Deutsches Schiffahrtsarchiv 34, 2011, S. 259–370

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The Ritual Landscape of the Seaboard in Historical Times: Island Chapels, Burial Sites and Stone Mazes – A Scandinavian Example

Part I: Chapels and Burial Sites

Introduction

The maritime cultural landscape is a manifold creation. In my view the ritual aspect of it is continuous within maritime culture itself, and also this ritual aspect partly stems from the maritime culture. In this text I have chosen to treat a few fairly coherent complexes illustrating both the more or less official manifestations of the church and possible changes brought about in them by an underlying popular maritime culture. This culture also displays archaeological and cognitive manifestations of its own, either before or contemporary with Christian influence. These are an important part of my thesis. Oral traditions and cognitive patterns are important, especially for locating relevant sites and understanding transformation.

As parts of a known ritual landscape the chapels once formed orientation points for another aspect of the maritime cultural landscape, the landscape of navigation. A chapel worked as a kind of sea mark.[1] An array of other aspects of the landscape pertains to chapels and their location.

I have focussed my attention on the medieval Catholic period in the North (c. AD 1050–1550) but I must clarify this by noting that the sources of later centuries will contrast with those of earlier ones. To take *for granted* that chapels or chapel sites mentioned in sources of the late 16th century in a solidly Protestant context – which normally is the origin of such sources – also existed and/or had the same meaning in Catholic times, i.e., before c. AD 1530–50, is unwise. But this information is not irrelevant; a possible continuity could have existed, either in area, particular location, or in the minds of the people.

The first phenomenon I will treat will be the island and shore-hugging archipelago chapels of Scandinavia: present-day Sweden, Finland and Norway. This phenomenon is a cultural trait specific to the indented coastal outcrops of the rocky Fennoscandian shield. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between church and chapel buildings and between a parish church and its annex. Therefore I have allowed myself some latitude in my choice of

subjects. My survey does not only concern buildings and constructions still standing. Quite a number of ancient chapel sites display little or no visible remains today. Some just belong to oral tradition or the place name flora.

The total number of sites (or possible sites) covered is sizeable, between 200 and 300. John Granlund found only 58 fishing chapels in Sweden, but included only those still standing, not counting ruined or only burial sites, of which some may once have had a chapel. Finland still has a considerable number but may originally have had at least 35–45, in that case including some indications of others.

In Norway the number of actual maritime churches exceeds 130, of which approximately 100 are parish churches, with settlements clustering around them, especially in the north.

The Norwegian *indications* of coastal and island chapels which may have existed earlier include 157 place names,[2] and 90 tales, some of which are justified or motivated by a place name. There are also at least 18 burial sites and other finds and statements, e.g. on monasteries and shelters.[3] No such "statistics" exist for Sweden and Finland, but I believe that there have been more chapels, perhaps many more, in any relevant category.

In a following article I will discuss the coastal stone mazes. To compare these two main categories of material evidence, that is, chapels and mazes, the coastal stone mazes in the north in total exceed 700, without sifting the pre-modern relevance of all.

In this article I have concentrated on those sites of devotion and ritual which are situated on islands. The reason is partly that in the areas of concern these are the most numerous. *But more important to me and to my subject is that they share a unique liminal quality between sea and land: they are surrounded by water on all sides.* This has several implications for the cognitive sphere (more later). In addition they are truly an offshoot of maritime culture since they only can be reached by boat.

Of course, the decisive factors for an island location of a chapel *would appear to be purely functional.* The fishermen had to settle – at least seasonally – at a spot close to their fishing waters. To preserve their fish they had to salt down their catches at the spot: the mainland was too far away. Sailors had to be provided with their divine services at the closest possible place to a harbour.

