The Church of St. Andrew), Chipping Ongar, Essex, England.

Dating: dating has been controversial. A church (this structure, or possibly its predecessor) is mentioned in the Domesday Book. This structure was purportedly build on the site of an older church. This has not yet been confirmed. A recent extensive study of the site placed the date of the building of the structure, based on extensive dendrochronological testing, at *c.* 1063 to *c.* 1100 (Tyers 1996: 7).

This church is important because of its historic association with stave churches. It remains England's only remaining medieval wooden church. It has been used as a comparison point with stave churches since the late 19th century (Dietrichson 1892: 155-62). The nave of the church is composed of the original supporting posts. Although much of this structure has been rebuilt, this palisade church is the oldest standing wooden church in Europe. Drawings demonstrate that by the early 19th century, the church was in a dilapidated condition. The bottom of the posts were rotting. In the mid-19th century a series of reconstructions were done by a local carpenter. The church was elevated and the bottoms of the supporting staves were removed. These church was then put back on a

brick foundation. The entire roof structure was replaced, and the chancel was rebuilt. Windows were put in, and the porch was rebuilt.



Cross section of stave and brick sill construction. Source: William Ray 1871: preface.



A small archaeological excavation in the chancel floor found the remains of the original wooden chancel (reported in Christie et al 1979). A report commissioned by English Heritage (Tyers 1996) provides the most technical examination to date.

Bibliographic Details

Christie, H., Olsen, O., and Taylor, H. M., 1979. The Wooden Church of St Andrew at Greensted , Essex. *The Antiquaries Journal* 59: 92-112 (this details the excavations done, and also supplies survey plans).

Hewett, C. A. 1980. *Church Carpentry*. London: Phillimore. p. 62-3, 138

Tyers, I. 1996. Tree-Ring Analysis of Timbers from the Stave Church at Greensted, Essex. *Report 14/96, Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England*. AML (this provides an overview of all of the previous data, and provides definitive dating information).

Tester, David (uncredited, n.d.) *Greensted Church Guidebook*. Undated. Ongar: Good News Press. (this is the church pamphlet, the inside pages provide details on the renovations).

William Ray, Phillip. 1871. *The History of Greensted Church*, Second Edition. Chipping Ongar: Slocumbe

Church website: <http://www.greenstedchurch.org.uk/index.html>

1.32 Hedared Stave Church, Borås Municipality, Västra Götaland, Sweden



Hedared Church. Source: <<http://openbuildings.com/buildings/hedared-stave-church-profile-34101#!buildings-media/0>> [Accessed 01 June 2017]

Location: 57.808889, 12.746389

Dating: Dendrochronological dates from 1498-1503 have been recovered. More importantly, a bishop's letter records the building of the structure in 1506.

This is a very small and plain church. This structure was put up about 150 years after the stave church era had ended in Norway. But it remains as Sweden's only standing stave church. Originally with a dirt floor and no windows. A wooden floor was added in 1735

and windows put in 1781. In 1901 the exterior was restored to close to its original appearance (however the windows were kept in place). In 1934-35 the interior was restored and what is likely an original altar painting was found behind a wall. In the most recent restoration (in the 1990's) the building was raised and a new wooden floor put in. Information sources from: < <http://openbuildings.com/buildings/hedared-stave-church-profile-34101#!buildings-media/0> > [Accessed 22 April 2017].

Bibliographic Details

Lagerlöf, Erland 1985 *Medeltida träkyrkor, del 2: Västergötland, Värmland, Närke (Sveriges Kyrkor, Konsthistoriskt inventarium, part 199)*, Stockholm:

Riksantikvarieämbetet, (dating and general information) p. 102-110. This document (in Swedish) is available online at: <<http://samla.raa.se/xmlui/handle/raa/7044>> [Accessed 02 February 2017].

The structure is listed on Openbuildings < <http://openbuildings.com/buildings/hedared-stave-church-profile-34101#!buildings-media/0> > [Accessed 22 April 2017].

**1.33 Church of the Resurrection of Lazarus. Kizhi Island (Lake Onega),
Medvezhyegorsky District, Republic of Karelia, Russian Federation
(Russian: Музей-заповедник «Киж»)»**



Source: Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova 1989: Plate XV

Location: N 62.066028, E 35.225500

Style: Klet

Dating: The structure was purportedly built by the monk Lazarus (c. 1286x1391) in 1390. Stylistically, the structure does stylistically resemble structures of the second half of the 14 century (Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova 1989: 162). It is generally believed to be the oldest standing church in Russia.

This structure is 9x3 meters and 3 meters tall. The church became the first building of Murom Monastery, located on the shore of Lake Onega. The structure was moved to Kizhi Island in 1960 and restored. It maintains its original iconostasis which consists of 17 icons from the 16th to the 18th century (iconostasis information sourcing from the church website).



Source: Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova 1989: 164. The porch on the right is a later addition.

Bibliographic Details

Brumfield, Willam Craft 2004. *A History of Russian Architecture*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Buxton, David 1981. *The Wooden Churches of Eastern Europe, An Introductory Survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 38-86 (covers the early church structures, a bit dated, but still a good source for background information).

Opolovnikov, Alexander, and Opolovnikov, Yelena 1989. *The Wooden Architecture of Russia: Houses, Fortifications, Churches*. New York: Abrams.

Church website: <http://kizhi.karelia.ru/architecture/russkie-zaonezhya/tserkov-voskresheniya-lazarya>

Appendix B. Stone Church Plans and Stave Church Plans

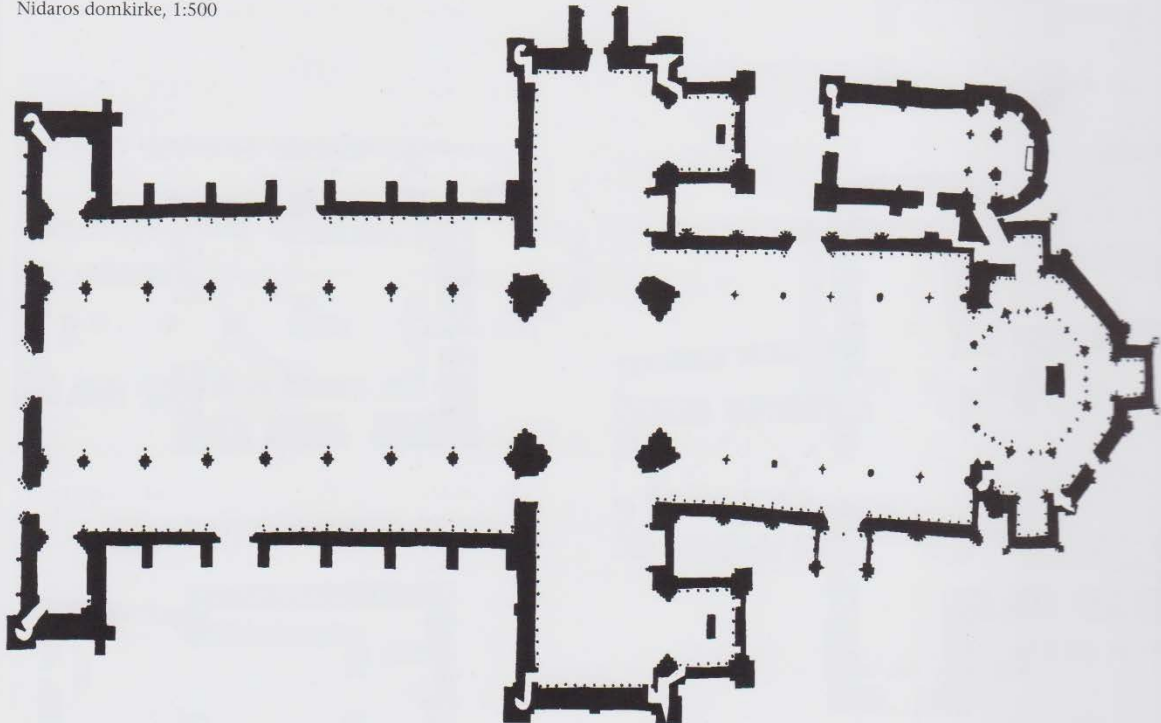
The plans below are from both the stave churches in Norway, as well as the medieval stone churches. This allows a direct comparison of the two types of structure. It can be seen that the two cell structure in this time frame is common. As detailed in the thesis, the stone churches can be separated into two types, the smaller two cell structures, and the bigger basilica styled structures. It should be noted that the samples are not to scale. The stave churches are much smaller than the larger stone structures, and the larger cathedrals (such as Nidaros) are large scale structures comparable to cathedrals throughout Europe.

Medieval Stone Churches in Norway:

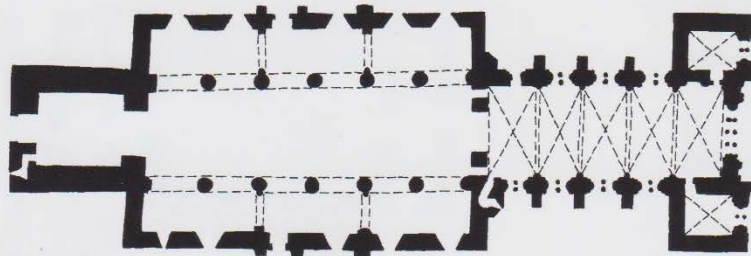
PLANTEGNINGER

Svart vegg viser middelaldermur, stiplet linje er senere tilbygg. Stiplet linje i interiør viser middelaldersk hvelv. Alle tegninger er tegnet slik at åpninger for vinduer og dører vises. Ikke alle vindusåpninger er fra middelalderen.

