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Lund, Denmark, and Scandinavia, c. 1060–1225

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On the Formation of Cathedral Chapters and Cathedral Culture

Lund, Denmark, and Scandinavia, c. 1060–1225

ANNA MINARA CIARDI

CENTRE FOR THEOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES | LUND UNIVERSITY 2016





The cathedral chapter (*Sw. domkapitel*) was one of the most influential institutions in the medieval church and in medieval society at large. Chapter members were clergy whose functions could vary according to time and location, but whose basic duty was always to uphold the liturgy of the cathedral church.

This doctoral thesis consists of five articles that challenge previous scholarship on cathedral chapters in Scandinavia in the period c. 1060–1225, by taking a closer look at the question of how they were formed and functioned, and indeed by reconsidering the very meaning of ‘formation’ and ‘functions’. It presents, develops, and confirms hypotheses about the formation of these capitular institutions as reciprocally related to their overarching function as agents of ecclesiastical tradition. It also posits the continuous formation of a specific cathedral culture that hitherto has not been recognized as a medieval culture in its own right, on a par with monastic and scholastic culture. The aspects of cathedral culture particularly treated in the articles include canonical life under a rule, the transmission of learning, the promotion of saints’ cults and the election of bishops.

Anna Minara CIARDI works within the field of Church History at the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies at Lund University, Sweden (Est. 1666). This is her doctoral thesis.



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On the Formation of Cathedral Chapters and Cathedral Culture

Lund, Denmark, and Scandinavia, *c.* 1060–1225

Anna Minara Ciardi



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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Lund University, Sweden.

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Title and subtitle <i>On the Formation of Cathedral Chapters and Cathedral Culture. Lund, Denmark, and Scandinavia, c 1060–c.1225</i>		
Abstract <p>The overarching purpose of this doctoral thesis has been to re-interpret essential aspects of the formation and functions of cathedral chapters in Scandinavia in the period <i>c.</i> 1060–1225. This is achieved through a number of articles on the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence’s in Lund, and, to a lesser extent, other cathedral chapters in medieval Denmark and Scandinavia.</p> <p>After a general introduction on the subject, starting with clarifications of those concepts that have been essential to this study and my understanding and application of them, i.e. ‘formation’, ‘functions’, ‘cathedral chapter’, and ‘cathedral culture’, I recapitulate what has been achieved, misinterpreted, or even neglected by previous scholarship by focusing on the formation and functions of cathedral chapters in a Scandinavian setting. In this section, I also present my own hypotheses and methodological approaches and define the chronological and geographical delimitations of this work. Finally, I introduce the sources of this work by categorizing them. In the second major part of the introduction, I present the context, hypotheses, methods, and results of the articles; I also present and discuss whether there has been any subsequent research or similar approaches on the various topics dealt with.</p> <p>In my articles, I consider four general topics: first, the textual transmission of normative text of the cathedral chapter in Lund and especially the customary, the <i>Consuetudines Lundenses</i> from <i>c.</i> 1120 (Articles 1 and 4); second, the concepts of ‘law & learning’ are examined in the context of the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence’s in Lund in the first quarter of the twelfth century (Article 2). Third, by focusing on the cult of saints in Scandinavia <i>c.</i> 1000–<i>c.</i> 1200 in relation to the emerging capitular institutions, I both introduce a new concept, ‘cathedral culture’, and demonstrate the importance of the local cathedral clergy and chapter are in the introduction and maintenance of both foreign and local saints’ cults (Article 3). Finally, I examine the various legal developments within the process of appointing bishops that were practiced in Latin Christendom until the mid-1220s (Article 5), arriving at the conclusion that this process and the formation of cathedral chapters were reciprocal and resulted in a more legally regulated electoral procedure.</p> <p>The major results of this work are the following. First, by a redefinition of the concept of ‘cathedral chapter’, meaning that any clerical organization occupied with the liturgical service at the cathedral church of the diocese could be designated as such rather than define this institution from those legal or administrative functions that were added later, and by demonstrating that the liturgical function was the primary function of the capitular institution throughout the Middle Ages, I contribute to a new, more organic view of this ecclesiastical institution. Second, by using a more flexible terminology, I demonstrate that a focus on the process of <i>formation</i> rather than the search for a fixed date of <i>foundation</i> is rewarding when dealing with the capitular institutions in this period, which are characterized by institutional, legal, and ideological transition. Finally, I introduce a new conceptual framework, ‘cathedral culture’, which not only facilitates our understanding of the activities undertaken and performed by the chapters and their members in the cathedral and its surrounding milieu, i.e. as agents of ecclesiastical tradition, but also this concept helps us to see the emergence of a specific culture out of a monastic, contemplative culture and closely related to a nascent scholastic, erudite culture.</p>		
Key words: <i>Canon Law, canons, cathedral, cathedral chapter, cathedral culture, Church history, cult of saints, Denmark, education, episcopal election(s), legal history, liturgy, Lund, Middle Ages, monasticism, Scandinavia, textual transmission, ecclesiastical tradition, twelfth century</i>		
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Lund, Denmark, and Scandinavia, *c.* 1060–1225

Anna Minara Ciardi



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Till Mamma & Pappa

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Foreword in Swedish

Den här avhandlingen hade mycket väl kunnat inledas med orden: ”Allt började med Augustinus”. Detta gäller både den kyrkliga institution som här står i fokus och mitt eget intresse för kyrkohistoria. Allt började med Augustinus, i Hippo på 400-talet och på gymnasiet i Oskarshamn på 1990-talet.

Resan från gymnasiet till att påbörja och slutföra en forskarutbildning har inte varit oproblematiskt, men heller inte outhärdlig. Inte bara har jag under årens lopp fått möjlighet att fördjupa mig i ämnen och texter som utmanar och skapar mening. Inte bara har jag fått möjlighet att själv bidra till skånsk, dansk och nordisk medeltidsforskning. Framförallt: jag har haft privilegiet att få träffa en mängd fantastiska kollegor, många av er vänner för livet, som på allsköns sätt stöttat mig i mitt arbete och i min vardag, som har läst och kommenterat ofärdiga och halvfärdiga texter, lyssnat på mer eller mindre uthärdliga utläggningar om döda medeltida män, tröstat eller uppmuntrat mig, och som har trott på mig när jag själv inte har förmått det. Tack till er alla, ni vet vilka ni är!

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Mundal. Till prof. Mia Münster-Swendsen, Roskilde Universitet, & lektor Helle Vogt, Köpenhamns universitet: stort tack för många glada skratt, livliga diskussioner om medeltida ting och för varm vänskap. Tack också till kollegor vid Göteborgs universitet, Linköpings universitet & Newmaninstitutet för den värme med vilken ni tagit emot en mer eller mindre rutinerad medarbetare.

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*

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Lund, den heliga Katarina av Sienas dag AD 2016

List of Articles

1. Anna Minara Ciardi, 2004. "När togs lundakanikernas *Consuetudines* egentligen i bruk? Reflektioner kring traditionsförmedling och texttradering i 1120-talets Lund." In *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 104 (2004), pp. 11–21.
2. Anna Minara Ciardi, 2006. "Some Reflections on the Canons of Lund and their Tradition of Law and Learning in the First Quarter of the Twelfth Century." In *Law & Learning in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Second Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal History 2005*. Edited by Mia Münster-Swendsen & Helle Vogt. Copenhagen: DJØF Publishing, pp. 63–78.
3. Anna Minara Ciardi, 2010. "Saints and Cathedral Culture in Scandinavia c. 1000–c. 1200." In *Saints and their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c. 1000–1200)*. Edited by Haki Antonsson & Ildar H. Garipzanov. Cursor Mundi, 9. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 39–66.
4. Anna Minara Ciardi, 2012. "Consuetudines Lundenses." In *Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin. A website of authors and anonymous works ca 1100–1530*. Edited by Stephan Borgehammar, Karsten Friis-Jensen, Lars Boje Mortensen & Åslaug Ommundsen,
https://wiki.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Consuetudines_Lundenses.
5. Anna Minara Ciardi. "'Per clerum et populum'. Legal Terminology and Episcopal Appointments in Denmark, 1059–1225". Submitted to *Traditio*; in peer-review process (Fordham University, NY).

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General Introduction

Background

In connection with my master's thesis (2000), I first became acquainted with the cathedral chapter in Lund. The purpose of that thesis was to take a closer look at the content and mutual relationship of the regulating texts of the chapter, viz. the Rule of Aachen (816) and the customary labelled *Consuetudines canonicæ* or *Lundenses* (c. 1123).¹ These texts are still extant today and are found at the University Library in Lund in the codex *Necrologium Lundense*, sometimes referred to as the oldest book in Scandinavia.² As an immediate result of this work, I published a Swedish translation of these Latin texts with a commentary in 2003.³

The major conclusions were that these texts should be considered as one unit. The older *regula* draws the general outline of capitular institutions and canons as distinct from monastic institutions and monks; the younger and locally edited customary provides both a detailed instruction for common life in the chapter and an insight into what needs and conditions prevailed in Lund in the first quarter of the twelfth

¹ Anna Minara Johansson, 2000. *Hångivna ett liv i Guds tjänst. Ett studium av Aachenregeln och Consuetudines canonicæ – lundakanikernas regelverk vid 1100-talets början*. English summary. Master's thesis. Lund University: Department of Theology.

² *Necrologium Lundense* in Lund, Lund University Library (LUB), MS 6, fols 58^v–82^v (the Rule of Aachen) and 92^r–123^v (the *Consuetudines Lundenses*). See also *Alvin – portal för kulturarvsamlingar*, <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:14714> (accessed on 3 March 2016). An edition with a thorough codicological and palaeographical introduction of the *Necrologium Lundense* was undertaken by Lauritz Weibull in *Necrologium Lundense: Lunds domkyrkas nekrologium*. Edited by Lauritz Weibull. Monumenta Scaniae Historica. Lund: Gleerup, 1923. A critical edition of the *Consuetudines Lundenses* is found in *Consuetudines Lundenses: statutter för kannikesamfundet i Lund c. 1123*. Edited by Erik Buus. København: Det danske sprog- og litteraturselskab, 1978, pp. 109–178.

³ Anna Minara Ciardi, 2003. *Lundakanikernas levnadsregler. Aachenregeln och Consuetudines canonicæ. Översättning från latinet med inledning och noter*. Meddelanden från kyrkohistoriska arkivet i Lund. N.F., 5, Lund: Lunds Universitets Kyrkohistoriska Arkiv. An English edition and translation of the Rule of Aachen is found in Jerome Bertram, 2005. *The Chrodegang Rules: the Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries*. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 84–174.

century. Apart from these conclusions my thesis gave other insights into, for example, how closely connected this specific ecclesiastical institution was with related institutions and processes at home and abroad. In addition, it raised questions about the formation and functions of cathedral chapters in Denmark, especially with regard to the accuracy and validity of certain presuppositions that have guided previous scholarship in this field. In the years that followed, I have sought to pursue these insights and those questions. This study presents the results of that quest.

Purpose & Terminology

The overarching purpose of this doctoral thesis is to re-interpret essential aspects of the formation and functions of cathedral chapters in Scandinavia in the period *c.* 1060–1225. This is achieved through a study of the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence’s in Lund, and to a lesser extent, other cathedral chapters in medieval Denmark and Scandinavia.

The words ‘formation’ and ‘functions’ are key concepts in my study and, therefore, require a general explanation. By ‘formation’, I mean the process of creating a cathedral chapter, i.e. from the very first steps toward an organized clerical community affiliated to the cathedral church of the diocese to a legally defined corporate body with specific regulations and responsibilities. By ‘functions’, I mean those practical tasks that characterized (daily) life in the chapter and were regarded as the purpose of the capitular institution, e.g. to perform the daily liturgy of the cathedral church, to counsel and assist the bishop in the diocesan government, to act as guardians and executors of ecclesiastical law, to function as an educational institution, to undertake parochial work and pastoral care in the diocese, to function as guardians of the saints’ shrines and to mediate and maintain saints’ cults.⁴ These functions should be considered as examples; in the articles included here, I systematize these functions by considering them in relation to the historical development of the capitular institution. Thus, it becomes evident that there is a variety of functions over time, and at times from place to place: some were less perceptible in the beginning of the period than they were later. This conceptual framework of ‘formation’ and ‘functions’, here only briefly explained, is further elaborated below and, of course, applied in the following articles.

⁴ Cf. Anna Minara Ciardi, 2010. “Saints and Cathedral Culture in Scandinavia *c.* 1000–*c.* 1200.” In *Saints and their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c. 1000–1200)*. Edited by Haki Antonsson & Ildar H. Garipzanov. *Cursor Mundi*, 9. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 45–46 with notes [Article 3].

Other key concepts of this study are ‘chapter’, ‘cathedral chapter’, and ‘cathedral culture’. By the word ‘chapter’, I mean a group of clerics responsible for the divine services in a major church. Indeed, the term ‘chapter’ has a monastic origin and reflects the fact that such clerics were normally expected to live a communal life under a rule. What constitute such a group, however, are their liturgical duties, not their observance of a rule. This means that the word ‘chapter’ is not always strictly appropriate, but it is used here for want of a better term. By ‘cathedral chapter’, I mean a group of clerics responsible for the divine services in a cathedral church. What distinguishes a cathedral chapter from other chapters is their relation to the local bishop, which usually involved various kinds of service and support. In some cases, a process can be observed in which a specific cathedral chapter becomes more independent, for example, vis á vis its bishop, and is more firmly organized, for example, because of increased revenues. In my opinion, however, such developments should not influence the terminology as long as the chapter’s basic functions are maintained. Moreover, contrary to most previous authors I do not regard involvement in episcopal elections as constitutive of a cathedral chapter.

Of special significance in this doctoral thesis is the introduction and application of the term ‘cathedral culture’. The concept is both used as an analytical tool throughout my study and, on a theoretical level, is a major outcome of this thesis. In brief, by ‘cathedral culture’ I refer to the culture that was developed by cathedral chapters in interaction with their immediate *Sitz im Leben* – the cathedral church, its surrounding milieu, and the local bishop – while developing institutionally in often complex ways and while taking an active part in ideological mediation.

Perspectives in Relation to Previous Research

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the cathedral chapters of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway have been the object of scholarly interest. As a result, the related sources have been identified, systematized, and published in critical editions. The sources are now well known and have been discussed many times by other scholars – often from an institutional perspective, but rarely from an ideological or theological. In my opinion and based on my own research, important perspectives and even data have been frequently overlooked or misinterpreted. Above all, I find most previous scholarship and its results to be hampered by either an inadequate or a too rigid conceptual framework with regard to the meaning of ‘cathedral chapter’.

In the following, I recapitulate three specific perspectives where I have found previous scholarship to be inadequate, or even inaccurate. I find that previous scholars have often had an all too restricted view on the functions of cathedral chapters; they have been too inflexible and conventional regarding a complex process of formation,

and there are examples of an all-too-heavy focus on specific individuals or ecclesiastical institutions in areas where it is instead a question of, above all, the emergence of a cathedral culture and the transmission of ecclesiastical tradition. In the next section, I deal with these deficiencies one by one.

On the Functions of Cathedral Chapters

The first example of a deficiency in previous scholarship concerns the ambivalence toward the main functions of the cathedral chapters in their early phase of formation. A general emphasis on legal or administrative functions – as both pivotal and characteristic – can be observed and has, in my opinion, resulted in a number of misleading definitions of the institution and its history in a Scandinavian setting. There may be several reasons for this misconception, but it primarily consists of an anachronistic emphasis on legal functions such as the right to perform in episcopal elections or the administration of the chapters' property; thus, legal, administrative, and financial functions of the chapters have been emphasized, while others, such as liturgical and educational, have been neglected.⁵

Examples of this disproportion include the scholarly works of Ludvig Helveg, Kauko Pirinen, and Martin Schwarz Lausten. Helveg initially refers to the immediate *Sitz im Leben* of the early capitular institutions, i.e. the cathedral church and the vicinity of the local bishop, but soon emphasizes the legal and administrative functions, i.e. as electoral corporations at episcopal elections and as counsellors of the bishop, as well as the educational.⁶ Similarly, Pirinen admits that the liturgical function was essential, but considers the diocesan administration and legal functions as the most important.⁷

⁵ See, for example, the Swedish Church historian Hjalmar Holmquist, 1907. *Översikt öfver domkapitelns historia i Sverige samt kyrkostyrelsens nuvarande organisation i andra evangelisk-lutherska länder*. Stockholm: Norstedts, pp. 1–7, who, even if he is familiar with the general developments of the capitular institution from the Patristic Age and onward, consistently omits the liturgical functions and instead emphasises the legal, administrative, and financial tasks. When he eventually refers to other functions, it is in the context of the “firm, secular chapters”.

⁶ Ludvig Helveg, 1855. *De Danske Domkapitler; deres Oprindelse, Indretning og Virksomhed, før Reformationen. En historisk Skildring*. Kjøbenhavn: C. G. Iversen & Thieles Bogtrykkeri, pp. 5 and 58–87. Helveg admits that the cathedral liturgy was one of the most important functions, but clearly discusses a later, well-organized chapter (pp. 88–98). Cf. Margit Hübert, 1922. *Nogen undersøkelser om de norske domkapitler, væsentlig indtil 1450*. Avhandlinger fra Universitetets historiske seminar, 6:1, Kristiania: Grøndahl, pp. 7–8, 10, 12–17, and 72–103.