An island also has an undisputed advantage in *spatially being easy to define.* This feature was used for delimiting extraterritorial rights of different kinds, for trading, and for various other kinds of special laws and regulations.[4] During the Nordic Middle Ages the so-called *bjärköarätt* (with various other forms), the first town law, its name presumably derived from the name of the island Birka (Björkö), the Viking Age urban settlement in Lake Mälaren, Sweden, was valid in fishing camps and generally during trading journeys as well. This was formulated as *Bjarkeyiaréttr er á fisknesi hveriu ok í sildveri ok í kaupförum*, "the Bjarkeyia law is valid in every fishing foreland and in herring camps and in trading journeys" in the law, which is also closely connected to the Frostating provincial (Trøndelag) law of Norway c. 1200.[5] Here it is surmised, as is usual, that this – like others – was a common rule in Scandinavia, even though only one provincial law (or a few) may have had the relevant text.

Another possible advantage of an island was that it makes a good sanctuary or asylum. The comparative isolation of the sanctuary was crucial. In principle every church was a temporary asylum for anyone needing it, persecuted people or even criminals before justice was done. In Blekinge an island called *Helgö*, "the holy island," was such a place. I will

mention it later in connection with the Franciscan monastery of Torkö, to which it was donated by the Danish king at the end of the 15th century.[6] There are probably several other such cases.[7]

As to *the burial sites or graveyards* tradition preferred them to be situated on islands as well, since it was widely believed that *ghosts do not cross water.* Haunted sites have thus to be separated from the living by any kind of water. This is a variation of a notion widely held in Scandinavia about the liminal nature of water. The idea that dead souls have to cross water on special bridges or be ferried over water, usually a river, is an almost universal religious idea.[8] And such a consecrated burial place could be supplemented by a chapel, although a "chapel" did not formally have burial rights. This notion concerning the border function of water is in any case fundamental to the location of burial sites, to some extent then to chapels, and, as I maintain later, to most stone mazes.