Nidaros domkirke, 1:500

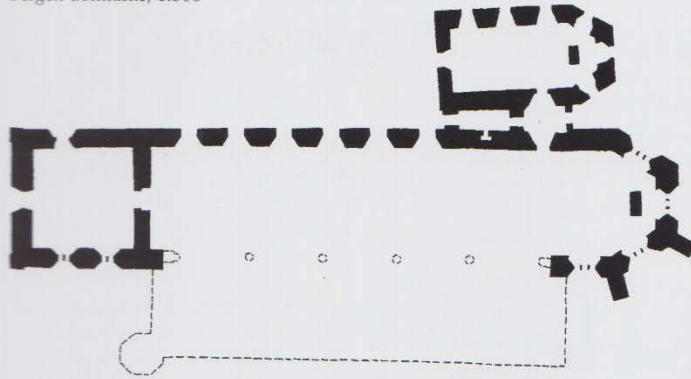


Stavanger domkirke, 1:500

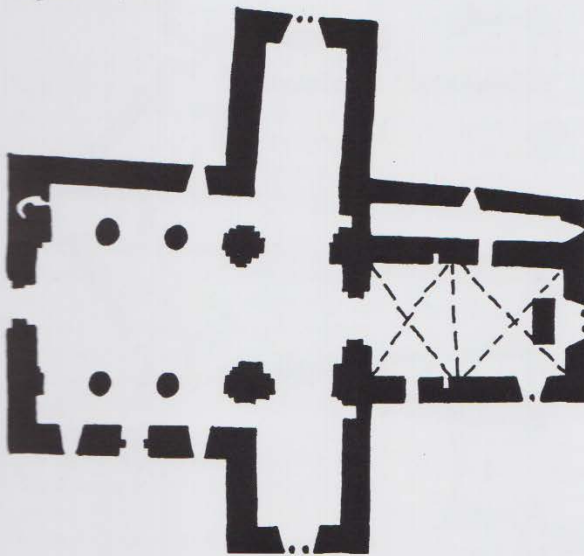


Source: Ekroll, Stige and Havran, Jiri 2000: 265

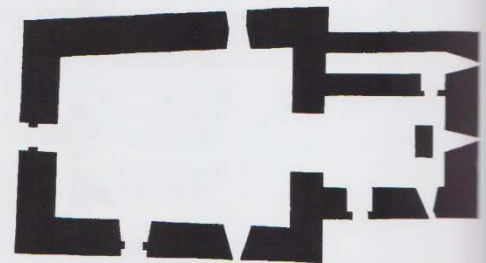
Bergen domkirke, 1:500



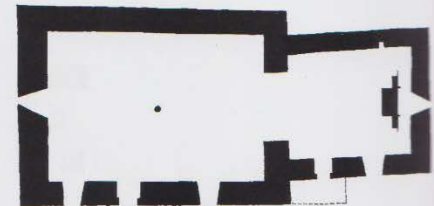
Ringsake kirke, 1:400



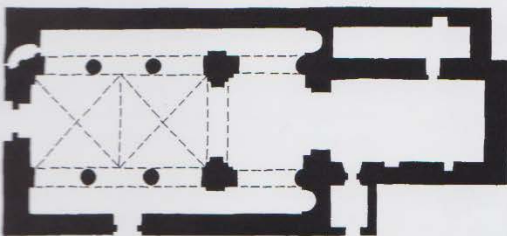
Tingelstad gamle kirke, 1:400



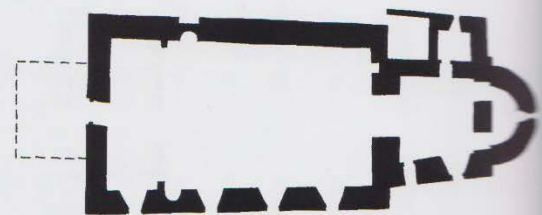
Vestre Slidre kirke, 1:400



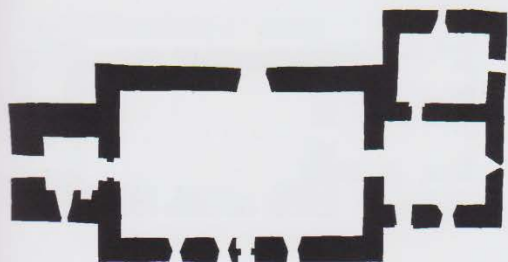
St. Nikolai kirke, Gran, 1:400



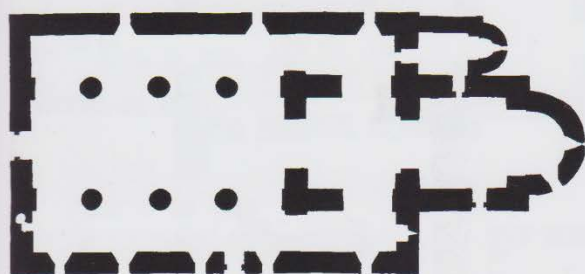
Rygge kirke, 1:400



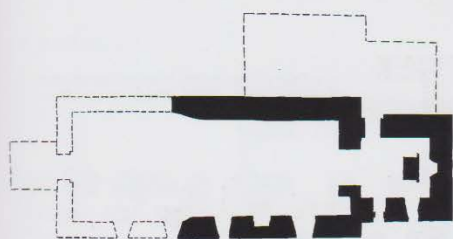
Enebakk kirke, 1:400



Gamle Aker kirke, 1:400



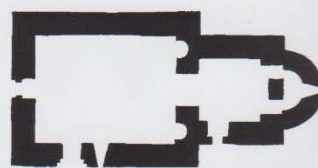
Tanum kirke, 1:400



Hedrum kirke, 1:400



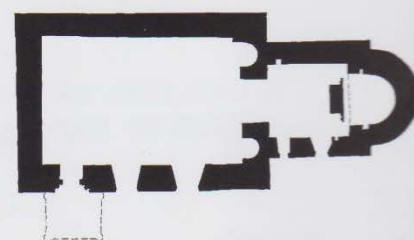
Bø gamle kirke, 1:400



Nes kirke, 1:400



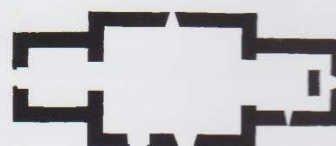
Kviteseid gamle kirke, 1:400



Fjære kirke, 1:400

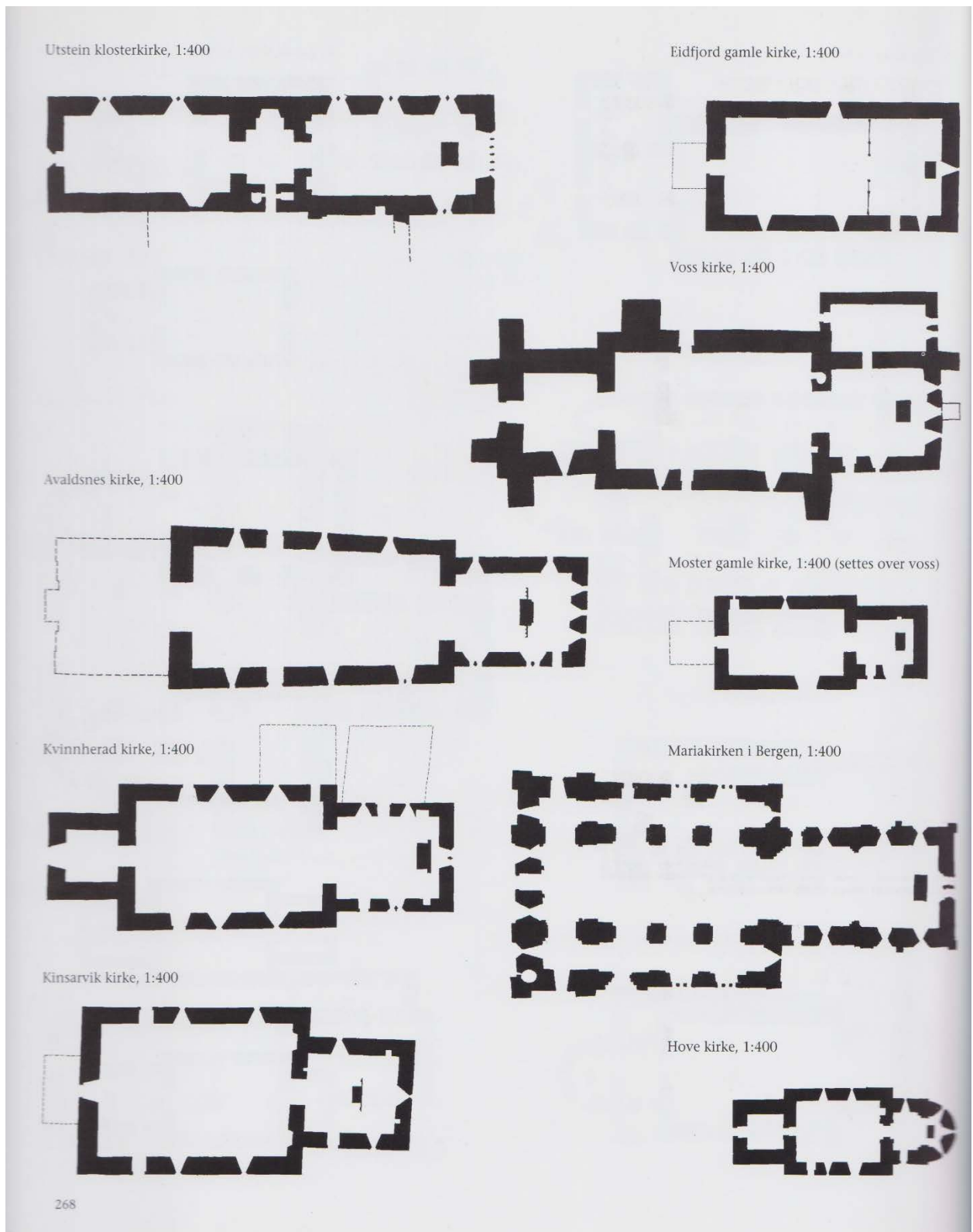


Sorbø kirke, 1:400

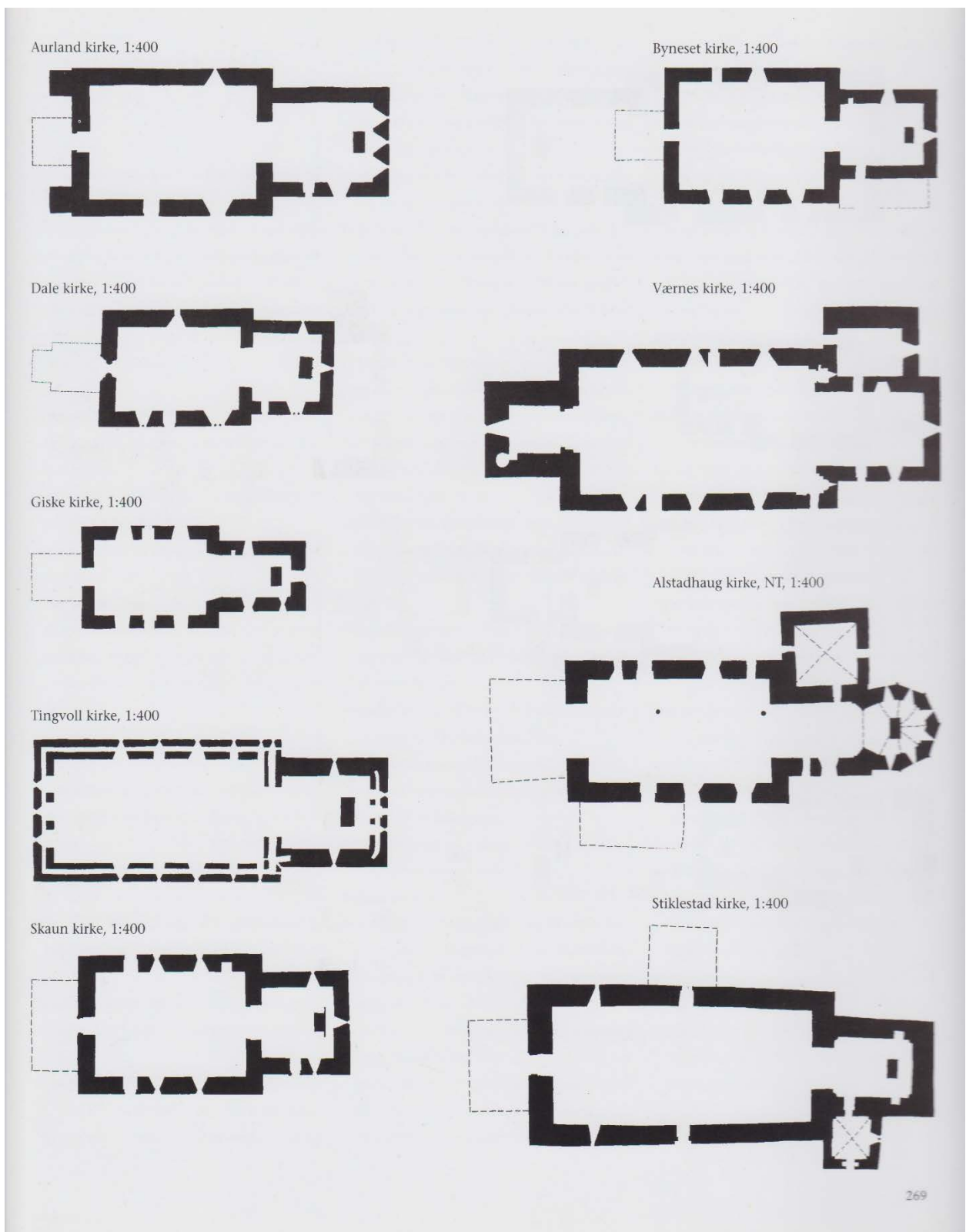


Talgje kirke, 1:400



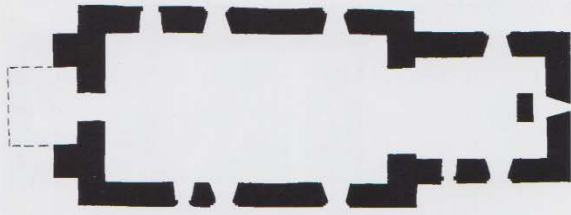


Source: Ekroll, Stige and Havran, Jiri 2000: 268



Source: Ekroll, Stige and Havran, Jiri 2000: 269

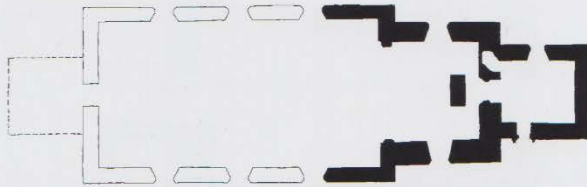
Mære kirke, 1:400



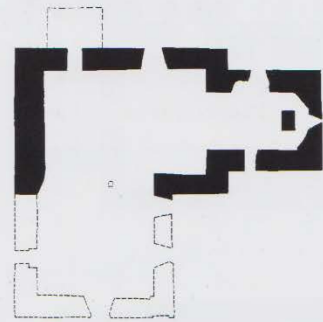
Hustad kirke, 1:400



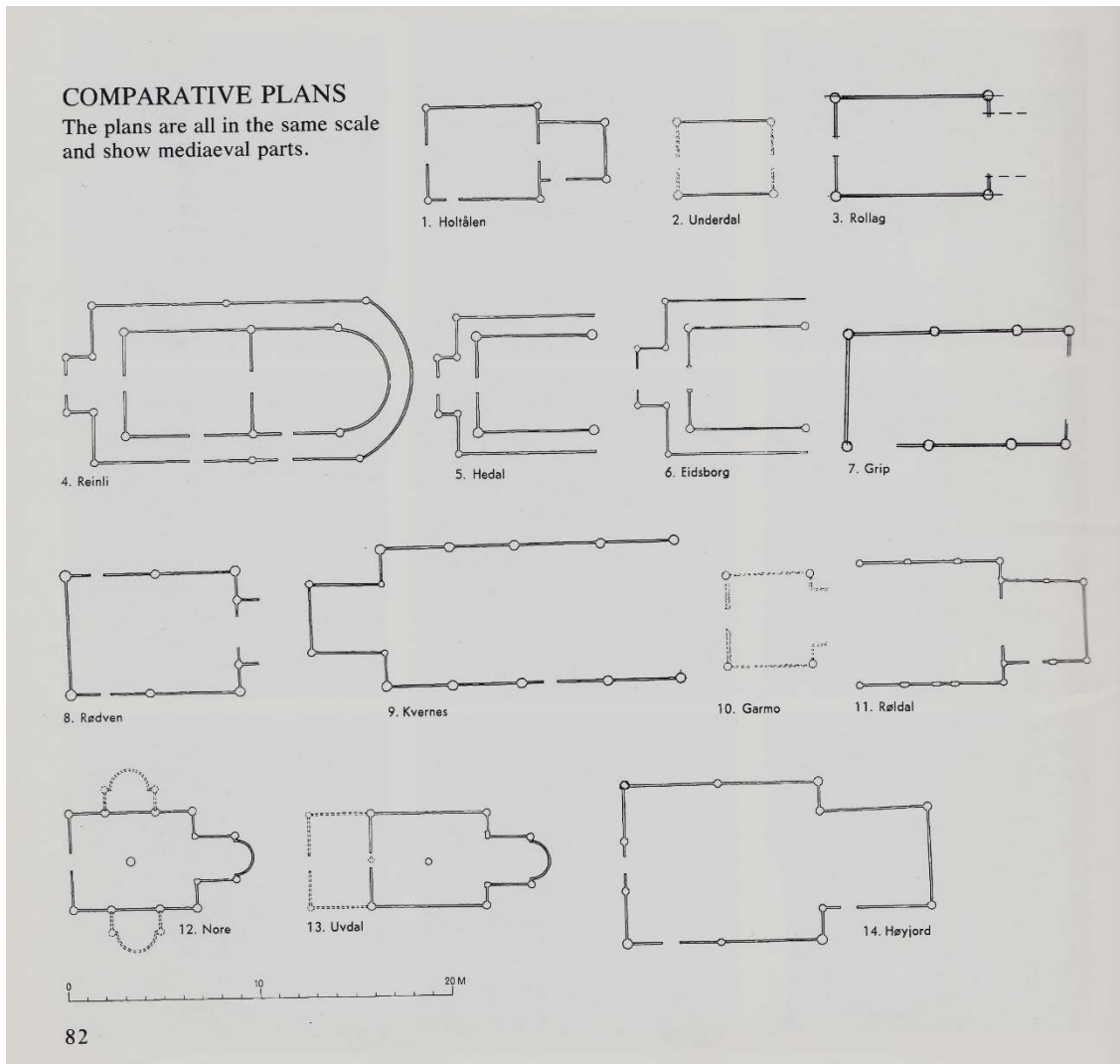
Alstahaug kirke, No, 1:400



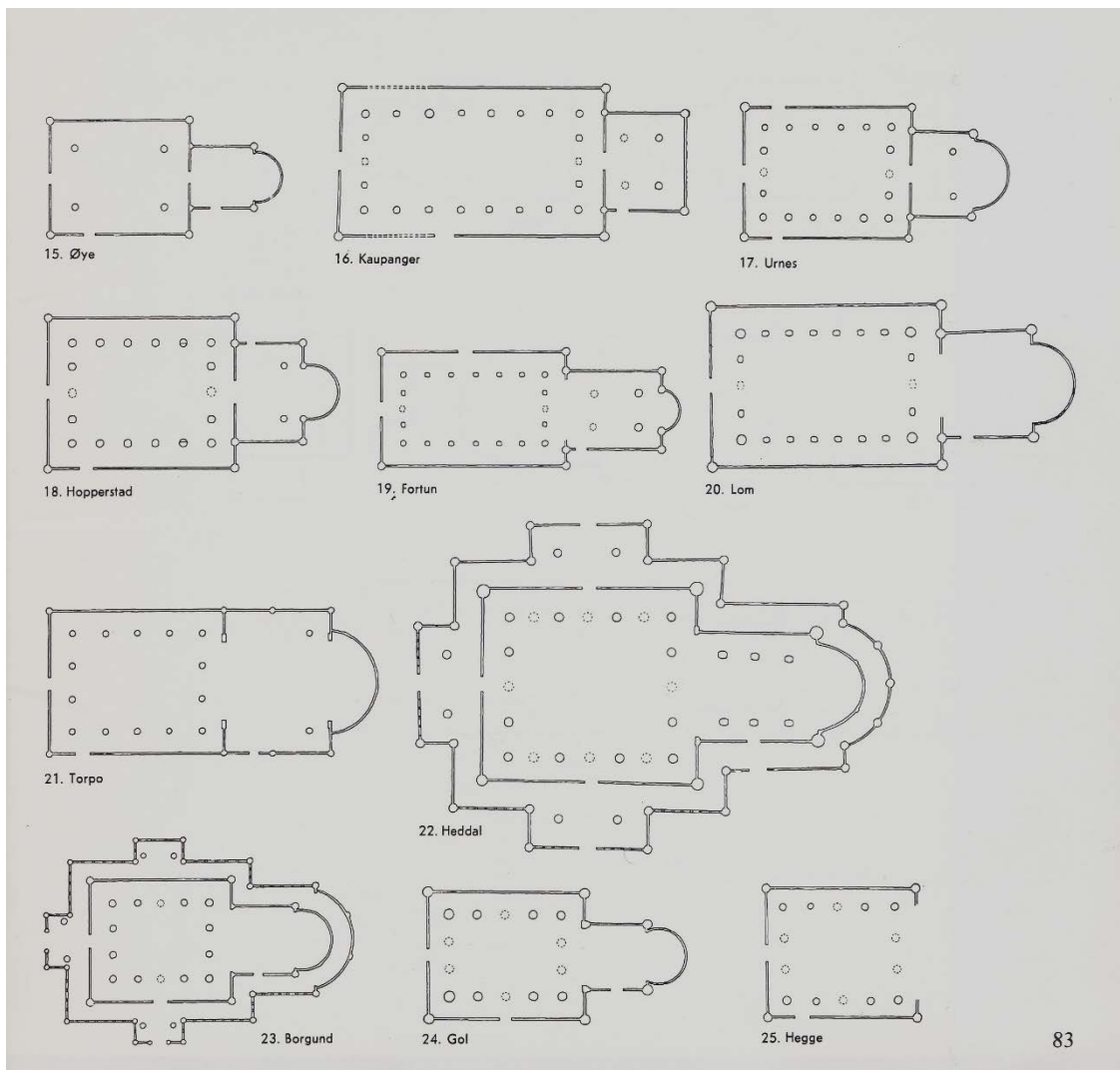
Gildeskål gamle kirke, 1:400



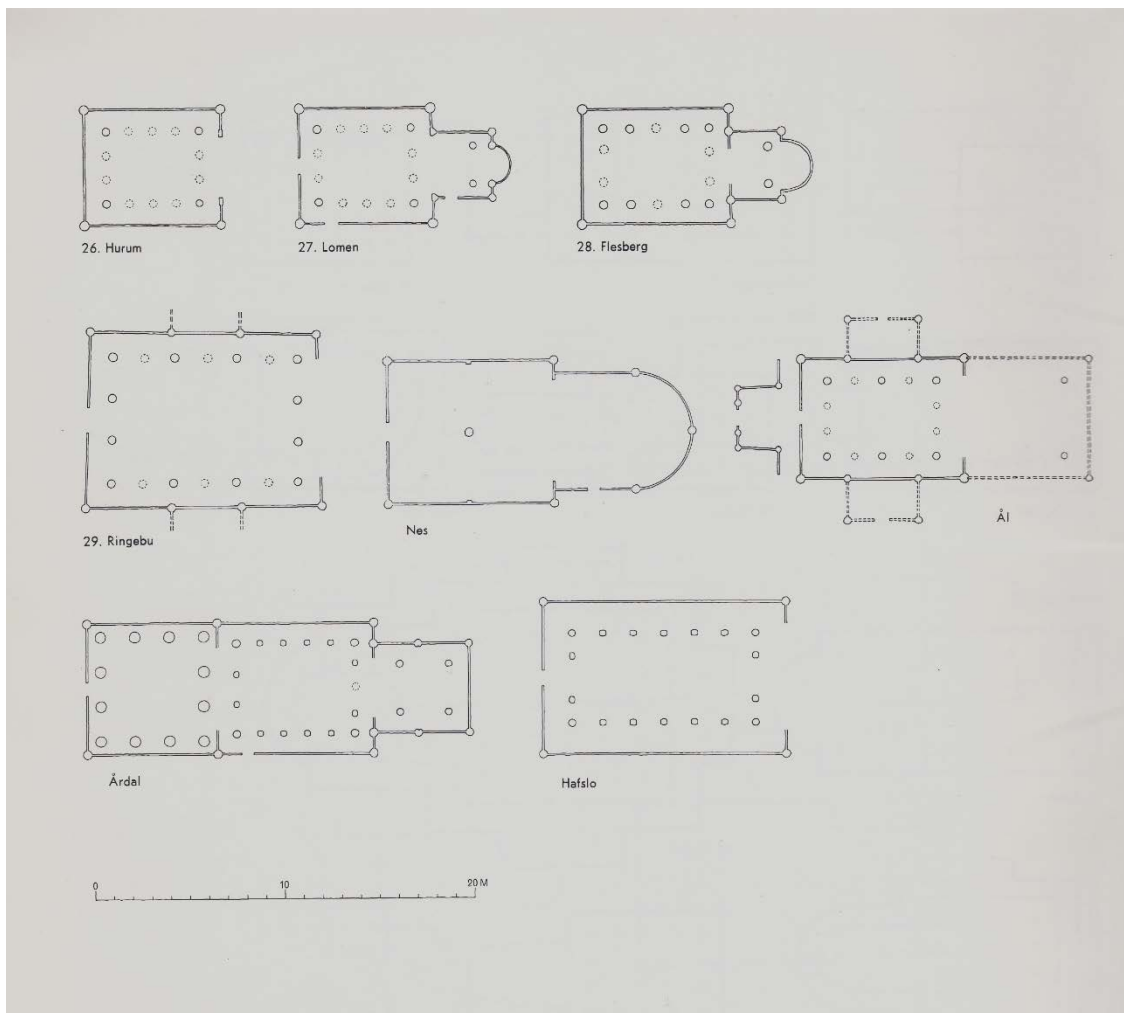
Stave Church Plans



Source: Bugge 1983: 82



Source: Bugge 1983: 83



Source: Bugge 1983: 84

Appendix C The Stave Church Homily (the Kirkjudagsmál)