⁷ Kauko Pirinen et al., 1958. “Domkapitel.” In KLN 3, cols 186–195: “D. viktigaste uppgift var att trygga stifts förvaltningens fortbestånd och bevara biskopsbordets egendom under den tid, då stiftet var utan biskop [...] d. tillvunno sig med tiden allt vidsträcktare rättigheter genom valkapitulationer, biskopseder samt privilegiebrev [...] Enligt medeltidens sätt att se var d. framförallt en kultgemenskap, som hade att handhåva domkyrkans kulthandlingar” (citation in cols 193–194); elsewhere, he

Lausten emphasizes the counselling, administrative, and legal functions, but also, if more in passing, reflects on the chapters' influential impact as "carriers of learning and culture within the church and the guardians of tradition".⁸ Even though Jens Otto Arnhung's treatise on the cathedral chapter of Roskilde has a different character as it focuses on the chapter in its immediate context – the cathedral church and its liturgy – a considerable part deals with legal and administrative functions.⁹

With his studies of the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence's in Lund, Lauritz Weibull seems to have chosen another path. In his edition of the chapter book of the early twelfth-century chapter and his treatise on the church history of Scania until the 1270s, his major concern with regard to the cathedral chapter is in the context of the liturgical sources and functions and, to some extent, the formation of the capitular institution over time, not clear-cut definitions of terminology or functions in general.¹⁰ A similar approach can be found in Sven Helander's (2001a–b) works on the liturgy of the medieval cathedral in Uppsala, Sweden, which emphasizes the liturgical functions and demonstrates how the concepts of cathedral – chapter – cult were closely related. Nevertheless, when it comes to terminology and functions, he curiously subordinates this to "the settled implementation of canon law and the establishment

emphasizes the legal functions; see Kauko Pirinen & Jarl Gallén, 1956. "Biskop." In KLN 1, cols 611–612. Similar approaches are found with Herman Schüek, 1959. *Ecclesia Lincopensis. Studier om Linköpingskyrkan under medeltiden och Gustav Vasa*. Acta universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm Studies in History, 4. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, p. 399–401; Bertil Nilsson, 1998. *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 1: Missionstid och tidig medeltid*. Stockholm: Verbum, pp. 148–149; and Sven-Erik Pernler, 1999. *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 2: Hög- och senmedeltid*. Stockholm: Verbum, pp. 23–24; and Christian Lovén, 2001. "Kloster, klosterliknande inrättningar och klostertraditioner." In *Fornvännen* 96:4 (2001), p. 244.

⁸ Martin Schwarz Lausten, 2002. *A Church History of Denmark*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 69–71 (citations on pp. 69 and 71): "The cathedral chapters were composed of the colleges of priests (canons) who were employed in the cathedrals, and whose task was to advise and assist the bishop in the government of the diocese [...] Of greatest importance was the chapter's right to elect its bishop [...] the cathedral chapters were extremely influential for long periods of time; they were the carriers of learning and culture within the church and the guardians of tradition".

⁹ Jens Otto Arnhung, 1937. *Roskilde domkapitels historie, 1: Tiden indtil 1416: med Altrenes og Kapelernes Historie*. Roskilde: E. R. H. Flensborgs Forlag. On the cathedral chapter as electoral body or as counsellor to the bishop, see pp. 306–367. A similar method is found in Hilding Johansson, 1986. "Skara som stiftsstad." In *Skara, 1: Före 1700: staden i stiftet*. Edited by Arne Sträng. Skara: Skara Historiekommitté, pp. 420–425 and 459–467. Johansson, however, also examines the chapter as an educational institution, see pp. 471–480.

¹⁰ Cf. Lauritz Weibull, 1923. "Inledning." In *Necrologium Lundense. Lunds domkyrkans nekrologium*. Edited by Lauritz Weibull. Monumenta Scaniae Historica. Lund: Berlingska boktryckeriet, *passim*; Lauritz Weibull, 1946. *Skånes kyrka. Från äldsta tid till Jakob Erlandsens död 1274*. Köbenhavn: Rosenkilde og Bagger, for example, pp. 28–29. On his view on the formation of the cathedral chapter of Lund, cf. below.

of secular cathedral chapters in the thirteenth century”, which is an expression of a more traditional and restricted view.¹¹ In light of the fact that Helander provides new and well-elaborated perspectives on cathedral culture, it is peculiar that he did not question previous scholarship to a greater extent.

Finally, Tore S. Nyberg (1986, 2000) should be mentioned. Nyberg’s major concern is the monastic foundations of the North and their formation until *c.* 1200, and in particular, the monastic or regular chapters of Odense and Børglum in Denmark. With reference to both then current developments on the continent and in England and indigenous documentation, he argues that clerical communities were established at the cathedral church or in its immediate vicinity as soon as the bishops became resident. With regard to their main duties, i.e. liturgical and administrative functions, he refers to such communities as ‘chapters’ as soon as they perform these functions. Nyberg also refers to other, more specific functions – e.g. in the context of saints’ cults and ecclesiastical elections – but does not identify a need for an alternate vocabulary; on the contrary, he defines the institution by its locality and what he considers to be its original or main functions.¹²

As will be demonstrated in a number of my articles below, the legal function was certainly decisive for the position and authority of capitular institutions in the medieval church and society; nonetheless, it was never the primary, the only, or even the

¹¹ Sven Helander, 2001a. *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin: studier i helgonlängd, tidegård och mässa = Die mittelalterliche Liturgie von Uppsala: Studien zu Kalendarium, Stundengebet und Messe*. Bibliotheca theologicæ practicæ, 63. Lund: Arcus, pp. 50–234 and 387–405, and Sven Helander, 2001b. “The Liturgical Profile of the Parish Church in Medieval Sweden.” In *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Edited by Thomas J. Hefferman & E. Ann Matter. Kalamazoo, MI: Published for The Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, p. 149: “The basis for unified liturgical practice came only with the settled implementation of canon law and the establishment of secular cathedral chapters in the thirteenth century. It became a major task of the cathedral chapter to function as a liturgical corporation because of its leading role in worship at the cathedral. The continuing development of cultic practices was in the hands of the chapter. Its resources—economic and personal—also provided the means for a corresponding development of the cathedral itself, with new chantries and chapels being added for the new devotions. Architectural space and liturgy often changed in tandem.” Cf. Peder Severinsen, 1932. *Viborg Domkirke med Stad og Stift i 800 Aar: Festskrift ved Domkirkens 800 Aars Fest 1932*. Skivebogen. København, p. 66: “[Præsterne] skulde først og fremmest tjene Gud og dermed ogsaa den hellige Kirke, i Kirkens kor og i at gennemføre det regelbundne Liv. Og man regnede med, at den saaledes udførte Tjeneste ogsaa kom deres kristne Medmennesker til Gode i Stad og Stift.” The cathedral chapter of Viborg lived according to the Rule of St Augustine, perhaps already from as early as 1119, according to Severinsen 1932, pp. 80–81.

¹² Tore S. Nyberg, 1986. *Die Kirche in Skandinavien: mitteleuropäischer und englischer Einfluss im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert. Anfänge der Domkapitel Børglum und Odense in Dänemark*. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenurkunde des Mittelalters, 10. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, pp. 107–122, and 166; Tore Nyberg, 2000. *Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800–1200*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 60–63, 102, and 111.

most essential function.¹³ By emphasizing the legal functions as a general feature of the early cathedral chapters, I contend that the historical process is anticipated.¹⁴ In relation to the aforesaid, I suspect that the Swedish/Scandinavian word ‘domkapitel’ has supported the connotation of legal functions. Although not stated explicitly by the above-mentioned scholars, the tendency to emphasize the legal function of cathedral chapters is surely facilitated by the word for ‘judgement’ in the Scandinavian languages (Sw. *dom*, Da. *dom*, No. *dom*, Ic. *dómur*) although ‘dom’ in ‘domkapitel’ actually refers to the cathedral church (Sw. *dóm*; Germ. *Dom*). After the Lutheran Reformation, the institution of cathedral chapters was preserved in the Church of Sweden; one of its primary functions was the legal one.¹⁵ By using another word in the Scandinavian languages, concurring with English terminology, namely ‘katedral-kapitel’ in Swedish, I propose that faulty connotations can be avoided.

In my opinion, it is only by focusing on the functions performed by the cathedral chapter within a specific cathedral culture that the formation of these institutions over time can be understood. The impact of the cathedral itself cannot be overestimated at any point in the formation and functioning of medieval cathedral chapters; neither can their liturgical obligation.¹⁶ Likewise, it is not always fruitful trying to pinpoint the dates when the additional functions of the cathedral chapters began to take effect; rather, one should visualize a process of formation, in which certain functions are identified, not the specific order of things.¹⁷

¹³ See, for example, Anna Minara Ciardi, 2006. “Some Reflections on the Canons of Lund and their Tradition of Law and Learning in the First Quarter of the Twelfth Century.” In *Law & Learning in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Second Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal History 2005*. Edited by Mia Münster-Swendsen & Helle Vogt. Copenhagen: DJØF Publishing, pp. 63–78 [Article 2]; Ciardi 2010, pp. 44–48.

¹⁴ On the cathedral chapters as electoral bodies, see Anna Minara Ciardi [forthcoming]. “Per Clerum et Populum”. Legal Terminology and Episcopal Appointments in Denmark, 1059–1225” [Article 5].

¹⁵ The English translation of the present-day institution of ‘domkapitel’ is ‘diocesan chapter’, which is of some interest with regard to my discussion on locality as decisive of Scandinavian vocabulary; see Sven-Erik Brodd, 2016. “Domkapitlen i Svenska kyrkan som inkvisitionsdomstolar.” In *Kyrklig rätt och kyrklig orätt – kyrkorättsliga perspektiv. Festskrift till professor Bertil Nilsson*. Edited by Martin Berntson & Anna Minara Ciardi. Skellefteå: Artos, pp. 245–274. In the same volume, see also Mia Korpiola, 2016. “Punishing the Sexual Crimes of Clerics in Reformation Sweden: Cases from the Chapter Records 1590–1605”, pp. 113–126.

¹⁶ Cf. Ciardi 2010, pp. 44–53. A thorough introduction to the life of the cathedral clergy from the Apostolic Age until the High Middle Ages is found in Jerome Bertram, 2009. *Vita Communis: the Common Life of the Secular Clergy*. Leominster, Herefordshire: Gracewing, pp. 22–62.

¹⁷ Cf. Michael H. Gelting, 2007. “The Kingdom of Denmark.” In *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*. Edited by Nora Berend. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 98.

On the Formation of Cathedral Chapters

A second area in which a limited scope can be observed in previous scholarship is with regard to the formation of cathedral chapters, the chronology of that process, and its purpose. In my opinion, the majority of Scandinavian research has been all too constrained when describing the process of the formation. The hitherto dominant understanding of the cathedral chapters as a defined body with primarily legal or administrative functions has resulted in a static comprehension of the phenomenon. Furthermore, trying to identify a fixed point of establishment and certain functions, previous scholarship to a great extent has not been attentive enough to the process of formation, at the cost of both dynamism and reciprocity.¹⁸ Three different approaches to the formation of capitular institutions of the North can be observed.

First, there are those who reckon that there was some kind of organized clerical activity at the cathedral church in connection with the establishment of the episcopal seat, or soon after. Ludvig Helveg (1855), one of the first to write a scholarly treatise on the Scandinavian cathedral chapters, argues that initially there was no sharp distinction between monastic communities and clerical associations serving as the ‘chapter’ (*capitulum*) at the main diocesan church; nor, he says, can a clear-cut distinction be maintained with regard to functions, as elements of regular life were also preserved after those early communities were transformed into secular chapters, “which are commonly designated as cathedral chapters (Da. *Domkapitler*)”.¹⁹ For Helveg, there is no distinction between the early monastic chapters and younger, secular institutions, which by others have been defined from what legal functions they later came to perform.²⁰ According to Helveg, those emerging institutions were beneficial and indeed

¹⁸ On the gradual formation of cathedral clergy into cathedral chapters, see Bertram 2005, pp. 1–11, and Bertram 2009, pp. 22–62.

¹⁹ Helveg 1855, pp. 1–2: “[...] saa at „capitulum“ ikke blot betegner et Samfund af Kaniker eller regelbundne Geistlige, men ogsaa af Munke eller Klosterbrødre. Allerede denne Usikkerhed i Benævnelsen lader formode, at der ikke er nogen skarp Grændse mellem Klostrene og de geistlige Foreninger, der samledes om Stifternes Domkirker, da disse selv naar de bleve hvad man kaldte verdslige eller „sæculares“, dog altid bevarede noget af det regelbundne Lif. Det er om disse sidste, der ogsaa sædvanlig benævnes Domkapitler, her skal være Talen, hvad enten de saa Ganske eller kun i en meget ringe Grad bevarede den klosterlige Tugt, og alle andre lignende geistlige Conventer blive kun leilighedsviis tagne med til Oplysning om deres gjensidige Forhold.” Helveg follows here the argument by Jacob Langebek, 1745. *Danske Magazin*, 1. København: Det Kongelige Danske Selskab for Fædrelandets Historie, p. 65.

²⁰ Elsewhere, however, Helveg 1855, p. 3 with note 3, Helveg argues that the status of the cathedral chapters depended on the status of their members, who were either ordained (priests, [arch]deacons, and subdeacons) or had an academic title or degree (schoolmaster/*magister*). On the early monastic chapters of Denmark as Benedictine, see Johann Adolph Cypræus, 1634. *Annales Episcoporum Slesvicensium. Colonix Agrippinæ*, pp. 136 and 164. On Benedictine regular cathedral chapters, see Nyberg 1986; and Nyberg 2000, pp. 60–63, 102, and 111.

indispensable to the Church. The main purpose of founding capitular institutions, says Helveg, was to bring ecclesiastical matters in order and to remedy laxity in discipline.²¹ Hereby Helveg, without actually saying so, implies that early undisciplined communities performing the liturgy at a cathedral do not deserve the name of *Domkapitler*.

Many subsequent scholars, however, have stated outright that such a nascent organization cannot be identified or labelled as a cathedral chapter; instead one has to recognize a difference between a group of clerics serving at the cathedral church and a later and more elaborated organization, labelled as ‘domkapitel’ (cathedral chapter). This perspective is found in, for example, Lauritz Weibull regarding Lund (1946) and Sven Helander on (Old) Uppsala, who both emphasize the liturgical functions of early chapters.²² Of the two, however, Helander is the one who explicitly relates this kind of clerical activity to the bishops, the cathedral milieu, and the administration of the diocese.²³ With regard to the archdiocese of (Old) Uppsala, he suggests that a monastic community served “as an equivalent to a ‘domkapitel’” from the late twelfth century or the beginning of the early thirteenth century, but refrains from asserting which conditions existed at the founding of (Old) Uppsala as archdiocese in 1164, although the establishment of a chapter would have been in line with “ecclesiastical practice” at the time.²⁴ In other words, Helander clearly sees what a cathedral requires

²¹ Helveg 1855, p. 4: “[...] medens et Hovedøiemed ved Oprettelsen af Domkapitler netop var, at bringe en fast Orden ind i alle kirkelige Sager og dermed ogsaa ophjælpe den slappede Tugt.” A similar discussion on reformist ideas and practice in relation to the formation and transformation of capitular institutions in Denmark is found in Tore S. Nyberg (1986). He discusses monastic reforms of the twelfth century in terms of a general ‘Kanonikerreform’, in which the monastic chapters came to play a significant part, also in Denmark; see Nyberg 1986, for example, pp. 103–110 (see especially pp. 103–104 with note 447). According to Nyberg, a fact crucial to this reform was that popes like Honorius II (†1130), Innocent II (†1143), and Lucius II (†1145) were all regular canons (*Regular-kanoniker*). Pope Hadrian IV (†1159) was the last pope with a personal affiliation with this movement.

²² Weibull 1946, p. 28, who recognizes the bishop’s clergy but not its alleged affiliation to the later organized community: “I Eginos tid hade de andliga kring biskopen i Lund endast utgjorts av prästerna vid kyrkorna där. En första klosterlig sammanslutning framträder nu [under Ricwal]”. Cf. Hal Koch, 1950. *Den Danske Kirkes Historie, 1: Den äldre Middelalder indtil 1241*. København: Gyldendal, p. 117; Helander 2001a.

²³ Helander 2001a, pp. 57 and 59. On the situation in the 1130s, Helander says: “Biskopssätets etablering innebar åtminstone en provisorisk kyrkobyggnad, personella resurser, upprättandet av kontinuerligt gudstjänstliv och någon form av administration.” Hereby, Helander antedates the establishment of an organized clerical community in service of the cathedral of (Old) Uppsala by more than two decades; see Helander 2001a, p. 59 note 34. Cf. below.