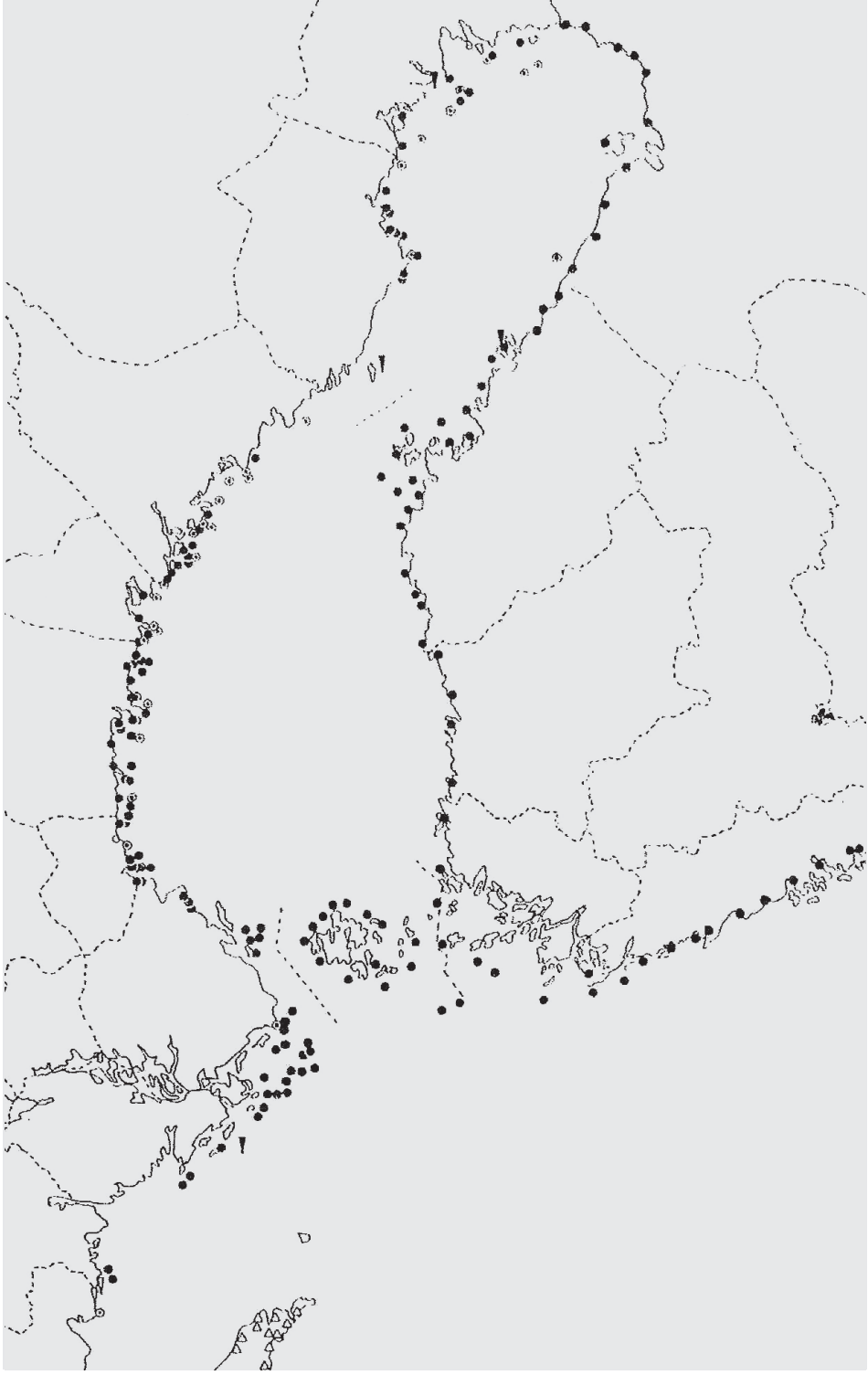
The Harbour

At the heart of chapels and settlements is a harbour of some kind.[9] All harbours have to be protected as far as possible against the wind to shelter both people and boats. For small vessels only a shallow lagoon suffices. For ships of larger draught other types of topography are preferred. But the choice of harbours or havens is a cultural choice, a social construct. There are thousands of potential anchor roads in an archipelagic environment such as that of the north, but only a few of them have actually been used regularly.