This work is an exposition on the symbolism seen in churches. This is one of a large class of medieval works that describe the symbolism seen in church architecture and its association with ritual. The apex of these works was arguably the 13th-century *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of Durand of Mende.

The *Kirkjudagsmál* demonstrates by its existence that the church builders were aware of this literature. This work is altered from the usual stone architecture, and re-interpreted for timber churches. This demonstrates that at least in the Norse world, wood was the norm for building churches.

(and A) bears some resemblance to . . . *profunda sanctorum scripturarium penetranda ingredi conatus est*, which is given in Horstmann's text, but not in the *Legenda Aurea*.

It may be noted finally that the redactor of E has not only mutilated Hermann's story. On the contrary, he has sometimes improved it and given it point. Hermann (M, II, 20) tells of a young man in Totnes, who stole some of the canon's money, and afterwards rode into the forest and hanged himself. This story is repeated in D, but the version given in E is more subtle. As the thief rode through the forest, an oak-tree stretched down one of its limbs, coiled its withies round his neck and raised him aloft. This is rather like the tragic story told of King Víkarr in *Gautreks Saga*.

VI THE OLD NORSE HOMILY ON THE DEDICATION

THE homily *In Dedicatione Tempeli* (*Kirkjudagsmál*) is one of the most interesting of early Norse homilies. It is preserved in three ancient manuscripts:

No. 237, folio, in the Arnamagnæan Collection; here called *L*.¹

No. 15, quarto, in the Royal Library of Stockholm; here called *S*.²

No. 619, quarto, in the Arnamagnæan Collection; here called *N*.³