²⁴ Helander 2001a, p. 62–68 (citation on p. 62): “När ett kapitel upprättats i Gamla Uppsala är en omdiskuterad fråga. Kyrklig praxis skulle tala för ett snabbt initiativ från Stefans sida. Upprättandet av ett ärkesäte innebär kontinuerligt fullskaligt gudstjänstliv med mäsas och tidegärd och förutsätter rekrytering av präster, planering för bostäder och underhåll, ombesörjande av böcker och annan

but does not want to use the term ‘domkapitel’ for a monastic chapter. A somewhat different view is represented by Aksel E. Christensen (1977). In the course of time, he argues, the cathedral clergy was organized into ‘proper’ cathedral chapters, secular *or* monastic. He thus makes a clear distinction between early communities of clergy and ‘domkapitel’, and he does not discuss the primary function of either.²⁵

Second, there are those who relate the establishment of capitular institutions to certain stages in general organizational or legal developments, for example, the founding of an ecclesiastical province or specific functions. Such a perspective is found in, for example, Margit Hübert (1922), Arne Odd Johnsen (1945), and Kauko Pirinen (1956, 1958), all of whom argue that the cathedral chapters of Norway were introduced in connection with the foundation of the Nidaros province in 1152/53.²⁶ In Sweden, however, Pirinen argues that cathedral chapters were not introduced on a general basis until 1248 with the Council of Skänninge, only as an immediate consequence of new legislation on the chapters’ prescribed legal function in relation to episcopal elections.²⁷ A similar approach is also found in Helander, who argues that

kyrklig utrustning samt administration. Men urkunder härtill föreligger ej. Ett påvebrev från 1170-talet anbefaller kungen att sörja för underlag till de klerker och tjänare ärkebiskopen behöver. Av något senare källor framgår att kretsen av präster i domkyrkan hade en särprägel. En monastisk komunitet av ålderdomlig typ uppges ha fungerat som motsvarighet till domkapitel i Gamla Uppsala under 1100-talets slut och 1200-talets början. Denna gemenskap av kaniker-munkar, sannolikt klosterartad, har burit gudstjänstlivet i den nya katedralen. Förmodligen har den också svarat för övriga uppgifter som normalt ålåg ett kapitel: biträde vid stiftets förvaltning och nyval vid biskopsvakans. Flera problem anmäler sig: komunitetens tillkomst och varaktighet samt främst dess egenart.”

²⁵ Aksel E. Christensen, 1977. “Tiden 1042–1241.” In *Danmarks historie, 1: Tiden indtil 1340*. Edited by Inge Skovgaard-Petersen. København: Gyldendal, p. 314: “Præsteskabet ved de øvrige bispesæder organiseredes tid efter anden i tilsvarende domkapitler, der enten som de to første kunne være sækulære kannikesamfunde eller indgå som klerkekollegier i et strengere fællesliv efter regulære klosterordener som benediktinere (Knudsbrøderne i Odense), augustinere (Viborg og Vestervig) eller præmonstratensere (Børglum)”.

²⁶ Hübert 1922, especially pp. 17–21; Arne Odd Johnsen, 1945. *Studier vedrørende kardinal Nicolaus Brekespears legasjon til Norden*. Oslo: Fabritius, pp. 194–230, who is predominantly occupied with the foundation of cathedral chapters in the context of episcopal elections. According to the then ecclesiastical legislation, however, the electoral right did not pertain to the cathedral chapters alone; Pirinen & Gallén 1956, cols 611–612 (citation in col. 612): “I No. [...] genomdrev kardinallegaten Nikolaus Brekespear 1152 upprättandet av domkapitel [...]”.

²⁷ Pirinen & Gallén 1956, col. 612: “Domkapitel fanns på 1100-talet endast i Upps., och först genom kardinallegaten Vilhelm av Sabina och kyrkomötet i Skänninge 1248 föreskrevs de överallt i riket, samtidigt som de uttryckligen blevo behöriga valkorporationer [i samband med biskopsval]”. To some extent, however, Pirinen contradicts himself by claiming that the chapters’ influence upon episcopal elections was reduced from the beginning of the thirteenth century and even more so from the fourteenth century as a consequence of the papal right of reservation or provision, col. 614. For a more recent discussion on various opinions about the foundation of cathedral chapters in Sweden, and especially in Uppsala, and a new approach, see Lovén 2001, pp. 243–266; Christian Lovén,

the cathedral chapters in Sweden were established in the thirteenth century in close relation with the emergence of Canon Law.²⁸ According to Helander, the oldest ‘proper’ chapter came into existence in the period 1247–1250 as a direct outcome of the aforementioned Council of Skänninge.²⁹ Of specific interest is the situation in Norway. As was mentioned above, it has traditionally been argued that no cathedral chapters existed in the kingdom until the establishment of the ecclesiastical province of Nidaros, and that the re-organization in 1152/53 was the very impetus for such a process. This is expressed by, for example, Sverre H. Bagge and Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide (2007).³⁰ In my opinion, however, Bagge and Nordeide are inconsistent in their view on the process and their comprehension of the concept ‘cathedral chapter’. For example, first, they describe how the cities became centres for ecclesiastical, and,

2014a. “Erik den helige och Gamla Uppsala.” In *Kyrkan i Gamla Uppsala. Från katedral till församlingskyrka*. Edited by Gunnar Granberg. Karlstad: Votum & Guller, pp. 87–91; Christian Lovén, 2014b. “Uppsala ärkesäte 850 år.” In *Signum* 14 (2014), pp. 27–28.

²⁸ Helander 2001b, p. 149: “The basis for unified liturgical practice came only with the settled implementation of canon law and the establishment of secular cathedral chapters in the thirteenth century. It became a major task of the cathedral chapter to function as a liturgical corporation because of its leading role in worship at the cathedral.” From this, however, it is hard to draw any conclusions about the alleged relationship between legal developments and cathedral liturgy. Cf. below.

²⁹ Helander 2001a, pp. 83–89. Cf. Karl Viktor Lundqvist, 1897. *Bidrag till kännedomen om de svenska domkapitlen under medeltiden jämförda med motsvarande institutioner i utlandet*. Stockholm: Liljegrens bokhandel, pp. 17–50; Holmquist 1907, pp. 3–4; Nilsson 1998, pp. 148–149; and Pernler 1999, pp. 17–26, where he discusses the Council of Skänninge, the allegedly slow formation of the capitular institutions in the kingdom of Sweden, and regional and local variations. Scholars disagree on the dating and character of the oldest capitular foundations in Skara, Linköping, and Åbo, which were likely established before the Council of Skänninge, i.e. in the 1230s at the latest; see Holmquist 1907, p. 3; Pirinen et al. 1958, col. 187; and Nilsson 1998, pp. 148–149. On the formation of the cathedral chapters of Linköping and Skara, see also, for example, Schüeck 1959, pp. 56–57 and 399–405; Johansson 1986, pp. 420–425 and 459–461; and Herman Schüeck, 2005. “Det augustinska kanikesamfundet vid Skara domkyrka: en studie om den västgötska kyrkan och dess förbindelser under 1200-talet.” In *Kyrka och rike: från folkungatid till vasatid*. Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia. Scripta minora, 11. Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et mediaevalia, pp. 87–163.

³⁰ Sverre Bagge, 2005. “Christianization and State Formation in Early Medieval Norway.” In *Scandinavian Journal of History* 30:2 (2005), pp. 123–124; Sverre Bagge & Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide, 2007. “The Kingdom of Norway.” In *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*. Edited by Nora Berend. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 150: “The full development of the diocesan organization [...] coincided with the foundation of the church province. According to *A Speech against the Bishops* from the end of the twelfth century, the cathedral chapters were also organized on this occasion. All Norwegian chapters were secular, each canon having his separate prebend, in addition to which there was a *mensa communis*. In Bergen the cathedral chapter came to consist of twelve canons, which appears to have been the norm. Hamar cathedral probably had less than this number, whereas the chapter of the archdiocese was twice as large”.

later, royal administration when the bishops became resident, i.e. already during the reign of King Olav Kyrre (†1093), which I regard as a decisive step toward the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions like cathedral chapters. Second, Bagge and Nordeide note how the Christ Cathedral of Nidaros “served as the centre of the national cult of St Olav” (†1030) from the days of Olav Kyrre, but argue that the cathedral chapter there was not established until the mid-twelfth century. Who, then, maintained this “national cult”, administered the pilgrims’ offerings, and guarded the saint’s shrine in the cathedral church? Finally, it is important to note that they suggest that an indigenous clerical education emerged at the cathedral churches from the end of the eleventh century, i.e. at the incipient cathedral schools, but do not relate this to the ecclesiastical institution that normally ran these schools, i.e. the cathedral chapters.³¹ These observations demonstrate how complex the formation of capitular institutions is and, therefore, how important it is to reassess this process. Recently, Heidi Anett Øvergård Beistad (2016) reiterated the idea that “cathedral chapters were established at all Norwegian episcopal sees with the foundation of the Nidaros province”.³² An alternative perspective is found in Nyberg. According to him, the formation of secular cathedral chapters was certainly ongoing at this point, but until the process was settled, there were “communities of regular canons” assisting at the cathedral church, not ‘chapters’.³³

Third, there are scholars such as Jens Otto Arhnung (1937) who intimate that a monastic community serving as a cathedral chapter – by himself recognized as such – was established at the cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Roskilde already in the episcopate of Sven the Norwegian (†1088) or before, thus following a then established pattern:

These congregations at the cathedral churches were the cathedral chapters of those days, and it is surely justified to identify without further ado the congregation of brethren (*fratres*) at the Roskilde church, mentioned in the Roskilde Chronicle (*Chronicon Roskildense*), as the cathedral chapter there.³⁴

³¹ Bagge & Nordeide 2007, pp. 151 and 155–157.

³² Heidi Anett Øvergård Beistad, 2016. *An Almost Fanatical Devotion to the Pope? Power and Priorities in the Integration of the Nidaros Province c. 1152–1300*. Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, diss., p. 49. On the capitular institutions in Iceland, see Beistad, p. 49 note 528.

³³ Nyberg 2000, p. 98: “The five mainland dioceses were each in the process of establishing a cathedral chapter. Apparently, however, the secular chapters were only slowly getting organized. Perhaps it was easier to raise small communities of regular canons to assist in urgent pastoral duties [...] a provisory solution before the cathedral could be used for the daily hours of prayers by a chapter of secular canons.”

³⁴ Arhnung 1937, p. 4: “Disse Samfund ved Domkirkerne var den Tids Form for Domkapitler, og det er sikkert berettiget uden videre at identificere Roskildekronikens Samfund af »fratres« ved Roskilde Kirke med Stedets Domkapitel.” Cf. the Roskilde Chronicle in *Chronicon Roskildense*. In *Scriptores*

Thereafter, however, he argues that “a cathedral chapter by the end of the eleventh century, characterized by communal life, was something rather distinct from what it later developed into”, and thereby intimates and emphasizes a process of formation of capitular institutions.³⁵ Arhning is, however, not satisfied by these observations. By comparing general developments, he finds it plausible that some kind of cathedral chapter may already have been established when the episcopal seat and its oldest cathedral church were founded. In addition, the cathedral chapter of Roskilde may have been modelled upon that of Bremen, which provides a time frame of 1020/22–1041 for the oldest cathedral chapter. He suggests that its main function was the administrative, i.e. the capacity of being the bishop’s council. Finally, he argues that the proper designation for a clerical community affiliated to the cathedral church should be ‘chapter’ (Da. *Kapitel*).³⁶ Further on, however, he discusses the absence of the word ‘chapter’ (*capitulum*) in the sources and reaches the conclusion that this could be explained both by, first, the nature and main functions of the oldest chapters, which were internal rather than external – i.e. the life in the cathedral church and the community – and, second, their close affiliation with the local bishop, as they were only later legally defined as corporate bodies.³⁷ A similar, but broader and more recent, perspective is found in Tore S. Nyberg. With his first publication, Nyberg’s primary aim is not to analyse the formation of capitular institutions in Odense and Børglum but rather to examine their foundation *per se* and their pre-history. In his later review of Scandinavian monasticism from 800–1200, the scope is broadened; still, the capit-

minores historiae Danicae Medii aevi, 1. Edited by Martin Clarentius Gertz. København: Selskabet for udgivelse af kilder til dansk historie, 1917–1918, Ch. IX, p. 23.

³⁵ Arhning 1937, p. 4: “[...] naturligvis bør man ogsaa gøre sig klart, at Domkapitel i Slutningen af det 11te Aarhundrede, da det stod i Fælleslivets Tegn, var noget ganske andet, end hvad det senere udviklede sig til”. Cf. Severinsen 1932, pp. 52–81 (citation on pp. 52–53 and 65): “Viborg havde været Bispestad før det nye Stift afgrænsedes. Det vil vel sige, at een av Kirkerne har fungeret som Bispekirke. Der har maaske ogsaa været forsøgt med et Samliv i Fællesskab af Stiftsstadens Sognepræster; et *Kapitel*. Det hørte ju til som det rigtige efter Tidens Tankegang [...] Det er ingen Grund til at paastaa, at det er begyndt senere i Viborg. Ja der er ikke nogen Grund til at benægte, at et saadant Kapitel kan gaa helt tilbage til Biskop Odinkars Tid. Vi har bare ikke noget om det. Først med Biskop *Heribert* og Kong *Knud den Hellige* i hans kortvarige Kongetid 1080–1086 er der i al Fald nogle Efterretninger, selv om de er smaa og utydlige.”

³⁶ Arhning 1937, p. 5–7 (citation on p. 7): “Paa denne Baggrund vil det være forsvarligt at opstille to Sætninger: *a*. En Biskop i det 11te Aarhundrede maa have haft en Raad. *b*. Dette Raad har bestaaet af de gejstlige ved Katedralkirken, eller disse har i hvert Fald været meget fremherskende i det. Følgelig maa Biskopen i Roskilde ogsaa have haft et Raad, – og det lige fra Bispedømmets Oprettelse 1020–22, og i dette Raad maa de gejstlige ved Katedralkirken have siddet [...] Om disse gejstlige ved Domkirken i Roskilde maa det være tilladt at bruge detsamme Ord, som anvendes om tilsværende Samfund ved andre Domkirker, nemlig ordet *Kapitel*.”

³⁷ Arhning 1937, p. 17. On the further developments of the cathedral chapter in Roskilde until 1217, see Arhning 1937, pp. 7–19.

ular institutions are only considered if related to a monastic pre-history or if they have a monastic affiliation. His main interests are, first, the various forms of capitular institutions found in Denmark – monastic and secular – and, second, the formation and character of monastic chapters.³⁸ According to Nyberg, early monastic chapters or “Domkloster” were founded as soon as the bishops were resident; their purpose was to support the local bishop.³⁹ This becomes especially clear in the case of Odense, where the establishment of a monastic chapter in the late 1000s was modelled upon a pattern from the English church with monastic communities serving at the cathedral of an episcopal see. In addition, performing, preserving, and mediating the cult of King St Knud IV (†1086) soon came to be one of the main functions of the chapter there.⁴⁰ For this reason, Nyberg assumes that “there existed some kind of a community life of unmarried clergy in the church of St Alban in Odense before 1086”.⁴¹ From what can be established about the early capitular foundations in Odense and Børglum, it is apparent to Nyberg that these communities consisted of “regular canons with the functions of a cathedral chapter”, which Nyberg mostly specifies only as ‘liturgical’ or ‘administrative’.⁴² One function, however, is more specifically dealt with, namely the participation of the monastic chapter in ecclesiastical elections; yet, Nyberg does not emphasize this function as decisive for the formation or dating of

³⁸ Nyberg 1986, pp. 7–9.

³⁹ See, for example, Nyberg 1986, pp. 107–108 (on Børglum); Nyberg 2000, pp. 40–41 (on Roskilde) and 46–47 (on Lund).

⁴⁰ On the extraordinary situation in Odense, see Nyberg 2000, pp. 60–63 (citation on p. 61): “To summarize, instead of a ‘secular’ bishop’s church at the centre of the liturgy and administration and a ‘regular’ community at a distance, as in other episcopal sees, what we see in Odense, for the first time in Denmark, is the combination of a ‘regular’ community at the centre of liturgy and church administration and the ‘secular’ church at a distance.” The English influence was certainly decisive, but also the fact that “in Odense, for the first time in Denmark as far as we know, a monastic community was also responsible for supervising an important saint’s cult [...] The ordinary church administration, then, had to adopt other, more special forms in this diocese, since the bishop could not count on his cathedral clergy for ordinary administrative tasks, but was forced to establish an organization of his own for such purposes”. On foreign influence upon the foundation of capitular institutions and on similar arrangements of monastic communities in the service of the local bishop in the rest of Scandinavia, see Nyberg 1986, pp. 111–112.

⁴¹ Nyberg 2000, p. 63.