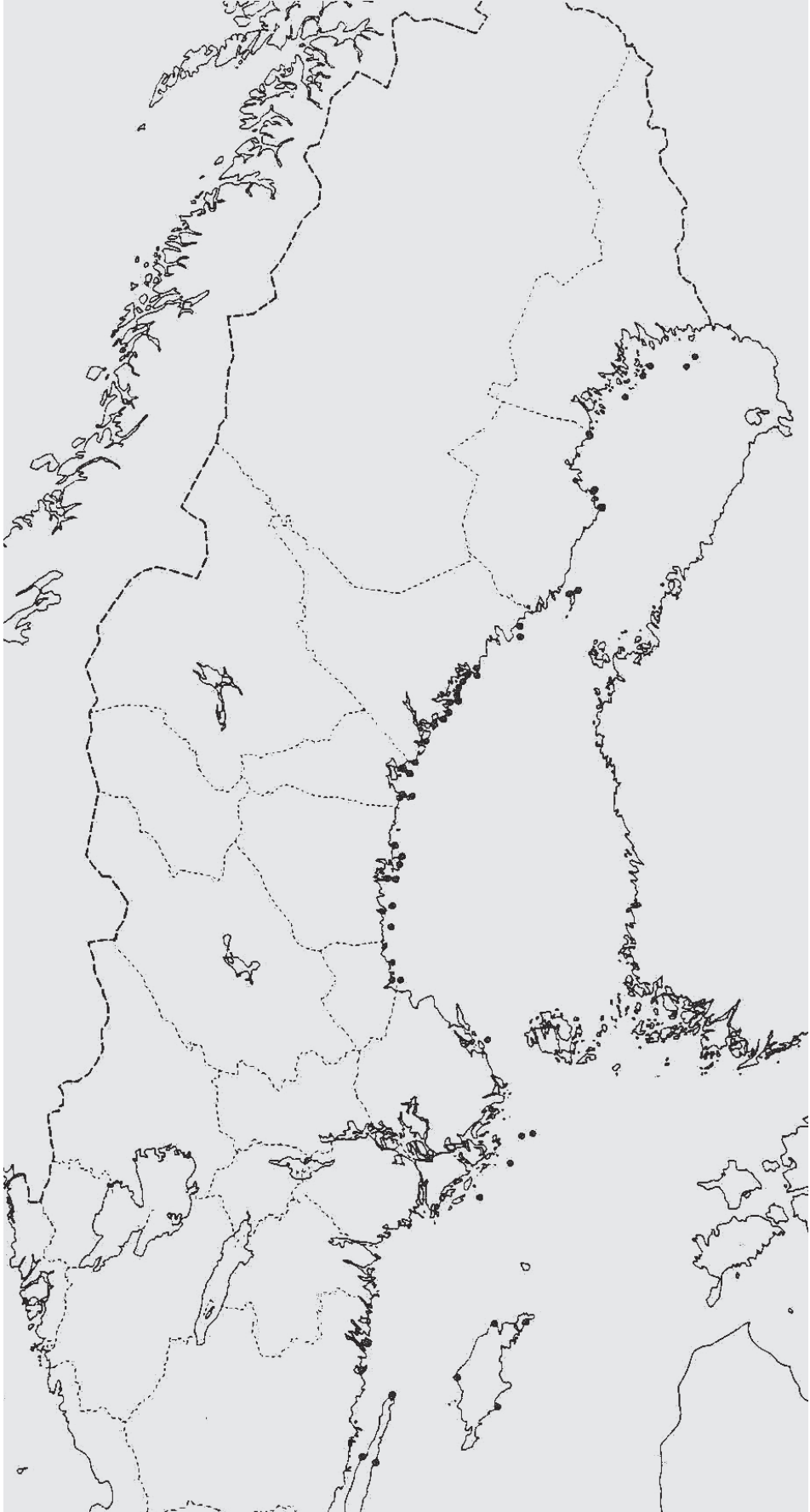
If we are to judge from conditions in late historical times most of the medieval chapel harbours were presumably those of fishing camps. The ownership of the skerries could be decisive for the establishment of a chapel. Regal rights were enforced for most islands during the Middle Ages.[10] In order to secure control of fishing and taxing the skerry, the presence of any official person, if only a priest (and perhaps only temporarily), might be interesting to the crown. Jan Lundell[11] has remarked that many closely placed later (17th- to 18th-century) chapels in central Hälsingland, Sweden, are built on crown property. He has used this knowledge to look for other chapels among the remains of ancient fishing camps, e.g. on the island Gackerön in the densest area around the town of Hudiksvall, where no chapel is known so far. The results are negative. On the other hand such crown harbours ought to be better documented than others, owing to this official interest. But in the extremely rewarding crown fisheries at Mörskär at Kökar in the Åland islands there is no mention of a chapel.[12] Is this because of the complexity of the issues involved or is it only because no rule is without its exceptions?

The feudal authorities tried to impose order and control in crown fisheries. That of *Huvudskär* in the southern archipelago of Stockholm received the first recorded and preserved regulations, *hamnordning*, in 1450. For these the knight Erengisle Nilsson of the Hammersta lineage was explicitly responsible, under King Karl Knutsson. This first *hamnordning* served as a model for other fishing harbours in eastern Sweden and Finland. It has often been asserted that this *hamnordning* rules that those who did not participate in divine services were to be fined. This is not true. But later versions in Protestant times do contain such a provision.[13]

It appears also that a more rigorous implementation of crown property rights occurred



Map 1a Coastal fishing camps of different kinds in late historical times in Sweden and Finland from map *Atlas över svensk folkkultur* (1957).
Map 1b Fishermen's chapels (58) in Sweden, marked by Inga-Lill Granlund. (From Granlund 1980, where they are studied and compared)



Map 2 The studied chapel sites in the North. (Map: Reinhard Hoheisel-Huxmann & Erik Hoops)

slightly later. According to a royal letter of King Gustav Vasa of AD 1545, all fishing camps of Sweden and Finland were made *regale.* A later letter stated that fishing was free from a tax of every *fifteenth* barrel to the crown, which offered to contribute the salt needed to preserve the fish.[14] The context was that conflicts had arisen between local farmers at the coast and the fishermen/burghers from remote places and the king exploited this *ad hoc* for the benefit of the crown.