L and *S* were both written in Iceland, while *N* was written in Norway. The text of *L* is defective and portions of it are missing at the beginning and at the end. The manuscript in which *L* is contained is perhaps the oldest surviving one written in Icelandic. It is believed that it was written about 1150.⁴ Since there are so few Icelandic manuscripts of comparable age, such dating has only limited value.

S is generally known as the Stockholm Homily Book. It was written about the end of the twelfth century or early in the thirteenth.⁵ It is a collection of fifty-six homilies intended for different feasts of the year. *N* is probably of slightly later date than *S*, but it is evident that the Norwegian scribes who wrote it were copying

¹ Published in *Leifar fornra kristinna fræða islenzkra*, ed. Þorvaldur Bjarnarson (1878), 162-5.

² Published in *Homiliu-Bók*, ed. Th. Wisén (1872), 98-103. A facsimile of this text is contained in *Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi* VIII, with an introduction by F. Paasche (1935). Cf. also the Postscript, pp. 100-1 below.

³ This text has been published a number of times: in *Gammel norsk homiliebog*, ed. C. R. Unger (1864); in *Codex A.M. 619 Quarto*, ed. G. T. Flom (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1929); in *Gamla norsk Homiliebok*, ed. G. Indrebø (1931), to which references in this paper apply. A facsimile edition of the Norwegian Homily Book was published with an introduction by Trygve Knudsen, *Gammel norsk Homiliebok* (Corpus Codicum Norvegorum Medii Aevi I, 1952).

⁴ See H. Spehr, *Der Ursprung der isländischen Schrift und ihre Weiterbildung bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (1929), 167.

⁵ Cf. A. Holtsmark, *En islandsk scholasticus fra det 12. århundre* (1936), 49 ff.

older originals throughout.⁶ *N* is a collection of homilies comparable with *S* and eleven identical homilies, or parts of them, are found in both of these books.