⁴² Nyberg 1986, p. 108: “[...] daß Børglum Sitz des Bischofs und zugleich Stätte einer Regularkanonikergemeinschaft mit Domkapitelsfunktion sein sollte.” and p. 166: “[...] widmet sich das III. Kapitel mit dem wohl ältesten regulierten Domkapitel des Landes, dem Benediktinerkloster von St. Knud in Odense, am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts [...] gegründet und offenbar sehr bald mit den Funktionen eines Domkapitels betraut”, and Nyberg 2000, pp. 61, 63, 102, and 111. In the case of Odense, however, the monastic chapter from a very early date held these functions with regard to the cult of St Knud, cf. above.

the capitular institutions as others have done.⁴³ Regarding the terminology, and despite the similarities to Arhning's definition of 'chapter' as a clerical community affiliated to the cathedral church – regardless of a specific point of time –, Nyberg is more flexible than Arhning. While Arhning explicitly recommends the concept of 'chapter' (Da. *Kapitel*), Nyberg uses a variety of phrases, e.g. "monastic cathedral chapter" (*ein monastisches Domkapitel*), "cathedral monastery" (Ge. *Domkloster*), and "the central clerical community in the diocese [...], the cathedral chapter".⁴⁴ Subsequently, Nyberg's vocabulary seems to reflect his view that the formation of cathedral chapters in Denmark was indispensable but varied.⁴⁵

In a Swedish context, Christian Lovén (2001, 2014a–b) has recently argued that the oldest cathedral chapters were regular, whereas secular chapters were introduced in the Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala from the mid-thirteenth century onwards. Lovén asserts that "regular chapters, which existed at some cathedral churches, are rarely mentioned [in the sources] and for this reason run the risk of being neglected", but also argues that not all cathedral churches had regular chapters before the secular ones were introduced.⁴⁶ Like Arhning, Nyberg and to some extent Helander, Lovén seems to emphasize the location rather than specific functions when it comes to terminology in relation to the formation of cathedral chapters.

To summarize, the trends found in previous research are: first, those promoting a later dating of the capitular institutions focus on the reciprocal relation between the institution and its legal functions rather than on the locality, i.e. the cathedral church and its daily liturgy; second, and even though inconsistent in their use of 'chapter' or 'cathedral chapter', scholars dealing with the capitular institutions in Denmark seem more flexible than the rest of their Scandinavian colleagues with regard to what terminology they use, namely by suggesting the concept of 'chapter' throughout the period, regardless of a monastic or secular affiliation or a fixed point of time; and, finally, there are strong indications of reciprocity between the promotion of a local

⁴³ Nyberg 1986, pp. 127–151 and above.

⁴⁴ Nyberg 1986, p. 111, and Nyberg 2000, p. 95 and above.

⁴⁵ Cf. Nyberg 2000, *passim*.

⁴⁶ Lovén 2001, pp. 243–244: "I förteckningar som dessa ges inte alltid plats för diskussion. En brist är att reguljära domkapitel, som fanns vid några domkyrkor, ofta inte nämns och riskerar att glömmas bort i diskussioner kring det svenska klosterväsendet [...] Under 1200-talets mitt och andra hälft inrättades domkapitel vid samtliga svenska domkyrkor. Dessa senare kapitel var sekulära [...] De äldsta domkapitlen var istället reguljära, vilket innebar att deras medlemmar levde i klostergemenskap och följde en ordensregel. De skall utan tvekan räknas som fullvärdiga kloster. Reguljära domkapitel inrättades vid några, men knappast alla, svenska domkyrkor."; Lovén 2014a; Lovén 2014b. Cf. also Nils Blomkvist, Stefan Brink & Thomas Lindkvist, 2007. "The Kingdom of Sweden." In *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*. Edited by Nora Berend. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 198–199; and Lovén 2014a; Lovén 2014b.

saints' cult and a (regular) cathedral chapter, for example, in the case of Odense but hitherto not fully recognized in Nidaros/Trondheim and the cult of St Olav.

From my point of view and with regard to the hitherto generally accepted dating of episcopal seats in Norway and Sweden (without Finland) to 1075–1170, the late date suggested by Pirinen and others for capitular institutions in a Scandinavian setting is untenable.⁴⁷ In relation to the process in Denmark, where scholars seem to agree that cathedral chapters evolved from the eleventh century and onward, the intimated delay in the provinces of Nidaros and Uppsala becomes inexplicable. Instead, I find it logical – in accordance with Arhnung and, to some extent, Nyberg – to assume that some kind of clerical community, later recognized and referred to as a cathedral chapter, originated at the cathedral church as soon as the bishops became resident or very soon thereafter.

With regard to Lund, this course of events would imply that some kind of clerical community was established at the bishop's church as soon as the diocesan bishop became resident, i.e. in the episcopate of the first bishop of Lund, Henry from Orkney (†1066) or at the very latest in the time of his successor, Eginio (†1071/72) who first resided in Dalby.⁴⁸ The traditional view, however, is that the first steps towards a capitular institution were taken in the 1080s, i.e. during the episcopate of Ricwal (†1089).⁴⁹ The prevailing argument is that a (regular) community, consisting of a provost and brethren at St Lawrence's, would seem to have existed at least by 1085, viz. at the time of and according to the Deed of Gift given by King St Knud IV. In this document, the aforementioned group is liberally endowed and, according to previous scholarship, thereby able to organize itself into a proper cathedral chapter.⁵⁰ As

⁴⁷ Pirinen & Gallén 1956, col. 619.

⁴⁸ On the episcopates of Henry and Eginio, see Weibull 1946, pp. 14–23. Cf. Michael H. Gelting, 2012. "Lund, Dalby og Bornholm. Politik og mission i biskop Eginos tid." In *Locus celebris: Dalby kyrka, kloster och gård*. Edited by Stephan Borgehammar & Jes Wienberg. Centrum för Danmarksstudier, 28. Göteborg: Makadam, 101, and below.

⁴⁹ Cf. Weibull 1946, pp. 28–29; Michael H. Gelting, 2004. "Elusive Bishops: Remembering, Forgetting, and Remaking the History of the Early Danish Church." In *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium*. Edited by Sean Gilsdorf. Neue Aspekte der europäischen Mittelalterforschung, 4. Münster: Lit, p. 170.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Weibull 1946, pp. 26–30; Koch 1950, pp. 116–117; Gelting 2004, pp. 170 and 191; Michael H. Gelting, 2014. "Forholdet mellem Liber daticus og Memoriale Fratrum." In *Mellan evighet och vardag: Lunds domkyrkas martyrologium Liber daticus vetustior (den äldre gåvoboken): studier och faksimilutgåva*. Edited by Eva Nilsson Nylander. Skrifter utgivna av Universitetsbiblioteket i Lund, N.F., 10. Lund: Universitetsbiblioteket, Lunds universitet, p. 133. A copy of the Deed of Gift by King St Knud IV, with a *terminus ante quem* to 1123, is preserved in the *Necrologium Lundense*, fols 1^v–2^v. On the Deed of Gift by King St Knud IV of 1085, see *Gåvobrevet 1085: föredrag och diskussioner vid symposium kring Knut den heliges gåvobrev 1085 och den tidiga medeltidens nordiska samhälle*. Edited by Sten Skansjö & Hans Sundström. Lund: Lund University Press, 1988, and Sigurd Kroon, 1994. "Knut den heliges gåvobrev av 21 maj 1085: ett antedaterat 1100-talsdokument." In

far as I can see, no evidence has hitherto been provided making the years *c.* 1060–1085 implausible as the founding period of this emergent chapter.

In the following articles, I argue and demonstrate that cathedral chapters were constantly developed, and thus appear in different guises throughout the period, from the very first steps of formation to elaborate institutions with vast influence on medieval church and society, although with variations from time to time and sometimes from place to place. In addition, I indicate how the formation of cathedral chapters and the formation of a universal codified ecclesiastical law in the West, exemplified by conciliar decrees from the Lateran Councils 1123–1215, were utterly reciprocal: the existence of cathedral chapters facilitated the development of canon law and its implementation, and the cathedral chapters became gradually more well-defined as ecclesiastical institutions, especially with regard to their legal functions.⁵¹

Contrary to most previous (Scandinavian) research, therefore, I argue that neither the level of organization nor a predetermined set of functions are decisive for the concept of ‘cathedral chapter’ to exist. Instead, “it is the locality and a variety of functions performed there that are the defining elements”.⁵² My suggested definition runs as follows:

[...] the clerical community that served at a cathedral church and performed various functions should be designated as a ‘cathedral chapter’ as soon as there are indications of a corporate body, recognized and organized with its own regulation and leader, even though it is not explicitly referred to as a ‘chapter’ except in sources from a later date.⁵³

On the Role of Individuals in the Formation of Cathedral Chapters

As observed in some of my articles included here, previous scholars have sometimes and with regard to, for example, the transmission of texts, the mediation of learning or saints’ cults, or the formation of ecclesiastical institutions, put too much emphasis

Det äldsta Lund. Dess ursprung och annat väsentligt. Edited by Sigurd Kroon. Lund: Lund University Books, pp. 39–81 (Summary in English in pp. 117–119).

⁵¹ On the legal development of the institution of cathedral chapters, cf. Ciardi [forthcoming] below. One example of a previous approach to the capitular institutions in the context of legal developments is found in Holmquist 1907, p. 3, who argues that the monastic chapter of Uppsala, perhaps founded in the 1160s but at least in existence in the 1190s, seems to have disappeared in the 1220s as it was not a secure institution from a canonical point of view. In my opinion, this is an example of an anachronistic approach, since the legal formation of the capitular institution was still in progress.

⁵² Ciardi 2010, pp. 44–45 (citation on p. 45).

⁵³ Ciardi 2010, p. 45 with notes. In my opinion, it is plausible that the nascent cathedral chapters lived a communal life without written regulations and with the bishop himself as their leader.

either on individuals – whose names happen to have been preserved in the sources – or on institutions – with which there were known or alleged connections. Certainly, and especially in the context of the meagre state of documentation, it is tempting to make use of and combine all of the preserved pieces of information. At the same time, however, this method is obviously often hazardous as it either may narrow down the possible number of perspectives at the cost of alternate routes or processes, or leave significant sources or combinations of sources behind. In the context of the formation of the cathedral chapter of Lund, such inclinations can be observed in at least three cases concerning the relationship between the oldest ecclesiastical foundations in Lund and Dalby.

With regard to the chronology of the scholarly works dealing with the cathedral chapter in Lund, the first includes previous scholarship on the dating and transmission of the *Consuetudines Lundenses* to the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence's. In the 1940s and 1960s respectively, Toni Schmid and Josef Siegwart suggested that the extant text, or an older version of it, was meant for the Augustinian congregation at the church of the Holy Cross in Dalby and transmitted to Lund in 1136 (Schmid) or sometime between 1140 and 1145 by Hermann of Rolduc/Klosterrath (Siegwart); Merete Geert Andersen, in turn, suggested that the text was meant for the chapter in Lund and transmitted there *c.* 1130 by this same Hermann.⁵⁴ In my opinion, these hypotheses are not sufficiently supported by reliable evidence or are biased because of a desire to solve the problem of textual transmission rather than to broaden the perspectives. With reference to previous scholarship on the topic, both archaic and current, I argue that there is no substantial evidence that points to either the congrega-

⁵⁴ In her treatise from 1944, Toni Schmid suggested that a prototype of the *Consuetudines Marbacenses* was first used by the brethren at the Holy Cross in Dalby and only later edited for and transmitted to the chapter at St Lawrence's in Lund. In short, her argumentation was based on scattered evidence of ideological affiliation, a solitary liturgical reference, and indications of institutional confraternity; see Toni Schmid, 1944. "Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Kulteiben." In *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 58, pp. 51–58 with notes. It is unclear, however, how the latter supports her hypothesis of a textual transmission between Dalby and Lund; nonetheless, this view was to some extent accepted by, on the one hand, Josef Siegwart, who dated the *Consuetudines Marbacenses* to the period 1122–1124 but argued that the preserved copy was meant for the congregation in Dalby, from where it was transmitted to Lund between 1140 and 1145 by a certain Hermann of Klosterrath due to practical needs; see Josef Siegwart 1965. "Einleitung." In *Die Consuetudines des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Marbach im Elsass (12. Jahrhundert)*. Edited by Josef Siegwart. Spicilegium Friburgense, 10. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, pp. 30–31. On the other hand Merete Geert Andersen claimed that the *Consuetudines Lundenses* was originally drawn up for the chapter at St Lawrence's and not Dalby and had already been brought to Lund by about 1130 by Hermann of Klosterrath; see Merete G. Andersen, 2001. "The Consuetudines canonice of Lund." In: *Scandia* 67 (2001), pp. 31–39. A more thorough analysis of previous scholarship and my own arguments on the topic will be found in Anna Minara Ciardi, 2004. "När togs lundakanikernas *Consuetudines* egentligen i bruk? Reflektioner kring traditionsförmedling och texttradering i 1120-talets Lund." In *Kyrkohistorisk årskrift* 104 (2004), pp. 11–21 [Article 1].

tion in Dalby as the first recipient of the *Consuetudines Lundenses* or Hermann of Rolduc/Klosterrath as the agent of textual transmission. Alternatively, I demonstrate that there is no obstacle to the view that the text was edited, transmitted, and taken into use no later than June 1123.⁵⁵

The second group of scholarship on the cathedral chapter in Lund, includes the hypothesis of Erik Cinthio, which was as elaborated from the 1980s. In the context of a strong imperial influence wielded upon the Danish church in the formative years of the eleventh century, Cinthio suggested that the oldest churches in Lund and Dalby were dedicated to St Lawrence and St Maurice, being modelled upon the imperial cults of those saints in Merseburg and Magdeburg. With reference to recent scholarship on the imperial/royal relationship, the interpretation of specific sources, and more generally on dedications and saints' cults, I have argued that this hypothesis can be dismissed.⁵⁶

The most recent example of daring hypotheses in connection with the early formation of clerical communities in Lund and Dalby is represented by Michael H. Gelting. In 2012, he suggested that Bishop Egino of Dalby (†1071/72), at the death of Bishop Henry of Lund (†1066), did not leave Dalby to seize the position as bishop of Lund but in fact remained in Dalby – as bishop of Lund. In his opinion, the regular community established by Egino at the Holy Cross Church in Dalby, as related by Adam of Bremen, may subsequently have functioned as the oldest cathedral chapter of Lund, whereas a cathedral chapter at St Lawrence's in Lund was not established until 1085, at the earliest. Gelting also intimates that the Rule of Aachen preserved in the *Necrologium Lundense* may have served the (regular) canons in Dalby in the eleventh century, before it was transmitted to Lund and the (younger) chapter there in the twelfth century, and before the congregation in Dalby was transformed into an Augustinian canonry.⁵⁷ I certainly find Gelting's hypothesis interesting but, with re-

⁵⁵ Ciardi 2004, pp. 16–17.

⁵⁶ In short, Cinthio argues that the imperial cult may well have functioned as a model for the dedications of the oldest cathedrals in Lund and Dalby. The reasons for this transmission are, according to Cinthio, the general cultural influence from the German Empire combined with a personal friendship between Emperor Henry III (†1056) and the Danish king, Sven Estridson (†1074); see Anna Minara Ciardi, 2012b. "Har S:t Mauritius en koppling till den äldsta kyrkan i Dalby?" In *Locus celebris: Dalby kyrka, kloster och gård*. Edited by Stephan Borgehammar & Jes Wienberg. Centrum för Danmarksstudier, 28. Göteborg: Makadam, pp. 113–128. On the German influence on Scandinavia in this period, see Erik Gunnar Niblaeus, 2010. *German Influence on Religious Practice in Scandinavia c. 1050–1150*. London: King's College, diss.

⁵⁷ Gelting 2012, pp. 104–106. Gelting's main arguments are that Adam of Bremen's reference to Egino as the founder of a regular community at the Holy Cross in Dalby is correct, but that other circumstances, e.g. the lack of an appropriate cathedral church in Lund, the measurements of the church complex in Dalby, and later sources referring to Dalby as an episcopal seat, point to a misinterpretation by Adam in his account about Egino's translation to Lund in 1066. For further discussion, see below.

gard to the meagre state of documentation, it is all too uncertain, especially in the context of a re-dating of the extant copy of the Rule of Aachen.⁵⁸

Hypotheses & Methods

On General Hypotheses

In this thesis, I present both general and more specific hypotheses on the formation and functions of cathedral chapters in Lund, Denmark, and Scandinavia. The specific hypotheses are presented in connection with each article.⁵⁹

The overarching hypothesis is that cathedral chapters emerged as soon as the local bishop became resident and the construction of a cathedral church commenced; the reason for this approach is that I consider the liturgical function of the chapter to be its primary. In the course of time, and as a consequence of local needs and conditions as well as general ecclesiastical requirements, the capitular institutions also perform several other functions. In my opinion, it is reasonable to assume that from an early date, albeit not initially, they have had administrative and financial functions, especially as a consequence of increased revenues and a growing number of property and estates; subsequently, in the twelfth century, the educational and legal functions became strongly developed and elaborated. In addition, the function of creating, preserving, and mediating the cults of local saints can be observed throughout the period.

Another hypothesis generally used as a point of departure in this doctoral thesis is that the principal function of the cathedral chapter and its members was to mediate or transmit ecclesiastical tradition into the local ecclesiastical milieu. Moreover, in this process, I conceptualize the capitular institutions as ‘agents of tradition’, which implies that they were not only passive recipients or performers of ecclesiastical tradition, but also actively contributed to the preservation, modification, and further transmission of beliefs and practices.