The fishermen were potentially a resource for the kind of services required by sailors. The fishermen were available as informal pilots, due their exclusive knowledge of the waters. As such they might help themselves by erecting sea marks, temporary or not. Some marks could rather point to fishing sites than to the right route. But the intimate connection of sailors to fishermen, who now and then also were pilots, and to the maintenance of regular sea marks existed quite early.

Later, during the 18th century, the *hamnfogde,* the elected bailiff of the fishing camp, was

responsible for the order in the camp, such as the order of priority in rowing out to the fishing banks (rocks) or the division into fishing lots. He also managed the piloting *and* the sea marks, such as piles or brooms, including all kinds of beacons, including those for warning against military attack. The regular piloting organizations of the crowns were introduced after the Great Nordic War 1700–21 in all the Nordic countries. At that time there were in fact only two states, Denmark/ Norway and Sweden/ Finland.[15] It was an important step to certain fishermen, allowing them to get some cash payment. Some even became professionals, permanently settled.

The conditions in the former Swedish realm, then including Finland, are accordingly in the forefront of this survey. Maps illustrate the fishing camps in the Baltic known from later times in Sweden and Finland (map 1a), then belonging to the same realm, the chapels studied among them on the Swedish side by the ethnologist John Granlund, the chapels that I studied in the Nordic countries (map 2) and, finally, some of the recorded medieval chapels on the east coast of Sweden (map 3). Some of the recorded southern Finnish chapel sites are outlined later (by the map, fig. 27).

Map 3 Some recorded medieval chapel sites in Eastern Sweden mentioned in the text. (After Norman 1993)

The Chapel Harbours as Centres of Maritime Culture

This is more or less a theoretical issue. It might be surmised that chapel harbours in later times displayed a certain hierarchical progression. In maritime culture some may have performed the function of being a central place, permanent or seasonal, either mainly for shipping or for fishing. My guess is that the chapel was at the top of this hierarchy or at least marked one of the higher stages. But this possible rule was certainly not without exceptions. Perhaps there was no rule at all. This may in fact just be speculation. But I was influenced by what I considered a normal progression of what I have called a *maritime cultural centre*[16] or a Norwegian *uthavn*, with or without a chapel.

The foundation of the chapel harbour in this interpretation has presumably been a multiple harbour or haven function, by way of an emergency or rest harbour, possibly for intermittent hunting and/ or fishing. A more stable fishing camp may have taken on a role as

an informal pilot station for trading vessels. With a more or less ordered system of piloting for the naval vessels of the crown the prerequisites had been laid for only one or a few smallholdings maintaining pilot families all year in the neighbourhood, since most islands were normally quite barren and their yield was precarious.

The loading sites in this area did not usually develop in this context. They would have had an independent origin, but they were probably often able to profit from the intermittent services of the fisher pilots. This meant ballast sites and maybe further services for shipping, such as stores and a slipway for ship repairs. Such a site would have had a simple shelter, a *sælehus* (Norse), probably *själ/a/hus* (Swedish): where *själstuga* is known as an identical concept.[17]Apart from this a large fishing camp might offer simple food and lodging in a tavern (Old Norse *tafernishús*) or an inn, Swed. *sjökrog* or *gästgiveri*, together with rowers for stage traffic along the coast.[18] With a larger circle of visitors local small-holders or their family members might have been tempted to open such an inn, tavern or even a trading station, all of which might or might not have been privileged by the crown. Sometimes excess stores of important staples like salt, or material, like ropes and hawsers, could be available. Potentially this could lead to illicit trading, strongly objected to by the authorities. All these possibilities often led to their tightening control of fishing camps.

If authorities now found their control slipping in the circumstances, they might install some kind of official inspection, including that of customs. A dispersed central settlement would then be on its way.

Thus, in some of the later stages I have posited the erection of a chapel.

On the other hand a majority of the chapel sites seems to have been mainly fishing camps in later times. This may or may not have been the rule during the Middle Ages as well. All the same, *they represented centrality in the world of the skerries*, since fishing people and their services were the only available to anyone needing it during the shipping and fishing seasons.