The difference between the three texts of the Dedication Homily are slight. Their relationship will be considered at the end of this paper. For the present, the readings of *N* will be made the basis of discussion, unless otherwise stated.

In this homily the different parts of a church building are enumerated and a symbolical meaning is given to each of them. The altar is said to symbolize Christ, the bells the preachers, the chancel the saints in Heaven, and the nave the Christians on earth. But not only do the different parts of the church represent the different members of whom the spiritual Church is composed; every Christian is said to be the living temple and, consequently, the parts of the church building may be said to represent the different virtues present in a good Christian.⁷ The symbols used in the homily are thus divided into two series: the concrete and the abstract.⁸ In the second series, the altar is said to symbolize love, the altar-cloth good deeds, and the floor humility.

Most of the symbols used in this homily can be found in European texts of various ages and it is plain that the Norse homily is derived from foreign models. K. Vrátný⁹ threw valuable light on its sources. He suggested that it was based upon books and treatises of Honorius Augustodunensis, who probably worked in Germany during the first half of the twelfth century. Vrátný considered that the main source of the homily was to be found in Book I of the *Gemmae Animae*,¹⁰ one of the chief works attributed to Honorius.

It is clear that the Norse homily is closely related to passages

⁶ See Indrebø, *op. cit.*, 38-9.

⁷ Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De Universo* xiv, xxi; PL 111, 397D: si ergo ille templum Dei per assumptam humanitatem factus est, et nos templum Dei per inhabitantem spiritum ejus in nobis efficitur.

⁸ A similar distinction may be observed in homilies ascribed to Hugo of St Victor, PL 177, 901A f. and 903D f.

⁹ *Arkiv* xxix (1913), 174 ff., and xxxii (1916), 31 ff.

¹⁰ PL 172, 541 ff.

in the *Gemmae*, as well as to passages in other works assigned to Honorius, e.g. in the *Sacramentarium*,¹¹ in the Commentary on the Song of Songs,¹² and in the *Sermones in dedicatione*.¹³

It is not improbable that the Norse homilist knew these works of Honorius. It can be shown that the *Lucidarius* and other works ascribed to this author were known in Iceland and in Norway in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁴ But if the Norse homilist knew the works of Honorius, he probably knew other expositions of architectural symbolism as well. A great proportion of the symbols used by Honorius had already been used by earlier writers, often in the same words as Honorius used. Honorius frequently copied older writers, just as younger writers copied him.

The practice of using parts of a temple or of a church as symbols of men and their qualities had its roots in antiquity. Examples of it are found in the Old Testament, and even more, in the New Testament. Christ is the corner-stone of the building (*Eph.* ii, 19-20); He is the temple (*John* ii, 19); He is the gate (*John* x, 9) and His followers are living stones (*I Peter* ii, 5).

Isidore and Bede were among the early exponents of architectural symbolism. Amalarius of Metz (died 850) should also be mentioned. The fullest exposition of architectural symbolism written in the earlier middle ages is, perhaps, that contained in Book xiv of the *De Universo* of Rabanus Maurus, bishop of Mainz (died 856).

During the twelfth century, many of the intellectual fashions of past ages were revived. Symbolism flourished in that century as never before and many writers used the parts of church buildings to symbolize religious objects or truths which were felt to be more lasting and more real than the building itself. Among the symbolists of the twelfth century should be mentioned Hugo of St Victor (died 1141), Honorius Augustodunensis, Johannes

¹¹ PL 172, 737 ff.

¹² PL 172, 347 ff.

¹³ PL 172, 1099 ff.

¹⁴ I have discussed the influence of Honorius on early Icelandic literature in *Origins of Icelandic Literature*² (1967), 118-9, 137-8.

Beleth (died 1202), Ivo of Chartres and Sicardus (died 1215). The most detailed account of symbolism of this kind is contained in the *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* of Durandus, bishop of Mende (died 1296).¹⁵

A considerable modern literature has been devoted to the study of symbolism of this kind among medieval theologians and mention should be made of the works of Neale Mason and B. Webb,¹⁶ of H. O. Taylor¹⁷ and especially of that of J. Sauer.¹⁸ Without the assistance of such books as these, this study of the Norse Dedication Homily would not have been undertaken.

In his work on the Dedication Homily, Vrátný compares the following passage:

Honorius, *Gemmae* I, ch. cxxxviii; N 96/20: Dyrr kirkjunnar merkja Ostium . . . est Christus, qui . . . trú rétta, þá er oss leiðir inn til fideles aditum ostendendo per fidem introducit.¹⁹

The similarity between these two passages is not close, because Christ is not precisely *trú* (faith). *Ostium* is not the only possible equivalent in Latin of the Norse *dyrr* (doorway).

Passages reminiscent of that quoted from the Norse homily can also be found in Book XIV of the *De Universo* of Rabanus Maurus. Rabanus wrote:

Vestibulum autem aliquando significat fidem, per quam intratur in Ecclesiam;²⁰

and again:

Potest quoque per vestibulum fides intelligi. Ipsa quippe est ante gradus et portam: quia prius ad fidem venimus, et postmodum per spiritualium donorum gradus coelestis vitae aditum intramus . . .²¹

In other passages, Rabanus expounds the symbolical meaning

¹⁵ *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (Naples, 1859).

¹⁶ Neale Mason and B. Webb, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments* (1843).

¹⁷ H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind* II (1925), Book V.

¹⁸ J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes* (1902).

¹⁹ PL 172, 587C.

²⁰ PL 111, 398D.

²¹ *ibid.*

of *ostium* and it is plain that his words are related to those of Honorius, even though it is not necessary to conclude that the symbolism of Honorius is based directly on that of Rabanus.

The symbolical interpretation of *ostium* depends largely on the etymology accorded to the word. The basis of this etymology was given by Isidore:²²

ostium est per quod ab aliquo arcemur ingressu, ab ostendo dictum (sive ostium, quia ostendit aliquid intus). Alii aiunt ostium appellari, quia ostem moratur, ibi enim adversariis nos obicimus . . .

These three etymologies run through the symbolical literature of the middle ages. They are quoted in the works of Rabanus,²³ Honorius,²⁴ Sicardus,²⁵ Durandus.²⁶ It can be seen how the Norse homilist adapted them to his own needs when he wrote:

N 96/21: Hurð fyrir durum merkir skynsama menn, þá er hraustliga standa á móti villumönnum ok byrgja þá fyrir útan kristni guðs í kenningum sínum (*S* adds: en veita inngöngu trúðendum).

Similar sentiments were expressed by Rabanus when he quoted the etymologies of Isidore²⁷ and again in a later passage:

Ostium vero in porticu doctores, qui ceteris lucem vitae, januamque intrandi ad Dominum pandebant, exprimit.²⁸

The walls of the church were symbolized in various ways, according to whether they were considered to be two or four. In the Norse homily, the walls were thought of as two and were said to represent the Jews and the Gentiles, who were united in one faith:

N 96/28: Tveir kirkjuveggir merkja tvinnan lýð kominn til einnar kristni, annan af gyðingum en annan af heiðnum þjóðum.

Similarly Rabanus wrote:

Parietes enim templi Dei, fideles sunt ex utroque populo, hoc est, Iudaico et Gentile, ex quibus Christus aedificavit Ecclesiam suam.²⁹

²² *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum libri xx*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (1911), XV, vii, 4.

²³ PL 111, 399B.

²⁴ PL 172, 587C.

²⁵ PL 213, 21B.

²⁶ *Rationale* I, I, 26.

²⁷ PL 111, 399B.

²⁸ PL 111, 399D.

²⁹ PL 111, 401C.

Suchlike symbols were also used by Bruno of Segni³⁰ and by Durandus.³¹

In the Norse homily, the front wall (*brjóstpili*), which joins the two side walls, was asserted to represent Christ, who unites the two peoples in one faith:

N 96/30: Brjóstpili, er samtengir báða veggja í einu húsi, merkir dróttinn várn, er samtengir tvinnan lýð í einni trú, ok er sjálfr brjóst ok hlífskjöldur kristni sinnar.

Rabanus used this same symbol for the corner between the two walls:

Angulus, quod duos parietes in unum conjungit . . . intelligitur Christus, eo quod duos parietes conjungat in unum, credentes, videlicet ex Iudæis et Gentibus.³²

The four corner-posts of the church were stated by the Norse homilist to signify the four Gospels (*N 97/8*). Comparable symbols were used by continental writers for the four walls.³³ Rabanus³⁴ wrote in one passage: *Columnae enim sunt Apostoli et doctores Evangelii*. When he used abstract symbols, the homilist said that they signified the four cardinal virtues (*N 98/15*) and this symbol was also used by continental writers for the four walls.³⁵

The roof of the church was symbolized in various ways. Since it faces downward, it was said to signify the active life. Thus, in a passage attributed to Hugo of St Victor: *Tectum sunt activi . . . res terrenas administrantes*.³⁶ But since the roof also faces upward, it was said to signify the contemplative life, and Rabanus wrote:

Tectum intentionem cœlestis operationis signat, id est vitam contemplativam in Evangelio . . .³⁷

These latter sentiments were echoed by the Norse homilist:

30 *PL* 164, 318D. 31 *Rationale* 1, 1, 9. 32 *PL* 111, 401D.
33 Honorius, *Sermo in dedicatione*, *PL* 172, 1103B; *Rationale* 1, 1, 15.
34 *PL* 111, 404A. 35 *Rationale* 1, 1, 17. 36 *PL* 177, 901.
37 *PL* 111, 403A.

N 97/10: Ræfr kirkju merkir þá menn, er hugskotsaugu sín hefja upp frá öllum jarðligum hlutum til himneskrar dýrðar, ok hlífa svá kristninni í bænum við freistni, sem ræfr hlífir kirkju við regni . . .