A third, general hypothesis is that a unique cathedral culture, equivalent and analogous to monastic and scholastic culture, emerged in tandem with the formation of cathedral chapters and their function as agents of tradition. In the period *c.* 1060–1150, cathedral culture was strongly influenced by monastic culture and its specific

⁵⁸ See Anna Minara Ciardi, 2012a. “Consuetudines Lundenses.” In *Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin. A website of authors and anonymous works ca 1100–1530*. Edited by Stephan Borgehammar et al., https://wiki.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Consuetudines_Lundenses (accessed on 8 March 2016) [Article 4] and below on pp. 55–57 with notes.

⁵⁹ Cf. below.

features; thereafter, it developed in directions more specific to cathedral chapters and their distinctive functions. I envisage this process as largely organic, which means that functions did not appear or disappear at specific dates or due to specific events, but emerged and changed at different speeds and in response to general and local ecclesiastical circumstances. Likewise, as a consequence of altered circumstances and, above all, legal developments, the meaning of normative concepts like ‘canonical’ gradually changed.

On Methodological Approaches

The aims and purposes of this doctoral thesis have required the employment and application of several different research methods. In some of the articles, because of the given purpose, one method may be more apparent or useful than others. Overall, however, four methods stand out.

The first method that has proven indispensable to me, but also to others working in this field, is source criticism. When dealing with, for example, the first indications of communal life at a cathedral church, the transmission and usage of normative texts of various kinds, or the process of officially approving a saint’s cult, great precision is required, as the authenticity, chronology, and character of the sources are vital. The work of earlier scholars has certainly proved invaluable to my own research, in particular because of their thorough scrutiny of manuscripts and their vast knowledge of the origins of manuscript and about historical processes in general. In some cases, however, I have called their results into question by the method of source criticism: in two cases, the re-dating of essential sources was crucial.⁶⁰ In some cases, generally and widely accepted assumptions about the legal functions of cathedral chapters, for example, in the context of episcopal elections, have been called into question in this work, in particular by pointing out that the sources reveal a reciprocal process in the formation of the legal system and the capitular institutions. Related to this is also the systematization and categorization of the information provided by relevant sources, which has helped me to shed new light on the emergence of the legal functions of the early medieval cathedral chapters in Denmark and elsewhere, but also to provide new interpretations of old sources with regard to the implementation of law in a local context.⁶¹

⁶⁰ On the re-dating of the Rule of Aachen and the *Consuetudines Marbacenses*, see Ciardi 2004 and Ciardi 2012a.

⁶¹ On the relationship between the emergence of a universal and codified ecclesiastical law in the West and the new electoral process in the context of episcopal elections, see Ciardi [forthcoming]. On councils and new law with special regard to the Third Lateran Council, see Danica Summerlin, 2014. “The reception and authority of conciliar canons in the later-twelfth century: Alexander III’s 1179 Lateran canons and their manuscript context.” In ZRG KA, 100 (2014), pp. 112–131.

A second significant part of the methodology of this work is the use of the concept ‘cathedral chapter’. As has been demonstrated above, I have found it not only beneficial but even mandatory to use the concept of ‘cathedral chapter’ as a methodological tool throughout my survey. Previous Scandinavian scholarship has traditionally resisted the use of the term until a certain stage was reached in the process of its formation. The main arguments have been that the designation ‘chapter’ (*capitulum*), or the labelling of its members as, e.g., canons, deans, provosts, precentors, etc., cannot be found in the sources before a certain point in time. In addition, there has, in my opinion, been too strong a focus on legal functions as decisive for the use of this terminology. To me, the most practicable and reasonable method is to use ‘cathedral chapter’ to describe a clerical community at a cathedral church, regardless of its known functions or explicit character. Some would argue that the use of the term ‘chapter’ requires some kind of common rule or regulation from which a chapter was read on a daily basis. From my point of view, however, this is a futile argument, since the term has been widely accepted and generally employed to designate these institutions even after they were secularized and the common rule was substituted by, for example, statutes and other regulating documents.

In several cases, previous scholarly work on a specific topic has prompted the use of a third methodology before I was able to focus on the main purpose of my thesis. This methodology involves analysing and categorizing previous research, especially when the positions of previous scholars were many and varied, or when there was a scholarly debate that had been going on for more than a century, as was the case with the *Consuetudines Lundenses*. By applying this method, I was able both to verify some older hypotheses concerning questions of dating and transmission, and to dismiss others.⁶² To some extent, I employed the same method when categorizing various cathedral dedications and cults of saints in Scandinavia until c. 1200, which helped me, first, to question the categories of saints drawn up by previous research, and, second, to launch a new, and in my opinion more useful, way of grouping the various saints found in the cathedral milieu of the North, and, finally, to apply this method to the sources. By this means, I was able to focus more on the cults of saints both in their local context and in relation to general trends than had been achieved by previous methods.⁶³

A fourth method that I employ more generally consists of the introduction and coining of new conceptual frameworks. In my opinion, these frameworks are more true to the complexities of the historical processes in general and more flexible and applicable to an ecclesiastical institution with regard to its formative years as well as its

⁶² On the scholarly discussion on the dating, character, and *Sitz im Leben* of the *Consuetudines Lundenses*, which was already initiated by Arnold Nathanael Hammar in the mid-nineteenth century, see Ciardi 2012a. Cf. Ciardi 2004.

⁶³ On previous methods of categorizing or labelling saints that were venerated at the cathedral churches of the North until c. 1200, see Ciardi 2010, pp. 52–63.

continuous development, but also more valuable when trying to identify decisive elements in these processes. In addition, these concepts facilitate the understanding of a local capitular institution in relation to other institutions or to ecclesiastical tradition in general. A first step was taken by the introduction of the concept ‘transmission of tradition’. By using this concept, I sought to identify what elements of ecclesiastical tradition were mediated into the cathedral and capitular milieu in this period. Moreover, I demonstrated that the capitular institutions were ‘agents’ in this process, i.e. that they should not be considered as mere recipients or performers of ecclesiastical tradition, as had been done previously, but that they took an active part in the preservation, adaptation, and development of the educational, hagiographical, legal, liturgical, and theological legacy in that period.⁶⁴ A second step, which was inspired by both theoretical and practical considerations as well as by the new topics and perspectives that emerged as I studied the formation and functions of cathedral chapters, was the formulation of an overarching concept, covering both the formation of the institution and the emergence of its various functions, namely ‘cathedral culture’.⁶⁵ This concept has enabled me to call into question the view of capitular institutions as something merely static, receiving, and preserving, intimated by some of the aforementioned scholars. Moreover, I have found that the concept of ‘cathedral culture’ facilitates an understanding of the monastic legacy of the capitular institutions as well as of their specific characteristics and functions.

Delimitations

The chronology of this doctoral thesis is set to the period *c.* 1060–1225. As the starting point I have chosen the year at about which the Danish king Sven Estridson reorganized the Danish church into nine dioceses from its original three. As a consequence of this process, the bishops soon became resident and the construction of cathedral churches was initiated. In my thesis, I argue that this was the decisive prerequisite for the formation of a local cathedral chapter as its primary function was to perform in the cathedral liturgy. With one exception, the diocesan structure in the kingdom of Denmark was preserved throughout the Middle Ages. It is true, however, that there is no evidence that all of the appointed bishops became resident immediately after this re-organization.⁶⁶ Likewise, this process was much slower in other parts of

⁶⁴ On the concept ‘transmission and tradition’ and its various elements, cf. above and Ciardi 2006, pp. 65–67.

⁶⁵ On cathedral culture, cf. above, Ciardi 2010, pp. 39–41, and Ciardi [forthcoming], pp. 26–27.

⁶⁶ Cf. Gelting 2004; Gelting 2007.

the North.⁶⁷ Once a solid diocesan organization and residing bishops were in place, however, the ecclesiastical structure was more or less prepared to shelter ecclesiastical institutions such as monasteries and cathedral chapters.

The end of the period focused on in this study is 1225. The reasons for that this year was chosen are a bit more complicated. First, at about this time, the diocesan structure of the North was fairly settled, by which I mean that a diocesan organization, residing bishops, and emerging cathedral chapters in all of the three ecclesiastical provinces existed, and, in Denmark, there were fully developed cathedral chapters at all episcopal seats.⁶⁸ Second, in the mid-1220s, the contacts between the North and the papacy in Rome were well-established and also acknowledged in various legal documents. In addition, from the year 1224, there is a first indication of how the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 were implemented and how papal power had an immediate influence on episcopal appointments in Denmark.⁶⁹ Third, from the 1220s and onward, the ecclesiastical institutions of the cathedral towns in

⁶⁷ For an overview of the Christianization and ecclesiastical organization of the North, see Ciardi 2010, pp. 41–43 and 46–48. Cf. Bagge & Nordeide 2007; Blomkvist, Brink & Lindkvist 2007; and Gelting 2007.

⁶⁸ Of interest is the agreement between the cathedral chapter in Roskilde and the newly elected bishop, Niels Stigsen, in the year 1225, which is an example of how powerful a cathedral chapter could be at this point; see Dipl. Dan., I.6, no. 38, pp. 53–54. The opening of the letter is most intriguing. It literally tells of how the bishop “yields to the accustomed way of life [*institution*] of the cathedral chapter in Roskilde and to their request”. It should be known to all, says the bishop, that it is his intention to safeguard that the following will be observed in the church of the Holy Trinity and St Lucius, viz. (1) “that neither dean nor provost nor archdeacon nor any canon shall be appointed without the free consent of the chapter”; (2) “that I and my successors shall equip the aforementioned church with vestments [or altar cloths], bells and books and other necessary items”; (3) “that the churches of the canons shall be exempted from my procuration”; (4) “that offices return to the church and become dignities within the church [i.e. offices within the chapter]”; (5) “that property of the church that has been disposed of shall be retrieved by us and our successors, as long as this can be done honourably”; (6) “that the bishop shall not be able to punish any canon for any transgression whatsoever, unless that canon has first answered before the dean and the chapter and has proved unwilling to make amends”; (7) “that the brethren shall be entitled to the episcopal and royal imposts of their bailiffs and tenant-farmers”; (8) “that nothing of the aforesaid shall be transferred to the provost besides what he is entitled to as a canon”; (9) “that the provost shall not interfere with how the property of the brethren should be managed, unless he has been summoned by his bailiffs to help out”; (10) “and that in cases where any violence whatsoever has been done to a canon or those in his care or in the court of the canons, the chapter is entitled to due compensation by means of an ecclesiastical penalty” [my translation]. The agreement was sealed by both bishop and chapter.

⁶⁹ Ciardi [forthcoming], pp. 21–23, and the revoked capitular election of Peder Saksesen in Lund in 1224. Cf. Dipl. Dan., I.5, no. 102; I.6, nos 1–4. Cf. also Anna Minara Ciardi, 2015. “Institutional Reform and Renewal? Cathedral Chapters in Scandinavia and legal matters in the context of the Fourth Lateran Council.” Unpublished paper from the conference *Concilium Lateranense IV. Commemorating the Octocentenary of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215*, Rome, 23–29 November 2015.

the North were joined by new religious institutions. The reason was the establishment of the convents of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders. There are examples of how these newly arrived preachers interacted with the local bishop and chapter in a positive way; in several cases it may even have been the local bishop who invited them in the first place, perhaps as a way of improving the education and pastoral training of the secular clergy of the diocese. In some cases, however, these new settlers caused conflicts over property or over the pastoral care of the laity, for example, with regard to preaching and confession. Nonetheless, this was the dawn of a new era.⁷⁰

As regards geography, the main object of my research has been the emerging cathedral chapter and cathedral culture at St Lawrence's in Lund. In two of the articles, however, I have broadened the scope also to include other aspects of cathedral chapters and cathedral culture in the rest of Denmark and even Scandinavia.⁷¹ In several ways, the cathedral chapter of Lund and its milieu is unique, in particular with regard to the amount of extant sources originating from there in the period in question. Of some importance is also the fact that Lund was an archiepiscopal seat from 1103/04. Finally, several Danish bishops in the period were former canons of Lund, and as bishops, they still had a relationship with the metropolis and its institutions, and especially so if there were bonds of confraternity between religious communities of their own dioceses and the chapter of Lund.⁷² I also find the formation of the cathedral chapter in Lund to be representative of how these institutions evolved in Denmark and Scandinavia from the late eleventh century. Of course, the order of things, for example, the emergence or addition of certain functions, varied from place to place and from time to time; likewise, the character of the chapter, i.e. its regular or secular affiliation, certainly influenced the process of formation and the activities of the chapter; and finally, the wealth of the chapter, the social strata of its members, and the relationship with the local bishop and monarchy were influential. In one

⁷⁰ Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen, 2014. "Who ordered the Dominicans? Initiators behind the Dominican Convent Foundations in Northern Europe, c. 1216–1350." In *Monastic Culture: the Long Thirteenth Century. Essays in Honour of Brian Patrick McGuire*. Edited by Lars Bisgaard et al. University of Southern Denmark studies in history and social sciences, 480. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, pp. 241–268, and especially pp. 243–252. More specifically on conflicts between members of the friars and the secular clergy, see Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen, 2008. *Prædikebrodernes samfundsrolle i middelalderens Danmark*. Ph.D.-afhandling. Syddansk Universitet, Odense: Institut for Historie, Kultur og Samfundsbeskrivelse, pp. 150–156.

⁷¹ See Ciardi [forthcoming] on episcopal appointments in Denmark until 1225, and Ciardi 2010 on saints' cults and cathedral culture in Scandinavia.

⁷² On the canons of Lund who later became bishops and on the confraternal institutions of the chapter in Lund, see *Necrologium Lundense*, pp. 113–115 and 126–130. It would also have been possible to study the formation of the cathedral chapters of Roskilde, Odense, Viborg, and Ribe in greater depth. However, because of the character and relatively plentiful of the documentation regarding Lund and its position within the medieval Danish church, I have chosen to focus on the cathedral chapter of Lund in this study.

sense, however, Lund differs from many of other dioceses: there were no cults of local saints in this period, nor any additional dedications of the cathedral church.⁷³

In this thesis, I have worked with edited and printed sources only. Four categories are represented, namely ‘hagiographical and liturgical sources’, ‘legal sources’, ‘narrative sources’, and ‘rules and regulations’. Archaeological sources are referred to only on rare occasions and only if referenced by previous scholars. The general focus of this thesis lies with educational, ideological, liturgical, and legal perspectives on the formation and functions of cathedral chapters. For this reason, social history and prosopography have not played a significant part in my work. Finally, the medieval cathedral chapters were some of the most wealthy, and therefore politically influential institutions in medieval church and society. This has been recognized by previous scholarship, especially on the later Middle Ages, whereas in this thesis those perspectives have been omitted.⁷⁴

Sources

Generally, the state of documentation for medieval Denmark and Scandinavia in this period is meagre. At the beginning of the period, the majority of sources, i.e. chronicles, charters, and diplomas, are of foreign origin. From the beginning of the twelfth century and onward, an indigenous corpus of sources can be observed. To a great extent, these sources may be regarded as one of the results of the founding of ecclesiastical institutions in the northern kingdoms.⁷⁵ The preservation of several manuscripts and books belonging to the early twelfth-century cathedral chapter at St Lawrence’s in Lund and modern critical editions of these texts have facilitated my research on this period. However, as is apparent in this doctoral thesis, there is a need for new palaeographical analyses, re-datings, and fresh interpretations of several of the manuscripts.

⁷³ Cf. Ciardi 2010, pp. 65–66.

⁷⁴ See, for example, Göran Dahlbäck, 1977. *Uppsala domkyrkas godsinnehav med särskild hänsyn till perioden 1344–1527: [Die Güterverhältnisse der Domkirche von Uppsala während des Mittelalters mit besonderer Hinsicht auf die Periode 1344–1527]*. Studier till Det medeltida Sverige, 2. Stockholm: Vitterhets-, historie- och antikvitetsakademien; Per Ingeman, 1990. *Ærkesædets godsadministration i senmiddelalderen*. Skånsk senmedeltid och renässans, 12. Lund: Lund Univ. Press; Göran Tagesson, 2007. “Domkapitel och sockenkyrkor i mellersta Östergötland: spår av medeltida aktörer.” In *Fornvännen* 102:4 (2007), pp. 246–266; Göran Tagesson, 2009. “Kaniker, kyrkor och residensgårdar: Linköpings domkapitel som struktur och aktör.” In *Triangulering: historisk arkeologi vidgar fälten*. Edited by Mats Mogren et al. Lund studies in historical archaeology, 11. Lund: Institutionen för arkeologi och antikens historia, Lunds Universitet, pp. 259–272.

⁷⁵ Cf. Gelting 2004, pp. 169–170.

In my study, the various hypotheses and research questions of the articles have required a wide range of different kinds of source material. I have grouped them into four main categories, aware of the fact that some of the sources referenced here could be included in more than one of these categories. In some cases, the chronology and the authenticity of the sources have been difficult to assess, for which reason source criticism in various forms has proved to be an essential tool.

Hagiographical & Liturgical Sources

In this category, I have included sources that more specifically can be related to the cult of saints and the liturgical life of the local cathedral church and chapter.

The group labelled as ‘liturgical sources’ in this thesis is represented by sources that originate from the local chapter and/or were in daily use there, which namely belong to the genres of martyrologies, obituary and anniversary lists, and instructions for the liturgical life at the cathedral and in the chapter; for example, the obituary of the *Necrologium Lundense*, known as the *Memoriale fratrum*,⁷⁶ the *Liber daticus vetustior Lundensis*,⁷⁷ and the various – and at times detailed – liturgical instructions found in the Rule and the customary in Lund, i.e. the Rule of Aachen and the *Consuetudines Lundenses*.⁷⁸

In another context, hagiographical sources would perhaps be recognized as narrative sources or understood as liturgical sources. In this doctoral thesis, however, I refer to hagiographical sources that, first, originated from the local cathedral milieu and involved the cathedral chapter itself, for example, the *Life* of Provost St Kjeld of Viborg, or where, as in the case of St Niels of Århus and his *Life and Miracles*, the local

⁷⁶ The *Memoriale fratrum* is edited by Lauritz Weibull and printed in *Necrologium Lundense* (1923), pp. 49–109.

⁷⁷ *Liber daticus Lundensis vetustior* in Lund, Lund University Library (LUB), MS 7. See also *Alvin – portal för kulturarvssamlingar*, <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-13276> (accessed on 25 April 2016). Edition in *Liber daticus Lundensis vetustior*. In *Libri memoriales capituli Lundensis: Lunde domkapitels gavebøger: ("Libri datici Lundenses")/ paa ny udgivne*. Edited by Christian Weeke, 1973 (1889), pp. 1–324; facsimile edition in *Mellan evighet och vardag: Lunds domkyrkas martyrologium Liber daticus vetustior (den äldre gåvoboken): studier och faksimilutgåva*. Edited by Eva Nilsson Nylander. Skrifter utgivna av Universitetsbiblioteket i Lund, N.F., 10. Lund: Universitetsbiblioteket, Lunds universitet, 2014. Cf. also the *Liber daticus Roskildensis: Roskilde gavebog og domkapitlets anniversarieliste*. Edited by Alfred Otto. København: Levin & Munksgaard, 1933, pp. 32–112.

⁷⁸ See, for example, the Rule of Aachen in Ciardi 2003 or Bertram 2005, Ch. XIII–XX and XXIII–XXIV; the *Consuetudines Lundenses* in *Consuetudines Lundenses* (1978) or Ciardi 2003, Ch. III–V, VIII–XI, XIII–XV, and XX–XXXV.

chapter played a significant part in his, albeit failed, canonization process;⁷⁹ second, I refer to sources that bear witness to which saints' cults were introduced and maintained at the cathedral churches, often recognized as additional dedications.⁸⁰

Legal Sources

Of special significance to this study are the legal sources, meaning the charters and other kinds of official documents with a legal status, ecclesiastical or secular. The editions of medieval sources from this period are found in, for example, the *Diplomatarium Danicum*, *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, and *Diplomatarium Suecanum* (*Svenskt Diplomatarium*), which were published from the 1820s onward, and have been of general use to me, both in this work and in other research.⁸¹ It is also worth mentioning the *Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek* (SDHK), which not only contains newly edited documents from medieval Sweden but also re-datings of and scholarly commentaries on previously edited documents.⁸²

Within this category, three genres have been of particular importance to my work, namely conciliar decrees, which also had an effect on the legal ecclesiastical developments of the North,⁸³ papal letters dealing with various things, for example, conflicts in the cathedral chapters or the cult of saints,⁸⁴ and various charters and agreements,

⁷⁹ *Vita et miracula sancti Ketilli*. In VSD. Edited by Martin Clarentius Gertz, pp. 260–268; in the same volume, *De vita beati Nicolai Arusiensis*, pp. 398–403, and *S. Margareta Roskildensis*, pp. 388–390. Cf. *Saga of Bishop Jón of Hólar*. Translated by Margaret McCormack. In *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. Edited by Thomas Head. New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 601–626, and, in the same volume, Margaret Cormack. 2001. “Saga of Bishop Jón of Hólar: Introduction”, pp. 595–599.

⁸⁰ See, for example, the charters from the consecration of the crypt church and the high altar of the cathedral in Lund on 23 June 1123 and 1 September 1145 in *Necrologium Lundense*, fols 147^v and 156^r–157^r; printed in *Necrologium Lundense* (1923), pp. 80 and 90–92, and in *Dipl. Dan.*, I.2, no. 46. Cf. also Ciardi 2010, pp. 65–66 with notes.

⁸¹ *Diplomatarium Danicum*. Edited by Niels Skyum-Nielsen et al. København: Det Danske Sprog- og Literaturselskab/Reitzel, 1938–; *Diplomatarium Norvegicum: Oldbreve til kundskab om Norges indre og ydre forhold, sprog, slægter, sæder, lovgivning og rettergang i middelalderen*. Edited by Christian C. A. Lange et al. Christiania/Oslo: Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift-institutt/Riksarkivet, 1849–2011; *Svenskt diplomatarium: Diplomatarium Suecanum*. Edited by Johan Gustaf Liljegren et al. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, 1829–.

⁸² *Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek* (SDHK), <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sdhk> (accessed on 25 April 2016).

⁸³ For example, the conciliar decrees of the first four Lateran Councils (1123–1215) are found in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, 1: Nicaea I to Lateran V*. Edited by Norman P. Tanner. London: Sheed & Ward, 1990, pp. 187–271.

⁸⁴ A number of papal letters to the bishops and kings of the Scandinavian realms can be found in the national *Diplomatarium*-series referred to above. For examples, see Ciardi 2010 or Ciardi [forthcom-

which involved the local bishop and chapter or the king and the local chapter, for example, in Ribe in 1145, when Bishop Elias took decisive steps towards the formation of a cathedral chapter there.⁸⁵

Narrative Sources

The narrative sources from medieval Denmark have been indispensable to this thesis. Not only do they provide unique information about both their own, contemporary context and earlier periods, the often anonymous authors, most likely with an ecclesiastical affiliation, also bear witness to how an erudite culture can be observed soon after the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions.

In this thesis, this category is represented by two main genres, namely general and ecclesiastical chronicles; for example, the Roskilde Chronicle or the *Chronicon Roskildense* from 1137/38, the *Gesta Danorum*, composed by Saxo Grammaticus in c. 1190–1208, and the Ribe Chronicle or *Cronica ecclesie Ripensis*, allegedly written by Bishop Thore of Ribe (†1230).⁸⁶ Until a certain point in time, both the Roskilde Chronicle and Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* are based on older sources, for example, Adam of Bremen's *Gesta* of the bishops of Hamburg-Bremen;⁸⁷ in the case of Saxo Grammaticus, oral traditions and Old Norse sources have also been used.⁸⁸ From the time that there were local institutions capable of preserving legal or other records in an archive of some kind, for example, a cathedral chapter, the chroniclers seem to become less dependent on sources like Adam of Bremen's *Gesta*.⁸⁹ In the case of the Ribe Chronicle, Gelting has argued that it is the first Danish chronicle of the Middle Ages to be independent of Adam of Bremen.⁹⁰ Together, all these chronicles

ing], pp. 9, 16, 18, and 22, on the resignation of Archbishop Eskil of Lund and the papal invitation of kings, bishops, and chapters to attend the Fourth Lateran Council. For more examples, see Ciardi 2014 and Ciardi 2015.

⁸⁵ Dipl. Dan., I.2, no. 87. Cf. above p. 38 note 69, on the agreement between Bishop Niels Stigsen of Roskilde and his chapter, which is found in Dipl. Dan., I.6, no. 38.

⁸⁶ For more on the origin, authorship, content, critical editions, and translations, see Ciardi [forthcoming], pp. 16–18.

⁸⁷ Adam of Bremen. *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesie Pontificum*. In MGH SRG, 2. Edited by Bernhard Schmeidler. Hannover & Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1917.

⁸⁸ Karsten Friis-Jensen, 2012. "Saxo Grammaticus." In *Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin. A Website of Authors and Anonymous Works c. 1100–1530*, edited by Stephan Borgehammar et al., https://wiki.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Saxo_Grammaticus (accessed on 25 April 2016).

⁸⁹ Cf. Gelting 2004, pp. 169–170.

⁹⁰ Michael H. Gelting, 2012. "Chronicon Roskildense." In *Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin. A Website of Authors and Anonymous Works c. 1100–1530*, edited by Stephan et al., https://wikihost.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Chronicon_Roskildense (accessed on 25 April 2016).

give witness to what level of erudition and literacy that had been achieved at the cathedral churches over the course of a century.

Rules & Regulations

In a fourth and final category, there are the extant rules and regulations of the capitular institutions of Denmark. In another context, the following sources would have been categorized as legal sources or, as referenced above, liturgical sources. In order to point out their significance to the formation of both cathedral chapters and to cathedral culture in Lund, Denmark, and Scandinavia, I have found it suitable to refer to them as a special genre. Of special importance to this study are the Rule of Aachen and the *Consuetudines Lundenses*.⁹¹ Worth mentioning are also the oldest parts of the statutes of the cathedral chapter of Århus, the *Statuta capituli Arusiensis* from c. 1206 and the aforementioned agreement between the bishop and chapter in Roskilde in 1225.⁹²

⁹¹ Cf. above and below, especially in Ciardi 2004, Ciardi 2012, and Ciardi [forthcoming].

⁹² The *Statuta capituli Arusiensis* are found in Dipl. Dan., I.4, no. 116, and discussed by, for example, Axel Bolvig, 1981. "Statuta capituli Arusiensis." In *Middelalder, metode og medier: festskrift til Niels Skyum-Nielsen på 60-årsdagen den 17. oktober 1981*. Edited by Karsten Fledelius. København: Museum Tusulanums forlag, pp. 95–114.

The Articles: Context, Hypotheses, Results & Subsequent Research

Article 1

Context

If my aforementioned master's thesis was more focused on the content of the *Consuetudines Lundenses* and its relation to the older Rule of Aachen of 816, the article "När togs lundakanikernas *Consuetudines* egentligen i bruk? Reflektioner kring traditionsförmedling och textträdning i 1120-talets Lund" (2004) instead examines the dating of the customary in relation to its origin, redaction, transmission to Lund, and its usage by the local cathedral chapter there. At this point in time, the common view – established by, for example, Ellen Jørgensen, Lauritz Weibull, and Erik Buus – was that the *Consuetudines Lundenses* was based upon the *Consuetudines Marbacenses* from a reformist Augustinian priory in Marbach, Alsace, and was edited to serve the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence's in Lund, was incorporated into its chapter book, and adopted for use as its customary in the period 1123–1136. An article by the Danish scholar Merete Geert Andersen in *Scandia* (2001) called the traditional view into question, and thus provided the immediate impetus for this article. Andersen's treatise contained a critique of previous research on the topic; her purpose was to re-establish how and when the *Consuetudines Lundenses* had been introduced to and adopted by the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence's. By focusing on the dating of the *Consuetudines Marbacenses* and by trying to identify the personal link between reformist centres on the continent and Lund, Andersen suggested, first, that a redaction of the Marbach text could not have been transmitted as the *Consuetudines Lundenses* before the mid-1130s and, second, that it most likely was brought here, or even was written by, a certain Hermann of Rolduc/Klosterrath.⁹³

⁹³ Andersen 2001. On Hermann of Klosterrath, a canon at St Lawrence's from c. 1130 and the chaplain of Bishop Eskil of Roskilde from c. 1135, see Christian Radtke, 1992. "Sliaswig (Schleswig/Haithabu)." In *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae occidentalis ab initio usque ad annum MCXCVIII, Ser. 6: Britannia, Scotia et Hibernia, Scandinavia, T. 2: Archiepiscopatus Lundensis*. Edi-

Hypotheses & Results

At first glance, my article seems to be an immediate response to Andersen's. At that point, however, and regardless of Andersen's hypothesis, my own research on the formation of the cathedral chapter and cathedral culture in Lund – together with the examination of Lauritz Weibull's edition of the *Necrologium Lundense* – indicated that the year 1123 and the consecration of the crypt church in Lund was the most plausible *terminus ante quem* of the adoption of the *Consuetudines Lundenses* by the chapter at St Lawrence's. The dating of the Marbach text by Josef Siegwart to c. 1120–1122 was, however, an obstacle, as it provided too short a distance in time between the final edition of the source and the later redaction. This problem prompted other scholars to present new hypotheses pointing to both a later transmission of the text and alternative routes of transmission.⁹⁴

An until then unfamiliar or neglected re-dating of those parts of the source on which the *Consuetudines Lundenses* was based to the year 1098 caused me formulate the hypothesis that the *Consuetudines Lundenses* served as a customary or additional regulation of the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence's in Lund from June 1123 at the latest. Another hypothesis more vaguely formulated regards the matter of how long the customary was in use, where I, supported by previous scholarship, suggested the year 1145 and the consecration of the high altar of the cathedral church. This hypothesis is not verified in this article, and I have in fact more recently questioned it by myself.⁹⁵

In this article, on the basis of a careful examination and discussion of the previously presented results on the dating of the *Consuetudines Lundenses*, I demonstrate how questions regarding the dating of the source and the usage of the *Consuetudines Lundenses* cannot be treated as different problems. Furthermore, accounting for the *Consuetudines Lundenses* in relation to the chronology of the twelfth century is not sufficient. Moreover, the different questions and divergent aims of scholars prompted a more thorough examination of their underlying presuppositions and their methods. Until this article was published, it was evident that the missing link for Weibull and others was the re-dating of the source, the *Consuetudines Marbacenses*; this not only facilitated but also favoured an early transmission to Lund – and by a comfortable margin before June 1123. In addition, a closer look at the content and the codex in

ted by Odilo Engels, Tore Nyberg, and Stefan Weinfurter. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, pp. 110–111; Andersen 2001, pp. 33–36.

⁹⁴ Siegwart 1965, pp. 30–31. Cf. Josef Siegwart, 1962. *Die Chorherren- und Chorfrauengemeinschaften in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz vom 6. Jahrhundert bis 1160*. Studia Friburgensia. N. F., 30. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, pp. 264–266, in which he suggests the *terminus post quem* for the *Consuetudines Marbacenses* to 1120.

⁹⁵ Cf. Ciardi [forthcoming].

which it is incorporated reveals that the customary was specifically drawn up for the cathedral chapter of Lund and, furthermore, that the editor of the *Consuetudines Lundenses* was eager to keep the reformist agenda of the source in his redaction of the younger text. In so far as these results are valid, the *Consuetudines Lundenses* indicates that the cathedral chapter in Lund was well up to date with the ecclesiastical developments of the first quarter of the twelfth century.

Subsequent Research

My article was first published in December 2004 and it seems as if the main conclusions summarized here – meaning the dating of the source, the transmission to Lund, and the incorporation of the *Consuetudines Lundenses* in the chapter book and its usage there – appear non-controversial and have been generally accepted.⁹⁶ However, other topics related to the *Consuetudines Lundenses* have been broached in subsequent research. In his article on the martyrologies of the cathedral chapter of Lund in the twelfth century, Stephan Borgehammar examines the instruction for the daily chapter and intimates that the order corresponds to what is prescribed in the Rule of St Chrodegang rather than the instruction in the *Consuetudines Marbacenses*.⁹⁷ In the same volume, Gelting discusses the dating and reciprocal relationship between different codices belonging to the twelfth-century cathedral chapter, but does not question the dating, creation of the *Consuetudines Lundenses*, or its usage.⁹⁸ Finally, I have in several articles discussed the *Consuetudines Lundenses* from various legal perspectives. In the following article (2006), the topic is ‘law and learning’.⁹⁹ In more recent articles, I have focused on the instructions for episcopal elections found in Ch. 16, its place in the legal developments at that time, and the usage of *Consuetudines Lundenses* in Lund.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ See, for example, Niblaeus 2010, pp. 189–192 with notes; Stephan Borgehammar, 2014. “Liber daticus vetustior – ett martyrologium från 1100-talet.” In *Mellan evighet och vardag. Lunds domkyrkas martyrologium. Liber daticus vetustior (den äldre gåvoboken). Studier och faksimilutgåva*. Edited by Eva Nilsson Nylander. Skrifter utgivna av Universitetsbiblioteket i Lund, 10. N.F. Lund: Universitetsbiblioteket, p. 117 note 37; Mattias Karlsson, 2015. *Konstruktionen av det heliga. Altarna i det medeltida Lunds stift*. Skånsk senmedeltid och renässans, 23. Lund: Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund, p. 174 note 68 (cf. p. 177 note 670, in which Karlsson refers to Ciardi 2003, p. 21 note 76, but not the most recent examination in Ciardi 2004, pp. 12, 14–15).

⁹⁷ Borgehammar 2014, pp. 115–118.

⁹⁸ Gelting 2014.

⁹⁹ Ciardi 2006.

¹⁰⁰ Anna Minara Ciardi, 2016. “Mellan lokala sedvänjor och en reformerad universell kyrkorätt. Reflektioner kring instruktionen för biskopsval i *Consuetudines Lundenses*, kap. 16.” In *Kyrklig rätt och kyrklig orätt – kyrkorättsliga perspektiv. Festskrift till professor Bertil Nilsson*. Edited by Martin Berntson

Article 2

Context

The conference *Law & Learning in the Middle Ages*, held at the Carlsberg Academy, Copenhagen, in May 2005, gave me an opportunity to develop my ideas on the transmission of tradition. I did this in the article “Some Reflections on the Canons of Lund and their Tradition of Law and Learning in the First Quarter of the Twelfth Century” (2006). From my perspective, this thematic strand permits the examination of aspects of the cathedral chapter of Lund that had not been done in this way before. By focusing on the legal and educational functions of the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence’s in Lund in the first quarter of the twelfth century, new perspectives on the functions of the capitular institutions of the North and the formation of a cathedral culture as a valuable concept in describing the milieu of these features are presented.