These last sentences might also be compared with another passage by Rabanus, although the similarity is somewhat remote:

Significant ergo tigna prædicatores sanctos, quorum et verbo et exemplo structura ejusdem Ecclesiæ, ut subsistere possit, continetur: quia suæ robore doctrinæ turbines hereticæimpulsionis, ne eam dejiciant, arcent.³⁸

The passage, last quoted from the Norse homily, is but distantly related to that in which Honorius³⁹ and, with little difference, Sicardus⁴⁰ and Durandus⁴¹ spoke of the roof-tiles:

Tegulæ tecti, quæ imbrem a domo repellunt, sunt milites, qui Ecclesiam a paganis et hostibus protegent.

It need hardly be said that the church, whose parts the Norse homilist used for his symbols, was built of timber, although this is not to say, precisely, that it was the kind of church which modern writers would describe as a stave or mast church. Since the church was built of timber, some of the favourite motives of the European symbolists could not be used. Christian men, who formed living stones of which the church was built, were not mentioned in this homily. Instead of a floor of stone, the homilist alludes to one of boards:

N 96/23: Gólfpili í kirkju merkir lítilláta menn, þá er sik lægja í allri virðingu ok veita því meira upphald öllum lýð, sem þeir verða meir fyrir allra átroda (*L* reads: undir fótum troðnir).

These words find their closest parallel in the work of Honorius,⁴² from whom Sicardus⁴³ and Durandus⁴⁴ hardly differ:

Pavimentum, quod pedibus calcatur, est vulgus cujus labore Ecclesia sustentatur.

When he used abstract symbols, the Norse homilist said that the floorboards signified humility, obedience, patience:

38 *PL* 111, 402C. 39 *PL* 172, 586B. 40 *PL* 213, 22C.
41 *Rationale* 1, 1, 36. 42 *PL* 172, 586D. 43 *PL* 213, 20A.
44 *Rationale* 1, 1, 28.

N 98/17: gólfþili merkir lítillæti ok hlýðni ok þolinmæði, þá er eigi skammisk at þola lægning ok vanrétti af mönnum.

Rabanus wrote in similar terms:

Pavimentum intelligitur humiliatio atque afflictio animæ . . . humilitas fidelium doctrinam sanctorum patienter suscipientium . . .⁴⁵

The foundation of the timber church is called the *syllustokkr* (groundsel). It represents, in the first series of symbols, the apostles, who are the basis of faith:

N 96/19-20: Syllustokkar kirkjunnar merkja postula guðs, en (v.l. er) undirstokkar eru all(r)ar kristni.

When abstract symbols are used, the groundsels signify faith, the basis of all good works:

N 98/12: Syllustokkar þessar kirkju merkja trú, því at yfir þann grundvöll ok undirstokk skulum vér smíða öll góð verk . . .

Similarly, European symbolists claimed that the foundation signified Christ or the Apostles⁴⁶ and Rabanus wrote:

Fundamentum enim allegorice Christus intelligitur, vel fides ejus catholica, super quam fundata est Ecclesia.⁴⁷

The timber church, like many stone churches, was divided into chancel (*songhús*) and nave (*kirkja*). The chancel signified the saints in Heaven, and the nave the Christians on earth:

N 96/12-13: Songhús merkir helga menn á himni, en kirkjan kristna menn á jörðu.

The chancel and the nave were sometimes said, by European symbolists, to signify the contemplative and active life,⁴⁸ but Rabanus signified them in these words:

Sanctum autem, quod velo suspenso a sanctuario separatum est, significat præsentem Ecclesiam, quæ peregrinatione istius mundi versatur; sanctum autem sanctorum illam, quæ in cælis est.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ PL III, 403B-C. ⁴⁶ Cf. J. Sauer, *op. cit.*, 115. ⁴⁷ PL III, 400D.
⁴⁸ Cf. J. Sauer, *op. cit.*, 118-9. ⁴⁹ PL III, 393D.

These sentiments may be compared with those expressed by Honorius: *Duo chori psallentium designant angelos, et spiritus justorum* . . .⁵⁰

The altar was stated by the Norse homilist (N 96/14) to symbolize Christ, for sacrifices offered to God were sanctified only over the altar. This motive was also used by Rabanus, Honorius, Hugo of St Victor, Durandus and by most symbolists from the ninth century to the end of the thirteenth century.⁵¹

The altar-cloth was said by the Norse homilist (N 96/16) to signify the saints, a thought which finds close parallels in the *Gemmae* and the *Sacramentarium* of Honorius.⁵² When he used abstract symbols, the Norse homilist (N 97/29) said that the altar-cloth signified good deeds. Rabanus⁵³ asserted the same of the vestments worn by the priest.

Other parallels between the Norse homily and the expositions of European symbolists could be quoted without looking further afield. Enough has been said to show that nearly every thought expressed in the homily is derived from a foreign source, although the homilist has adapted symbols originally designed for a church of stone to his church of wood.

The form of the Norse homily bears a certain resemblance to dedication homilies ascribed to Honorius⁵⁴ and to Hugo of St Victor.⁵⁵ Most of the symbols used by the Norse homilist are to be found in many continental works, some of which, like those of Sicardus and Durandus, are much later than the Norse homily. But the closest resemblance in motives appears to be between the Norse homily and Book XIV of the *De Universo* of Rabanus. It is, however, improbable that the Norse homilist had access directly to the *De Universo*. It is more likely that he used an early homily based upon that book. Alternatively, it is possible that the Norse homilist used several sources and, in that case, the *Gemmae Animæ* may have been one of them. If

⁵⁰ PL 172, 588A.
⁵² PL 172, 587A and 745D.
⁵⁴ PL 172, 1099 ff.

⁵¹ Cf. J. Sauer, *op. cit.*, 159 ff.
⁵³ PL III, 397.
⁵⁵ PL 177, 901 f., and 903 ff.

this paper should lead one, better acquainted than I am with the Latin literature of the middle ages, to identify the sole or chief source of the Norse homily, it will have achieved its purpose.

In conclusion it may be worth considering whether the parallel passages in Latin can throw any light on the relationship between the early texts of the Norse Dedication Homily. The three texts were compared in detail by G. Indrebø,⁵⁶ whose work the reader should consult. Indrebø concluded that, except in a few instances of scribal error, the readings of *N* were closer to the original than those of the other two.

It was said above that the differences between the three texts were slight. Few of them have any material significance. On the whole, *L* and *N* resemble each other so closely that they could be considered as one text. *S* stands somewhat apart. This is surprising, because the disparity of age between *L* and *N* appears to be greater than that between *L* and *S*. Considering the great age of *L*, it is probable that the text *LN* represents the original more faithfully than *S*.

I have noted about one hundred and twenty instances of difference between the texts of *N* and *S*. The text of *L* is extant in about seventy of these instances and, in nearly all of them, *L* resembles *N*. The following examples will serve to illustrate this:

A word, or even a sentence, found in *L* and *N* is omitted in *S*:

N (96/31), *L* (162/11) í einu húsi; *S* (100/18) omits.

N (96/34), *L* (162/15) dróttinn sjálf; *S* (100/21) dróttinn.

N (97/4) tvá veggj, þat er tvinna lýði einni trú (*sic*); *L* (162/19) tvá veggj, þat es tvinna lýða í einni trú; *S* (100/25) tvinna lýði í einni trú.

N (98/28), *L* (183/31) svá sem hann þetta mælti: lúk upp þú munn minn, þá es betr gegnir at mæla en þegja, en þú byrg hann þá er betra er þagat en mælt; *S* (101/22) omits.

Occasionally, *S* has a word or a phrase not to be found in the other two:

⁵⁶ *op. cit.*, 51 ff.

S (100/10) en veita inngöngu trúndum (cf. *N* 96/21, *L* 162/3).

N (96/25), *L* (162/5) því meira; *S* (100/12) þeir því meira.

N (96/32), *L* (162/12) trú; *S* (100/19) trú sinni.

In other instances, similar words are used in *LN* and *S*, but in different order:

N (97/6), *L* (162/22) sjá má öll tíðendi; *S* (100/27) öll tíðendi má sjá.

N (97/9), *L* (162/25) kenningar þeira; *S* (100/30) þeira kenningar.

N (97/22), *L* (163/11) þá er bera píslarmark Krists; *S* (101/4) þá es píslarmark Krists bera.

Here and there, *LN* use one word and *S* another:

N (97/18), *L* (163/7) þeim trjóm; *S* (100/38) dvergum.

N (97/23), *L* (163/12) sik; *S* (101/5) hold sitt.

N (97/29), *L* (163/19) klæði; *S* (101/10) búningr.

N (98/7), *L* (163/30) Davíð mælti í sálmi; *S* (101/21) sálma skáldit mælti.

I note only about thirty instances in which the text of *L* differs from that of *N*. In such instances, the readings of *S* generally resemble those of *N*. This is also remarkable, since *N* is a Norwegian manuscript, while *L* and *S* are Icelandic.

The differences between *N* and *L* may consist in word-order:

N (96/35), *S* (100/22) kirkju ok sönghúss; *L* (162/16) sönghúss ok kirkju.

N (97/32), *S* (101/13) guðs elska (elsku *N*) ok náungs; *L* (163/21) elska guðs ok náungs.

Sometimes different words are used in *L* and *N*:

N (96/31), *S* (100/25) samtengir; *L* (162/20) sem tengir (scribal error?).

N (97/13), *S* (100/33) við regni; *L* (163/1) við élum ok skúrum.

N (98/15), *S* (101/27) hornstafr; *L* (164/4) hornsteinar.

N (99/4), *S* (102/12) góðir bræðr; *L* (164/31) góð systkin.

Here and there, *L* contains a word or a phrase not found in the other two:

N (97/29), *S* (101/11) góð verk; *L* (163/19) merkja góð verk.

N (98/26), *S* (101/37) —; *L* (164/16) meðan vér lifum.

N (99/9), *S* (102/16) í tárur; *L* (164/35) iðranar tárur.

There are a number of instances in which different grammatical forms are used in *L* and *N*:

N (97/12), *S* (100/23) ræfr; *L* (162/28) ræfrit.
N (97/13), *S* (100/33) kirkju; *L* (163/1) kirkjunni.