Hypotheses & Results

In this article, the aforementioned general hypotheses – i.e. on the liturgical function as essential to the capitular institution, that more functions were added gradually, and that these institutions emerged in connection with resident bishops – are revisited. The main hypotheses of this article are, first, that it is both correct and favourable to conceptualize the formation of cathedral chapters in terms of a process labelled ‘transmission of tradition’, that this tradition is constituted both by an overarching ‘tradition’ and various ‘elements of tradition’, and that the capitular institution at St Lawrence’s and its members can be designated as ‘agents’ of ecclesiastical tradition; second, this process of mediation can be exemplified by certain elements of tradition, in this case ‘law’ and ‘learning’.¹⁰¹

My hypotheses are verified in this article, in particular as they are supported by the source material. To start with, I suggest a new understanding of the concept ‘cathedral chapter’. By favouring a wider but still distinct definition and by indicating that a medieval cathedral chapter held many different functions (liturgy, administration, law, education), I argue that one should not define the cathedral chapter merely based on its functions but rather from the physical setting in which these functions were carried out, i.e. the cathedral church. The main arguments in favour of such a defini-

& Anna Minara Ciardi. *Bibliotheca theologiæ practicæ*, 97. Skellefteå: Artos, pp. 307–328; Ciardi [forthcoming].

¹⁰¹ Ciardi 2006, pp. 64–69 and 73–78.

tion are, first, that the legal functions, which were previously generally accepted as the indication of a proper chapter, cannot be observed from the beginning, and, second, that the liturgical function is the only one which is recognizable throughout the entire period, even if it is gradually accompanied by more. In the next step, and by introducing the concept ‘transmission of tradition’, I bring together these functions of the chapter and elements of ecclesiastical tradition with the process of mediating tradition between different contexts. It appears that this approach has not been used in previous research on the capitular institutions of the North.

In the extant regulations for the cathedral chapter in Lund from *c.* 1120, i.e. the Rule of Aachen and the *Consuetudines Lundenses*, and in other sources, I identify, first, three examples of ‘law’ or normative elements, viz. the Bible, the rules, and general legal texts such as decrees or papal letters, and, second, three stages of ‘learning’ or education, viz. literacy and books, oral transmission, and practical training within the functions of the cathedral community. A main conclusion is that being learned in this specific milieu meant to a great extent to fit into the community and fulfilling the duties and functions pertaining to it. It is evident, but maybe not explicitly expressed in the article, that both the Rule of Aachen and the *Consuetudines Lundenses* indicate the presence of elements of ‘law’ and of ‘learning’ within the cathedral culture of St Lawrence’s in Lund at the beginning of the twelfth century.

Subsequent Research

In my opinion, the major conclusions on ‘law and learning’ in this article do not have to be updated at this point. However, some statements about the sources – and mainly those that were based on Lauritz Weibull’s findings – should be updated or called into question. First, in the description of the developments of the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence’s in the 1080s, I intimate an early adoption of the Rule of Aachen in *c.* 1100.¹⁰² In accordance with the suggested dating of the extant copy of the rule to the first third of the twelfth century, presented in Article 4 below, a further examination of both this copy and the oldest regular community in Lund is required.¹⁰³ Second, and contrary to my own arguments elsewhere, I argue that regular life at St Lawrence’s was abandoned in about 1145 or at least in the 1140s.¹⁰⁴ I find that my argumentation originally favouring this dating to be unclear and to require comparison with later findings. These include those by Gelting, who has examined the codices *Necrologium Lundense* and *Liber daticus Lundensis vetustior* and thus called certain

¹⁰² Ciardi 2006, p. 68. This was based on the dating presented by Lauritz Weibull.

¹⁰³ Ciardi 2012a.

¹⁰⁴ Ciardi 2006, pp. 68–70.

observations by Lauritz Weibull into question,¹⁰⁵ and by myself, who has recently argued that the 1170s or the archiepiscopate of Eskil may be the last phase before the cathedral chapter abandoned regular life – an argumentation that does not rely on the dating of the codices or obituary lists alone.¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, I discuss whether the *Consuetudines Lundenses* was meant for or first used at the Church of the Holy Cross in Dalby. It is true that the original provenance or pre-history of the *Consuetudines Lundenses* are of interest with regard to the possible legal and educational influences and ideals at the beginning of the twelfth century. Nonetheless, I already called into question the affiliation of the *Consuetudines Lundenses* with the Dalby church in 2004 and do so again in this doctoral thesis.¹⁰⁷

In retrospect, a more thorough definition of both ‘law’ and ‘learning’ could have been undertaken; furthermore, the conclusions on the legal and educational elements of cathedral culture in Lund could have been placed in a wider context.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, this article was a first step towards a further elaboration of the concept of ‘cathedral culture’ and a more detailed study of the capitular institutions of the North at the beginning of the twelfth century.

Article 3

Context

In the years 2004–2008, I had the opportunity to be a part of the scholarly community at the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Bergen.¹⁰⁹ One of the outcomes was a paper given at the conference *Saints and Hagiography across Northern and Eastern Europe (c. 800–1200)* in June 2008. If the original idea and paper had focused on Denmark with brief mentions of the rest of Scandinavia and the British Isles, a different and a broader scope characterizes that resulted, “Saints and Cathedral Culture in Scandinavia c. 1000–c. 1200” (2010).

¹⁰⁵ Gelting 2014.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ciardi 2012a; Ciardi [forthcoming].

¹⁰⁷ Ciardi 2004; Ciardi 2006, pp. 73–75.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Ciardi 2010.

¹⁰⁹ The *Centre for Medieval Studies*, a so-called Centre of Excellence, was established and financed by the Research Council of Norway (Norges forskningsråd) in the years 2003–2012. Its Director was Prof. Sverre H. Bagge.

Hypotheses & Results

In this article on saints' cults and cathedral culture, the general hypotheses on the formation of cathedral chapters in the vicinity of the cathedral church and their liturgical function are again basic. Likewise, in general, I introduce the idea of a mediating ecclesiastical culture as the overarching function of the local capitular institution and, for the first time, present a more elaborated hypothesis on the formation of a unique 'cathedral culture'. Additionally, there are more specific hypotheses: first, I suggest that the process of the transmission of tradition is manifested by the creation of saints' cults in the local ecclesiastical setting and that it is worth considering the role of the local chapter in these processes, which in my opinion to a great extent has been neglected by previous scholarship.¹¹⁰ Then, I propose a modified categorization of those saints that are either patron saints of local cathedrals or identified as locally venerated saints in a Scandinavian setting until c. 1200.¹¹¹

In this article, I demonstrate, first, that "cathedral culture and its affiliated institutions were profoundly important in providing a milieu for mediating, preserving, and creating saints' cults in Scandinavia before 1200".¹¹² Second, I point out reciprocities between, on the one hand, the process of Christianization and the adoption of a common ecclesiastical culture including the cult of saints, and, on the other hand, between the cults of saints within cathedral culture and the formation of capitular institutions. As regards the liturgical, legal, educational, political, and financial functions of cathedral chapters, I find that these various functions, too, were vital in the process of implementing and maintaining saints' cults. A third observation consists of the pattern that older dedications to universal saints, universally venerated, are later accompanied by additional, and often local, saints that were locally venerated. In Sweden, however, no such observations can be made in this period. These local and additional saints can be divided into two categories, namely royal or national saints and saints who in their lifetime had been a part of the local cathedral culture. I find the hypotheses in this article sufficiently verified by the source material. Of course, there are variations from time to time and from place to place – in a number of dioceses no local cults were established – but the proposed role of cathedral chapters in the mediation and creation of saints' cults should not be neglected in the future.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Ciardi 2010, pp. 40–41.

¹¹¹ Ciardi 2010, pp. 52–63.

¹¹² Ciardi 2010, p. 63.

¹¹³ On the role of cathedral chapters in the process of canonizing local saints, see Ben Nilson, 1998. *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, pp. 10–12, 94–96, and 122–143, who in many ways confirms my own hypotheses and results, albeit in an English context. Unlike me, he also discusses differences between monastic and secular chapters/cathedrals in this process. Cf. also Sara E. Ellis Nilsson, 2015. *Creating Holy People and Places on the Periphery. A Study of the Emergence of Cults of Native Saints in the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala from the*

Subsequent Research

In reflecting upon this article, I think that more has been achieved than was first intended. As far as I can see, the construction, implementation, and application of the concept of ‘cathedral culture’ is unique. It is true that a scholar like C. Stephen Jaeger has made use of the concept of ‘cathedral school culture’, but this, according to my understanding, is only one feature of cathedral culture.¹¹⁴ In my opinion, the concept that I introduced in this article provides a hitherto missing scope for examining a local cathedral milieu and its institutions in relation to general – institutional as well as ideological – ecclesiastical developments. In the article, the concept is defined specifically in relation to ‘monastic culture’. Toward the end of the period studied here as well as later, though not necessarily in a Scandinavian context, I think that the concept ‘cathedral culture’ could also be useful in order to distinguish this milieu and its features from scholasticism or a ‘scholastic culture’. By conceptualizing these three ‘cultures’, it will both become obvious that ‘cathedral culture’ certainly is closely related to the others, and that several of its features are unique.

It is also implied in the article, although not explicitly stated, that this concept of ‘cathedral culture’ contributes to and facilitates a solid and practicable definition of ‘cathedral chapter’. In my opinion, previous Scandinavian research has been all too restrained when defining the institution of cathedral chapters, focusing too much on specific functions – at the cost of other functions and to the detriment of a milieu characterized by both dynamism and reciprocity.¹¹⁵ For this reason, I have argued, first, that a cathedral chapter should be recognized in relation to the cathedral milieu; second, that the liturgical function should be identified as the basic function, even though in this period and setting others were added; and, third, that “the level of organization, character, and functions varied from time to time and in some cases from place to place”.¹¹⁶ In comparison to what was established in my article “Law and Learning” (2006), however, I introduce an additional function, namely the introduction and maintenance of saints’ cults.¹¹⁷ In my opinion, the close correspondence between the cults of saints and cathedral culture in Scandinavia until c. 1200 indicates that the concept of cathedral culture may be useful when examining other functions characterizing medieval capitular institutions as well as general developments within ecclesiastical tradition.

Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries. Göteborg: University of Gothenburg, Department of Historical Studies, who does not involve the cathedral chapters in the process of making a saint.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, C. Stephen Jaeger, 1994. *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in medieval Europe, 950–1200*. The Middle Ages series. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

¹¹⁵ Cf. above.

¹¹⁶ Ciardi 2010, p. 44.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Ciardi 2006.

With regard to the topic of this article, some recent scholarship should be mentioned. In 2015 two doctoral dissertations relating to the topic were published, by Sara E. Ellis Nilsson and Mattias Karlsson.¹¹⁸ Even if their purposes differ from my own, some observations can be made. The aim of Ellis Nilsson is primarily to examine aspects of new cults of saints that developed in Scandinavia during the final stages of Christianization (*c.* 1000–1300). Furthermore, she considers the connections between these new cults and the local ecclesiastical organization and administration in the ecclesiastical provinces of Lund and Uppsala.¹¹⁹ Even though Ellis Nilsson’s study to some extent overlaps with the topic of this article, her perspectives are rather different: first, she emphasizes the process of Christianization more; second, she highlights the need for “native saints” in the young ecclesiastical organization of the North; third, she uses the liturgical sources as primary sources; and finally, she focuses on the bishoprics rather than separate agents or institutions. A main conclusion is, to some extent contrary to my own, that the creation of new cults was not decisive for the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions but that the creation of native saints played a significant part in legitimizing the local ecclesiastical organization as well as royal dynasties.¹²⁰ In my opinion, the work of Ellis Nilsson certainly broadens my own perspectives on the cult of saints and its relation to the process of Christianization, and especially the liturgical veneration; however, I still maintain that a focus on the active promoters of saints’ cults should not be limited to certain bishops or kings. Neither do I find that her focus on ‘native’ saints is adequately supported by her argumentation.

The scope of Mattias Karlsson’s dissertation is rather different from both my own and Ellis Nilsson’s. His object, however, *i.e.* the altars in the medieval diocese of Lund, certainly introduces new perspectives on the mediation of ecclesiastical tradition as well as on which saints were the most or least popular in the diocese of Lund throughout the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, Karlsson’s primary focus is on the altars, not church dedications in particular. Of some interest to my own research, first, the chapter on relics and altars in the parish churches and in the cathedral, and, second, the appendices listing the relics found in the diocese of Lund and its cathedral church.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Ellis Nilsson 2015; Karlsson 2015.

¹¹⁹ Ellis Nilsson 2015, p. 2.

¹²⁰ Cf. Ellis Nilsson, pp. 250–255.

¹²¹ Karlsson 2015, pp. 117–135 (on relics), 144–167, 195–200 (on altars and rituals of the cathedral of Lund), 465–510 (App. II, on relics from the diocese of Lund); 529–570 (App. VI, written sources on the altars of the cathedral of Lund); 585–590 (App. VIII, list of daily masses in the cathedral of Lund); and 601–615 (App. X, descriptions of relics deposited in altars of the diocese).

Article 4

Context

The article “*Consuetudines Lundenses*” (2012) was written for the electronic handbook *Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin. A Website of Authors and Anonymous Works c. 1100–1530*, which is accessible via the University of Bergen.¹²² My article was finished in 2007, but carefully revised in 2012. In this article, I took the opportunity to briefly present in English all of the basic facts concerning this text. In many ways, the *Consuetudines Lundenses* differs from many of the other texts on the website. It is true that it was composed in a Nordic setting and for a Nordic audience, namely the canons at the cathedral of St Lawrence in Lund; however, its immediate source is foreign, and its legal character/genre contrasts with other entries on the website.¹²³

Hypotheses & Results

In this article, due to both the genre and the existence of my previous article on the *Consuetudines Lundenses* (2004), no general hypothesis is presented. According to previous scholarship on the formation of a cathedral chapter at St Lawrence’s in Lund, the Rule of Aachen was adopted as rule at the end of the eleventh century. It has been argued that the extant copy is from c. 1100.¹²⁴ In this article, I introduce the hypotheses that, first, the preserved copy of the Rule was composed later and is more

¹²² *Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin. A Website of Authors and Anonymous Works c. 1100–1530*. Edited by Stephan Borgehammar, Karsten Friis-Jensen, Lars Boje Mortensen & Åslaug Ommundsen, https://wiki.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Medieval_Nordic_Literature_in_Latin (accessed on 10 March 2016).

¹²³ Cf. Ciardi 2004. In the list, this entry is the only text of its kind, i.e. explicitly legal or normative. Most entries concerns narrative sources like annals and chronicles, Nordic authors and hagiographies of Nordic saints, but there are also a few theological treatises.

¹²⁴ See Weibull 1946, p. 28; *Alvin – portal för kulturarvsamlingar*, <http://www.alvinportal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:14714> (accessed on 25 April 2016). Erik Kroman set the *terminus ante quem* of the preserved copy to 1123 and intimated that it was in use before the *Consuetudines Lundenses* were adopted as customary; see Erik Kroman, 1960. “Necrologium Lundense.” *Necrologium Lundense: Codex Mediævalis VI:tus Bibliothecæ Universitatis Lundensis*. Edited by Erik Kroman. Corpus codicum Danicorum mediæ ævii, 1. Hafniæ: Ejnar Munksgaard, pp. xi–xxvi (citation on p. xvi): “Man kan formode at Aachenreglen har været den gældende regel for kannikerne i Lund, før *Consuetudines canonice* indførtes 1123”.

or less contemporary with the *Consuetudines Lundenses*,¹²⁵ and, second, despite this re-dating, regular life may have existed at the cathedral church in Lund before the 1120s.¹²⁶ In this article, I suggest that the customary may have been in daily use as late as the 1170s.¹²⁷

The fact that the article is written in English helps make the text known to a wider audience than before, which may result in new questions and findings from an international perspective regarding cathedral culture, for example, textual and cultural transmission and the formation of capitular institutions in the North. The specific hypotheses are neither discussed nor verified in this article. It is, however, evident that the suggested re-dating of this rule requires new palaeographical analyses of both the copy of the Rule of Aachen in Lund and the Deed of Gift by King St Knud IV, which is preserved in a copy dated to *c.* 1123, at the latest, and refers to the provost and the brethren at the church of St Lawrence's in Lund in the year 1085.

The content of the *Consuetudines Lundenses*, together with the Rule of Aachen, confirms the idea of how the primary function of a medieval cathedral chapter was the liturgical one, i.e. serving daily in the cathedral liturgy. Moreover, it indicates how the first steps towards a more elaborate legal function were taken, i.e. via the chapter's responsibilities and involvement in episcopal elections.

Subsequent Research

In three cases, I find that the results presented in my article ought to be reflected upon, updated, or called into question. The first case regards the question of when regular life was first established at the cathedral church of Lund. Michael H. Gelting has recently suggested that Egino, upon the death of Henry, did not leave Dalby to seize the position as bishop of Lund but in fact remained in Dalby as bishop of Lund, and that, furthermore, he used some of the financial resources that he thenceforward had access to in order to establish a cathedral chapter – in Dalby. Perhaps, says Gelting, the episcopal seat and chapter remained in Dalby until 1085 or even until the death of Egino's successor, Ricwal (†1089).¹²⁸ In an even more recent essay, however, Gelt-

¹²⁵ The most recent palaeographical dating of the Rule of Aachen known to me was undertaken, at my and Prof. Stephan Borgehammar's request, by Prof. Herrad Spilling and Dr. Peter Burkhardt in Stuttgart in 2007 and mediated to us by e-mail from Prof. Christian Heitzmann, Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. Prof. Spilling suggests the end of the first third of the twelfth century as its date of origin, whereas Dr Burkhardt proposes the second quarter of the same century. The source of this new dating is not referred to in the article.

¹²⁶ On the Deed of Gift by King St Knud IV of 1085, see above p. 30 with notes.

¹²⁷ Ciardi 2012a, p. 4.

¹²⁸ Gelting, 2012, pp. 104–105 and 110–111. Gelting suggests that Egino died in 1071 instead of the hitherto established year of 1072 (p. 104). Cf. Gelting 2004, p. 191.

ing seems to lean to the more traditional view, namely that the cathedral chapter of Lund was established in Lund in the 1080s.¹²⁹ Gelting's main arguments for the oldest cathedral chapter of Lund as being established in Dalby are, first, the dimensions of the Dalby church, which indicate that Dalby was a centre of royal and ecclesiastical power, and, second, a reference to the Icelandic poet Markús Skjeggason's *Eiríksdrápa*, in which the author recalls how the key figure of his epic, King Erik Ejegod, having achieved the archiepiscopal dignity for the diocese of Lund "established the archiepiscopal seat not far from Lund". Does this suggest that Dalby was still the (archi-)episcopal seat of Lund in 1103/04?¹³⁰ In my opinion, this hypothesis is interesting, but too daring. It is true that the ecclesiastical topography in the time of Henry and Egino is hard to grasp. Still, and with regard to Markús Skjeggason's description of the situation in the reign of King Erik Ejegod, I find it hard to favour Markús' testimony over Adam of Bremen's. They are both contemporary with the events they describe, and even Gelting seems to find the authenticity of the Icelandic poet's statement that the archiepiscopal seat of Lund was indeed located in Dalby as late as in 1103/04 hard to believe.¹³¹ In my opinion, the zealous missionary Egino may well have established or promoted the foundations of clerical organizations in both Lund and Dalby at about the same time, i.e. before the mid-1080s.

A second case upon which the results of my article should be reflected, is Gelting's hypothesis that the copy of the Rule of Aachen found in the *Necrologium Lundense* may have served the (regular) canons in Dalby in the eleventh century, before it was transmitted to Lund and the (younger) chapter there in the twelfth century, and before the canons in Dalby were transformed into Augustinian canons.¹³² In my opin-

¹²⁹ Gelting 2014, p. 133.

¹³⁰ Gelting 2012, p. 105 ("Dróttin lét í Danmörk settan, / dögling's grundar, skammt frá Lundi / erki-stól").

¹³¹ Gelting 2012, p. 105. In addition, in the same volume where Gelting's article is published, *Locus Celebris: Dalby kyrka, kloster och gård*. Edited by Stephan Borgehammar & Jes Wienberg. Centrum för Danmarksstudier, 28. Göteborg: Makadam, other scholars argue in ways that do not immediately overthrow the traditional view on the relationship between the episcopal seats of Lund and Dalby but rather preserve it. See, for example, Stephan Borgehammar, 2012. "Kanikerna i Dalby. Tre studier", pp. 291–300; Tore Nyberg, 2012. "Augustinkaniker och premonstratenser i Danmark före ca 1200", pp. 249–290; and Ralf M. W. Stammberger, 2012. "Paris, Hildesheim ad Dalby. The Migrations of Christian Culture – Scania in the eleventh and twelfth Centuries", pp. 162 with note 10, 163, and 165.

¹³² Gelting 2012, p. 105. On the composition and style of the Rule of Aachen in the *Necrologium Lundense*, Gelting refers to Niblaeus 2010, pp. 191–192. Gelting is not the first to have suggested such steps of textual transmission between these two institutions, see, for example, Toni Schmid and Josef Siegwart on the *Consuetudines Lundenses* as transmitted from Dalby to Lund, see Ciardi 2004, pp. 12, 14 and 16 with footnotes; Toni Schmid, Merete Geert Andersen, and Erik Cinthio on the dedication and veneration of St Maurice Dalby, see Ciardi 2012b, pp. 116, 118–119, and 124–125 with notes. Neither is Gelting unique in promoting the Rule of Aachen as the rule of the oldest cleri-

ion, Gelting's hypothesis is interesting but questionable, especially since Gelting does not seem to be aware of the suggested re-dating of the extant copy of the Rule of Aachen to the first third of the twelfth century as referenced in my article, but refers instead to Erik Niblaeus' observations from 2010 alone.¹³³ At the same time, however, it is not known what rule the community in Dalby allegedly founded by Egino followed in the first decades: it may have been the Rule of Aachen or something similar, although of an older date than the text preserved in the *Necrologium Lundense*.¹³⁴

Finally, the third case concerns the question of when regular life was abandoned and the cathedral chapter was secularized. With reference to recent observations made by Gelting, the mutual relation between the two obituary lists in *Necrologium Lundense* and *Liber daticus vetustior Lundensis* presented by Weibull cannot be maintained. Instead, says Gelting, we should consider the existence of an older, non-extant obituary list or necrology.¹³⁵ Whether the new hypothesis presented by Gelting affects the *terminus ante quem* of communal clerical life at St Lawrence's is too early to say. It requires further investigation.

Article 5

Context

My article “‘Per clerum et populum’. Legal Terminology and Episcopal Appointments in Denmark, 1059–1225” (forthcoming) was first conceived as a paper presented at the conference *Law & Language* held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen in September 2015; later, part of this paper was reworked as a *Festschrift* article in Swedish. At first, the purpose was to focus on the formula ‘by clergy and people’ as a linguistic feature in relation to law. As an article,

cal community in Dalby, see Stammberger 2012, pp. 165–166. Gelting omits to mention previous works suggesting a similar development, which in fact would have strengthened his argumentation.

¹³³ Niblaeus 2010, p. 191. Niblaeus, however, does not say anything about a (second) transmission, only that “[m]ost likely these folios were once an independent *libellus*, or formed part of an older codex”.

¹³⁴ Cf. Borgehammar 2012, pp. 291–298, and Stammberger 2012, pp. 165–166. On the general reform movement with regard to canonical houses and capitular institutions, cf. Brigitte Meijns, 2012. “The Augustinian Canons in the Low Countries and the German Empire: The Expansion of the Canonical Reform Movement (c. 1070–c. 1150).” In *Locus celebris: Dalby kyrka, kloster och gård*. Edited by Stephan Borgehammar & Jes Wienberg. Centrum för Danmarksstudier, 28. Göteborg: Makadam, pp. 263–277; Stammberger 2012.

¹³⁵ Gelting 2014, especially pp. 133 and 148.

the scope has been broadened to involve the general legal developments in the period 1059–1225, with particular reference to episcopal appointments in Denmark. Recently, it has been revised as an article for an English-language journal and submitted to *Traditio*, where it is now in the peer-review process.¹³⁶

I have long pondered the curious and apparently conflicting evidence on episcopal elections found in the *Consuetudines Lundenses* and in narrative sources. I take the opportunity here to compare analyse this text with the regulations on this matter found in the decrees of the first four Lateran Councils.

Hypotheses & Results

In this article, there are examples of all three general hypotheses found in the thesis; in this case, the transmission of tradition and the formation of a cathedral culture with respect to law are dealt with both separately and together. The more specific hypotheses introduced in this article are several.

First, while lay interference in episcopal elections is explicitly ruled out in the *Consuetudines Lundenses* and other texts composed in the same, strict spirit, it seems that general ecclesiastical legal developments are slower. The codification of rules for episcopal elections, in this article exemplified by the Lateran Councils in the period 1123–1215, does not make the cathedral chapter the sole electoral body even in the conciliar decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, but instead, envisages it as assisted by other pious and religious men.¹³⁷ Second, I intimate that the meaning of the concept ‘canonical’ is altered over the course of time, and demonstrate that from the beginning, it is equivalent to the formula *per clericum et populum* (‘by clergy and people’), whereas from the 1170s onward, a canonical election means that there is no lay interference in the electoral process.¹³⁸

Third, I suggest that the papal agenda for episcopal appointments comes for a time under the sway of monastic ideals of reform, and I show that this is observable in the *Consuetudines Lundenses* and its instructions on episcopal election in Ch. 16 from the 1120s.¹³⁹ Fourth, in the context of the Danish setting, I suggest that even though it is not known whether the instructions in Ch. 16 were ever put into practice, there are reasons to assume that the cathedral chapter in Lund remained regular in an older sense at least until the resignation of Archbishop Eskil in 1177, with reference to his

¹³⁶ According to e-mail from March–April 2016 by editor Rev. Joseph T. Lienhard, S.J., Fordham University.

¹³⁷ Ciardi [forthcoming], pp. 8–10.

¹³⁸ Ciardi [forthcoming], pp. 10–11.

¹³⁹ Ciardi [forthcoming], pp. 13–16 and 25–27.

recognized reformist agenda.¹⁴⁰ Fifth, I maintain that it is hard to draw any further conclusions about how episcopal appointments were undertaken in Denmark in the period, but suggest that the majority of such appointments in the first half of the twelfth century were undertaken by the king himself or even *per clerum et populum*.¹⁴¹

Sixth, I introduce the hypothesis that from the 1170s on, a strengthened papacy, together with a more elaborated and codified ecclesiastical law on episcopal appointments strongly influenced the development of capitular institutions.¹⁴² Seventh, I intimate that the emergence of a codified ecclesiastical law in the West and the formation of the institution of cathedral chapters were reciprocal processes. Thus, the ecclesiastical urge for universal regulations and a reduced lay influence prompted the development of cathedral chapters as legal bodies with specific functions in the context of episcopal elections, and this process was facilitated by the fact that in many places there already existed capitular institutions in the vicinity of the local bishop.¹⁴³ Finally, I propose that there are strong reasons to advocate the use of the concept 'cathedral culture'.

In my opinion, most of the aforementioned hypotheses are verified by the referenced sources. These include the gradual reduction of lay involvement, the altered definition of the term 'canonical' which, however, did not cause previous episcopal appointments to be regarded as irregular or uncanonical; an evidently reformist, monastic influence on the emerging capitular institutions and their regulating texts; a strong royal influence on episcopal appointments in Denmark; and, finally, a reciprocity between codified ecclesiastical law and a strengthened legal function of cathedral chapters. One hypothesis, however, needs to be further tested and another further elaborated: the assumption that the cathedral chapter of Lund was regular, or more correctly 'semi-regular', throughout the episcopate of Archbishop Eskil has not been proven; and the concept of 'cathedral culture' needs to be further elaborated, perhaps in an article of its own.

*

All together my articles re-interpret essential aspects of the formation and functions of cathedral chapters in Scandinavia in the period *c.* 1060–1225. In addition, they contribute to an improved understanding of the concepts 'formation' and 'function'. They also present, develop, and confirm my hypotheses on the formation of capitular institutions as reciprocally related to their overarching function as agents of ecclesiastical tradition and the continuous formation of a specific cathedral culture.

¹⁴⁰ Ciardi [forthcoming], pp. 15–16.

¹⁴¹ Ciardi [forthcoming], pp. 19–20 and 26–27.

¹⁴² Ciardi [forthcoming], pp. 21–23 and 25–26.

¹⁴³ Ciardi [forthcoming], pp. 12 and 26–27.

Conclusion: On Cathedral Culture and Cathedral Chapters as Agents of Tradition

Based on what has been achieved by and what is lacking in previous scholarship, I have found that new concepts are needed in the study of the formation and functions of the early medieval cathedral chapters in Lund, Denmark, and Scandinavia, *c.* 1060–1225.

First of all, it seems obvious to me that in this age of ecclesiastical and organizational transition, the emergence of a distinct ‘cathedral culture’ can be identified. This culture, developed and maintained by cathedral canons, was certainly, indeed to a great extent, related to monastic culture, although in part it had independent roots.¹⁴⁴ Whereas monastic culture has long been an established concept in scholarship, helping to focus a formative section of Western culture in the Early and High Middle Ages, cathedral culture is a rather neglected topic and a hitherto unexploited concept. The specific character of cathedral culture is determined partly by its particular affinities – the canons’ ties to a particular cathedral church and their close relationship with the local bishop – and partly by the specific functions that cathedral chapters performed. These functions, moreover, were not – which was previously assumed – firmly fixed but developed over time. Its specific affinities and functions imply that cathedral culture was something rather unique.

In addition to coining the concept ‘cathedral culture’, I introduce the idea that this culture did not simply consist of the cathedral chapters performing their various functions in isolation; rather, I argue that the overarching function of cathedral chapters in the Middle Ages was to mediate ecclesiastical tradition in general, into and out of the local setting, so that cathedral chapters may be identified as ‘agents of tradition’. Certainly, the elements of local tradition – e.g. the cathedral liturgy, ecclesiastical law, education, and cults of saints – emerged step by step. In addition, the process of mediation was continuous as was the formation of the capitular institutions themselves. In other words, the cathedral chapters facilitated the general introduction of the ecclesiastical tradition of Latin Christendom into a local and regional setting, not in a neutral or mechanic way, but instead, as ‘agents of tradition’ they actively contributed to the emergence of a specific culture, characterized by local needs and conditions. My doctoral thesis aims to emphasize this hitherto neglected culture, to demonstrate how it served to mediate ecclesiastical tradition in a number of specific cases, and to introduce new analytical concepts. In the process, it has become obvious to me that the concept of cathedral culture also facilitates a more nuanced and realistic understanding of how the cathedral chapters in Lund, Denmark, and Scandinavia were formed and functioned in this period of transition.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Ciardi [forthcoming].

Summary

The overarching purpose of this doctoral thesis has been to re-interpret essential aspects of the formation and functions of cathedral chapters in Scandinavia in the period *c.* 1060–1225. This has been achieved through a number of articles on the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence’s in Lund, and, to a lesser extent, other cathedral chapters in medieval Denmark and Scandinavia.

After a general introduction on the subject, based on clarifications of those concepts that have been essential to this study and my understanding and application of them, i.e. ‘formation’, ‘functions’, ‘chapter’, ‘cathedral chapter’, and ‘cathedral culture’, I recapitulate what has been achieved, misinterpreted, or even neglected by previous scholarship by focusing on the formation and functions of cathedral chapters in a Scandinavian setting. In this section, I also present my own hypotheses and methodological approaches and define the chronological and geographical delimitations of this work. Finally, I introduce the sources of this work by categorizing them. In the second major part of the introduction, I present the context, hypotheses, methods, and results of the articles; I also present and discuss whether there has been any subsequent research or similar approaches on the various topics dealt with.

In my articles, I consider four general topics: first, the textual transmission of normative text of the cathedral chapter in Lund and especially the customary, the *Consuetudines Lundenses* from *c.* 1120 (Article 1 and 4); second, the concepts of ‘law & learning’ are examined in the context of the cathedral chapter at St Lawrence’s in Lund in the first quarter of the twelfth century (Article 2). Third, by focusing on the cult of saints in Scandinavia *c.* 1000–*c.* 1200 in relation to the emerging capitular institutions, I both introduce a new concept, i.e. ‘cathedral culture’, and demonstrate the importance of the local cathedral clergy and chapter are in the introduction and maintenance of both foreign and local saints’ cults (Article 3). Finally, I examine the various legal developments within the process of appointing bishops that were practiced in Latin Christendom until the mid-1220s (Article 5), arriving at the conclusion that this process and the formation of cathedral chapters were reciprocal and resulted in a more legally regulated electoral procedure.

The major results of this work are the following. First, by a redefinition of the concept of ‘cathedral chapter’, i.e. that any clerical organization occupied with the liturgical service at the cathedral church of the diocese could be designated as such rather than define this institution from those legal or administrative functions that were

added later, and by demonstrating that the liturgical function was the primary function of the capitular institution throughout the Middle Ages, I contribute to a new, more organic view of this ecclesiastical institution. Second, by using a more flexible terminology, I have been able to demonstrate that a focus on the process of *formation* rather than the search for a fixed date of *foundation* is rewarding when dealing with the capitular institutions in this period, which are characterized by institutional, legal, and ideological transition. Finally, I introduce a new conceptual framework, namely 'cathedral culture', which has facilitated not only our understanding of the activities undertaken and performed by the chapters and their members in the cathedral and its surrounding milieu, namely as agents of ecclesiastical tradition, but also, the use of this concept enables to see the emergence of a specific culture out of a monastic, contemplative culture and closely related to a nascent scholastic, erudite culture.

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