Although small, these examples of similarity between *S* and *N* are sufficient to show that *S* bears a closer resemblance to *N* than to *L*, and that *S* and *N* have some relationship which is not shared by *L*. The few instances in which *S* and *L* have the same readings and *N* differs should probably be explained as errors or spontaneous alterations made by the scribe of *N*:

L (162/12), *S* (100/19) hann sjálfr; *N* (96/32) sjálfr.
L (162/17), *S* (100/23) fyr(ir) trú Krists; *N* (97/2) fyrir Krist.
L (162/21), *S* (100/26) í einni ást; *N* (97/5) einni ást.
L (163/20), *S* (101/12) yfir altara; *N* (97/30) yfir altari.
L (163/35), *S* (101/23) ór; *N* (98/11) í.
L (163/35), *S* (101/24) en; *N* (98/12) ok.
L (164/5), *S* (101/27) vitra; *N* (98/16) vizka.
L (164/22), *S* (102/4) of; *N* (98/32) um.
L (164/29), *S* (102/11) þjónustu; *N* (99/3) til þjónustu.

There are few instances in which all three texts differ and they can have little significance:

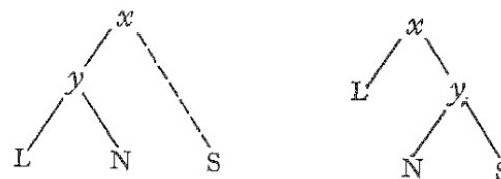
N (96/35) er á milli kirkju ok sǫnghúss er;
L (162/16) es á miðli es sǫnghúss ok kirkju;
S (100/22) þat er es á miðli kirkju ok sǫnghúss.

N (97/1) inn fyrir Krist í kristnina;
L (162/17) inn fyr trú Krists í kristnina;
S (100/23) inn í kristnina fyr trú Krists.

N (98/1) því siðr guðs gata þrǫng;
L (163/24) því siðr þrǫng gata guðs;
S (101/16) því siðr þrǫng vera guðs gata.

Comparison of the three texts of the Dedication Homily shows that *L* and *N* often resemble each other and contrast with *S*, although, on some occasions, *S* and *N* resemble each other and

contrast with *L*. The relationship between the three might be expressed by either of the following schemes:



Either of these schemes would be consistent with the conclusion that the text *LN* represents the original more faithfully than does *S*. If the first alternative is accepted, it is implied that readings shared by *S* and either *L* or *N* were probably in the homily in its original form. There are some slight indications that this was not always the case.

In one passage *N* (96/23) reads:

Gólfþili í kirkju merkir litilláta menn, þá er sik lægja í allri virðingu ok veita því meira upphald öllum lýð, sem þeir verða meir fyrir *allra* drotta.

In this passage the reading of *S* (100/11) differs little from that of *N*, but, instead of the words italicized, *L* (162/6) reads: *undir fótum troðnir*. The difference is not material, but the phrasing of *L* accords more closely with that used in parallel passages in Latin. Honorius, from whom Sicardus and Durandus hardly differ, wrote:

Pavimentum, quod pedibus calcatur, est vulgus cujus labore Ecclesia sustentatur.⁵⁷

This example may suggest that, in some instances, *L* preserves the original text more faithfully than either of the other two. In another passage *N* (97/10) reads:

Ræfr kirkju merkir þá menn, er hugskotsaugu sín hefja upp frá öllum jarðligum hlutum til himneskrar dýrðar, ok hlífa svá kristninni í bönum við freistni, sem ræfr hlífir kirkju *við regni*.

The italicized words are identical in *S* (100/33) but, instead of *við regni*, *L* (163/1) has *við elum ok skúrum*. In this case the reading

⁵⁷ Honorius, *PL* 172, 586D; Sicardus, *PL* 213, 20A; *Rationale* 1, 1, 28.

of *N* (and *S*) might be supported by the words of Honorius, with whom Sicardus and Durandus agree closely:

Tegulae tecti, quæ imbrem a domo repellunt, sunt milites, qui Ecclesiam a paganis et hostibus protegunt.⁵⁸

But in this Latin passage, the roof-tiles are considered as symbols of active churchmen, not of contemplative, as the roof is considered in the Norse homily. The *él ok skúr* may reflect the *turbines hæreticæ impulsioni*, of which Rabanus wrote in the passage quoted on p. 85 above. At least, there are not sufficient reasons to accept Indrebø's assertion that, in these cases, the readings of *L* are later than those of *N*.

It is possible that *S* may preserve some features of the original which have been obscured in the other two. In one passage *N* (96/19) reads:

Syllustokkar kirkjunnar merkja postula guðs, en (*sic*) undirstokkar eru all(r)ar kristni.

The corresponding passage of *L* has been lost, but *S* (100/5) reads:

Syllustokkar kirkjunnar merkja postula ok spámenn, er undirstokkar eru allrar kristni, sem Paulus mælti: Éir eruð smíðaðir yfir grundvöll postula ok spámanna.

In this instance *S* appears to be following the original text of the homily more faithfully than *N*, which has probably been shortened. Durandus,⁵⁹ who was doubtless following an established tradition, wrote:

Hæc est domus Domini, firmiter ædificata, cujus fundamentum est angularis lapis Christus, super quo fundamento positum est fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum.

A few lines below, *S* (100/8) reads:

Hurð fyrir durum merkir skynsama menn, þá es hraustliga standa í gegn villum (*sic*) mǫnnum ok byrgja þá fyr utan kristni guðs í kenningum sínum, en *veita inngöngu trúðundum*.

⁵⁸ Honorius, *PL* 172, 586B; Sicardus, *PL* 213, 22C; *Rationale* 1, 1, 36.

⁵⁹ *Rationale* 1, 1, 9.

In this passage the readings of *L* (162/1) and of *N* (96/21) differ little from that of *S*, but both *L* and *N* omit the words italicized above. It is, however, possible that these words were in the homily in its original form. Evidence of this might be seen in the following passage of Rabanus:⁶⁰

Ostium vero in porticu doctores, qui cæteris lucem vitæ, januamque intrandi ad Dominum pandebant, exprimit.

The passage last quoted from the Dedication Homily is rather more distantly related to that of Honorius,⁶¹ with which it has, nevertheless, something in common:

Ostium . . . est Christus, qui per justitiam obstands infideles a domo sua arceat, et fideles aditum ostendendo per fidem introducit.

It might be suggested that the words *en veita inngöngu trúðundum* were in the original Norse Homily, but were omitted independently from *L* and *N*, since they were felt to be unnecessary. But the evidence available to me is too slight to permit of conclusions about the relationship of the three texts.

TRANSLATION⁶²

King Solomon first erected a temple to God and, when it was completed, he invited his people to hold a festival. Then Solomon stood praying and he spoke these words: 'Thou didst hear, O Lord, the prayer of Thy servant, which I prayed to Thee when I fashioned the temple for Thee; therefore, bless and hallow this house which I did build in Thy name. Hear, O Lord, the prayer which Thy servant prays to Thee this day, that Thine eyes may be open and Thine ears listening above this house day and night. If Thy people shall transgress and turn to repentance and come to this temple, hear Thou their prayers in this place and deliver them from the hands of their enemies.'

⁶⁰ *PL* 111, 399D. ⁶¹ *PL* 172, 587C.

⁶² The Norwegian text of the homily is translated from Indrebø's edition since this is the most convenient text for general purposes. Some of the variant readings of *S* and *L* are translated in footnotes.

And when Solomon had ended his prayer, the Lord appeared and the whole people witnessed the magnificence of the Lord, coming over the temple, and all present bowed down to God and praised the Lord.

From these origins, churches and all the celebration of dedication days began. And since, dear brethren, we are holding the feast of dedication today, it is of first importance that we realize how great is the grace we receive in the church. When a man first comes into the world, he shall be brought to church and shall there be baptized, and he then becomes the son of God, he who was until then the slave of sin. In the church, the flesh and blood of Our Lord shall be consecrated, and all Christians shall taste of It for their salvation. At this service, the heavens are opened and God's angels join with men in attending the service of the priest. In church, meetings of reconciliation are held between God and men, and all the prayers which we offer in church are those most pleasing to God.⁶³ If we fall into mortal sin and are in disagreement with God, we must go again to church and accept the penance imposed by the clerks and so be reconciled with God. And when a man dies, his body shall be brought to church and buried there and the clerks shall commit his soul to God's keeping.⁶⁴

Therefore, dear friends, we should take great care of our churches, for we go to them when we come into the world, and while we are in the world, and when we depart from it.

Now, since the church and the whole Christian community is denoted by the same name in books, we may explain how the church symbolizes the people and how the Christian people may be called the palace of God. For Paul the Apostle spoke in these words:⁶⁵ *You are the holy temple of God, who dwells in you.* As the church is constructed of many diverse objects assembled together,⁶⁶ so the people are assembled in one faith from diverse races and tongues. A part of the Christian community is in heaven with

63 *S* adds: although God hears our prayers wherever we pray from the depth of our hearts.

64 *S* adds: with many prayers and invocations for his salvation (*salusq̄ngum*).

65 *S* omits: For . . . words.

66 *S*: of many stones or timbers.

God and others are here on earth. Therefore, some parts of the church signify heavenly glory and some parts Christendom on earth. The chancel signifies the saints in heaven and the nave the Christians on earth. The altar signifies Christ, for just as no sacrifices offered to God are sanctified except over the altar, our words will not be acceptable to God unless they are sanctified in the love of Christ. The altar-cloths are the saints who adorn Christ in good deeds, as Paul the Apostle said: *All of you who are baptized in Christ have adorned Christ.*⁶⁷

The foundation timbers of the church signify the Apostles of God, who are the foundations of all Christendom.⁶⁸ The portal into the church signifies the true faith, through which we are led into the community of Christianity. The door before the portal signifies the wise who boldly resist the heretics in their teaching, and exclude them from God's Christianity.⁶⁹ The floor-boards signify the humble who lower themselves in all dignity and give greater support to the whole community the more they are trodden under foot. The benches in the church signify the merciful who relieve the sufferings of their weak brethren in their mercy, as the benches give comfort to those who sit upon them. The two walls of the church signify the two peoples joined in one Christendom, one of the Jews and the other of the heathen tribes. The front wall, which joins the two walls in the one house, signifies the Lord who joins the two peoples in one faith and is Himself the protection and shield of His Christendom. In this front wall there is a doorway to go into the church and windows which light up the church, for the Lord Himself enlightens all who enter His faith. The rood-screen between the nave and the chancel signifies the Holy Ghost, for just as we enter Christianity by way of Christ, so also do we enter heavenly glory through the gate of mercy of the Holy Spirit. And just as Christ united the two

67 The Vulgate reads: *Quicumque enim in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis* (*Gal. iii, 27*).

68 *S* reads: of all faith, as Paul the Apostle said: *You are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.*

69 *S* adds: but give entry to the faithful.

walls, that is the two peoples, in one faith, so also does the Holy Spirit unite those two peoples in one love. In this rood-screen there is a large doorway through which all that happens in the chancel may be seen from the nave, for every man who finds the doorway of the Holy Spirit may observe many celestial things with his spiritual eyes.

The four corner-posts in the church signify the four gospels, for the teachings contained in them are the stoutest supports of all Christianity. The roof of the church signifies those who raise their spiritual eyes above all earthly things to heavenly glory and thus shelter Christianity from temptation by their prayers, as the roof shelters the church from rain.⁷⁰

The long-timbers of the church, that is to say the ridge-beams and the wall-plates,⁷¹ which support and hold fast both the rafters and the wainscoting of the church—these signify the rulers who are appointed to govern and to further Christianity, such as abbots who govern monks and princes who govern peoples.

The tie-beams, which uphold the wall-plates and strengthen those timbers which support the ridge-beams,⁷² signify those Christians who make peace between⁷³ the worldly chiefs by their counsels, for these support monasteries and holy places with their wealth.

The bells signify the clerks who make a beautiful sound before God and men in their prayers and preachings. The crosses and roods signify the ascetics who bear the marks of Christ's passion on their bodies when they weary themselves in fasting and vigils.

⁷⁰ *L* reads: from storms and showers.

⁷¹ 'Wall-plates' is perhaps not the precise equivalent of ON *staflægjur*. This word appears to be used generally for horizontal beams supported by upright posts along the inside of the wall, but not touching it. The usual word for 'wall-plates' is *vegglægjur*. See Valtýr Guðmundsson, *Privatboligen paa Island i Sagatiden* (1889), 118; also A. Nilsson in *Forntida gårdar i Island*, ed. M. Stenberger (1943), 296.

⁷² *S* reads: The tie-beams which strengthen the wall-plates and uphold the king-posts (*dvergum*) which support the ridge-beams.

⁷³ *S* reads: strengthen.

But just as we say that the church signifies the whole Christian people, so it may signify each Christian man who verily makes himself the temple of the Holy Spirit by his good works. For every man shall fashion a spiritual church within himself, not with timbers or stones, but rather with good works. The chancel of this church is prayer and psalm-singing. The altar signifies love and the altar-cloth good deeds, which must accompany love. Just as all sacrifices are hallowed over the altar, so all good works are hallowed and made acceptable in love. And this love may be distinguished in two commandments, i.e. love of God and love of our neighbour. The front wall and the rood-screen of the church signify this two-fold love, the front wall love of our neighbour and the rood-screen love of God. In the rood-screen is a large doorway into the chancel; for the more deeply he loves God the less narrow will the path of God appear to every man. In the front wall there are windows, for light is the command of the Lord, said the psalmist,⁷⁴ and it enlightens our eyes. The Lord Himself explained this clear precept more fully when He said: *It is My commandment that each of you love the other.*

The doorway before the portal signifies control of the tongue, as David said in the psalm:⁷⁵ *Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and a door to guard my lips*, and as he spoke in these words: *Open my mouth when it befits better to speak than to be silent, but close it when it is better to be silent than to speak.*⁷⁶ The door may further signify wisdom, which distinguishes good things from evil, so that we open our hearts to good things and shut out all evil fantasies. The foundation timbers of this church signify faith, for over this foundation and basis we shall fashion all our good works, so that we may become temples of God. The four corner-posts⁷⁷ signify the four cardinal virtues which are the stoutest supports of other good deeds,⁷⁸ i.e. wisdom and justice, fortitude and temperance. The floor-boarding signifies humility and

⁷⁴ *S*: David.

⁷⁶ *S* omits: open . . . speak.

⁷⁸ *S* omits: which . . . deeds.

⁷⁵ *S*: The psalmist said.

⁷⁷ *L*: corner-stones (*hornsteinar*).

obedience and patience, not being ashamed to suffer humiliation and injustice of men. The benches signify those works of mercy which bring comfort to the needy, as the benches give rest to those who sit upon them. The walls signify, all together, good deeds and all useful toil endured for the love of God and one's neighbour. The wall-plates which hold the wainscoting together signify steadfastness in good works. The roof above the walls signifies hope and the regard which we must have for God above all good deeds. The beams which support the roof-timbers signify patience which supports our hope, so that we shall not cease to expect the mercy of God. The tie-beams, which support the walls lest they fall before the storm, signify peace and concord which support and unite all our good works lest they fall before the storm of diabolical temptation. The crosses and roods signify mortification of the flesh, that is fasting and vigils. The bells signify the teachings which awaken us to good deeds, just as the bell awakens us to divine service.⁷⁹ The yard around the church signifies the custody of all these good qualities which have been enumerated here. For we may well take care of all these good qualities, if we contemplate the works of those who have passed from the world before us, so that good example may stimulate us to emulation and bad example warn us against sins. This thought is signified by the burial of bodies in the church-yard. It must be realized that everything needed for the adornment and service of the church may be fulfilled spiritually in us, if we live so purely that we are worthy to be called the temple of God. Therefore, it is necessary for us, dear brethren, when we celebrate this feast of dedication, to purify the churches of our hearts so that God shall not find in His temple, which we are ourselves, anything which may anger Him. And just as we like to appear finely dressed and washed on a feast day, so must we wash the stains of sin in tears⁸⁰ from our spirits within and adorn them with good deeds. And just as we feed ourselves with fine meats on feast days, so must we feed our spirits with festive food, that

⁷⁹ *S* omits: just . . . service.

⁸⁰ *L*: in tears of repentance.

is the word of God; for it is unseemly that the body should be finely fed and clothed and the inner man be threadbare and go without food. It is of no avail if we come finely dressed to the outer church, if we neglect the feast of the inner church, that is persistence in good deeds; for it is for this reason that we celebrate feasts of dedication annually on earth, that we may celebrate an eternal day of dedication, which is true rejoicing of all the saints in heaven. And we may win that joy if we give manifold mercy to our neighbours in their needs. It is good to give alms to churches, but it is better to comfort our distressed neighbours in their needs. For churches pass away with the world, but spirits never pass away.

If we wish to be temples of the Holy Spirit, we must show every mercy to our neighbours in need, as the church shows mercy to us. As the church conducts us to God by means of the baptismal font, so must we conduct our neighbours from transgression by means of the font of tears, in weeping for their sins, for tears purify sins like the baptismal font. And just as in church we submit to penance for our sins, so must we punish our neighbours for their sins. And just as we receive spiritual food in church, i.e. *corpus domini*, so must we give bodily food to those in need. And just as the church offers burial to the dead in its precincts, so must we offer prayers for their souls. If we celebrate temporal festivals with such devotion, then we shall win the eternal festival in heaven with our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and rules as God with the Father and Holy Spirit *per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.*

POSTSCRIPT

I

In the same year as this paper was first published an article on the Dedication homily, 'Till Gammelnorsk Homiliebok. Kirke-dagshomilien', by Trygve Knudsen appeared in *Studier tillägnade Rolf Pipping* (= *Studier i nordisk filologi* xxxix, 1949), 28-39. Another paper by him on similar lines, 'Stavkirkeprekenen i Gammelnorsk Homiliebok', later appeared in the volume of his essays published in honour of his seventieth birthday, *Skrifttradisjon og litteraturmål* (1967), 53-72.

Professor Knudsen had not apparently seen my paper in *Mediaeval Studies*, but his conclusions were in some ways similar. He did not attempt to place the homily in its European setting—though he was aware that that was where it belonged—but showed greater interest in word-forms and other textual variants, attempting, especially in his second paper, to find evidence that might decide whether the work was Icelandic or Norwegian in origin and, if Norwegian, from which part of Norway it came. On the whole, Knudsen considered the homily more likely to be Norwegian than Icelandic, but he did not press this conclusion because the evidence was very slight.

A useful, salutary survey of the problems involved in the discussion of the homily and its background has been recently given by Hans Bekker-Nielsen in 'The Old Norse Dedication Homily' in *Festschrift für Konstantin Reichardt* (1969), 127-34.

II

When I wrote this paper in 1949 I was not aware that the homily on the Dedication was also preserved in the fifteenth-century Icelandic manuscript, AM 624 4to, a miscellany in several hands, chiefly containing works of edification. The text of this homily was published by Oluf Kolsrud, parallel with the other

versions, in his *Messuskýringar* (1952), 85-107 (his A, B, C, D correspond to L, N, S and 624). According to Trygve Knudsen, *Skrifttradisjon og litteraturmål* (1967), 61, the homily in 624 is of minor interest from a textual point of view (*av mindre teksthistorisk interesse*). I have unfortunately not had an opportunity to study this manuscript at first hand, and the brief remarks following are based on Kolsrud's edition and partly on notes on the 624 homily's textual relations generously placed at my disposal by Mr Hans Bekker-Nielsen of Odense University.

It appears then that when 624 differs from S, it more often does so in agreement with L and N, suggesting that the left-hand stemma on p. 91 is more likely to be the correct one. 624 also has a few striking correspondences with S, however, and its exact position in the stemma remains for the present obscure. Taken by itself, the homily in 624 may not be able to throw very much light on the original text, but it is evidently of great importance in helping to clarify relations between the different versions that have come down to us and it deserves more attention than it has received. I hope to consider it more closely in a later study.