Fishing and/or shipping? One of the salient questions is archaeological dating: was the chapel established before or after the fishing camp or the settlements?

Fishing as a Way of Life

Fishing was certainly a way of life in the past, but not in our contemporary sense. It was only seasonal for most people. There were few professionals, if any. The fishing camps for herring in the archipelagos in some areas attracted peasants and small-holders even from inland parishes, who tried to obtain some of their winter food from their own activities by the sea. Generally speaking fishing is at the heart of maritime culture and associated and subsidiary occupations are always implied.[19]

There are many varieties of fishing camps in different Nordic contexts. The most fundamental differences are between those at the Atlantic or the North Sea which could be used all year – although this does not mean that any large-scale permanent settlements were established – and those where the Baltic Sea was frozen for months on end. These later fishing camps were more or less abandoned for most of the winter, or from late autumn to true spring. The permanent fishing settlements were a very sparse and late phenomenon, specific to certain areas, e.g. in Sweden to Bohuslän in the west, Blekinge in the east and individual clusters in other places, especially in the large archipelagos.

Magnus Holmqvist has tried to group categories in the Bothnian Sea for the latest centuries.[20] I have slightly changed his categories here:

1. Near-fishing, satellites of permanent (agrarian) settlements, fishing mainly for household needs.

2a. Remote fishing: seasonal settlement fishing mainly for sale, also involving town burghers.

2b. Town fishing: seasonal settlement from a town in the vicinity practicing fishing mainly for sale.

3. Professional fishing: permanent settlement, fishing mainly for sale.

4. Part-time fishing: permanent settlers practice fishing as an ancillary industry, as a complement to mainly agrarian pursuits.

5. Leisure fishing site: seasonal settlement, fishing only for fun and to meet some household requirements. Nowadays it may be within the confines of buildings of an old fishing camp once representing one of the other categories.

It seems obvious that a demand for an independent chapel only existed in 2a, 2b and 3, but the local conditions have varied considerably. In Norrland the class divisions were evident among the remote-fishing town burghers, near-fishing peasants and coast-dwelling small-holders. These divisions influenced the distribution and the appearance of the chapels. The size of the camp was also important. The chapel had to mean a considerable investment by its users.

This is only one of the sets of variables possible. There are many regional and transitory variations in all the countries treated, in Sweden as well as in Finland, Norway and Denmark.[21]

The Chapels Are Not Only Chapels as Such

A chapel, *capella*, was originally the term for the oratory building in Tours of the Merovingian kings of the Frankish realm, where the *capella* (coat) of St. Martin was kept. Later the chapels served many different purposes. They could be erected as sites of penance, where a murder had taken place, especially that of a king or other prince, of pilgrimage for votive acts at a holy spring. They could also be annexes to the parish church in the peripheries of the congregation, at a hospital (most often devoted to St. George, *St. Jörgen*), at a market site to serve it seasonally, or inside a castle. In more southerly places a chapel could contain a baptistery.[22] Some could be an answer to combinations of several of these motives. But perhaps the dominant function was to serve mobile people, travellers along the roads, the sea-routes and among the fishermen in the skerries.

Mats Anglert[23] categorizes medieval chapels as 1) *capelle non curate*, chapels without priest, i.e. not supported by any kind of landed interest, a corresponding term is Norse *benådningskirker*, among which we find saintly and votive churches and some tiny ones in towns,[24] 2) *colonization chapels*, erected in marginal areas, 3) *parish chapels*, which were annex churches to the parish church, often a product of a division of a single parish or a union of two parishes. A fishing chapel could in some sense be considered in all three categories and at the same time. 4) In this text I examine a fourth functional category, *chapels of the travellers (sailors) and the seasonal "colonizers" of an archipelago.*

The chapel buildings I discuss in this text are very simple (figs. 11, (12), 18–23, 31–32, 39, 41, 48, 51). They are usually quite small and built of logs dovetailed at the corners. The foundation may only consist of a row of stones to support the bottom logs, and in some cases only of four corner stones. Such buildings could survive from the Middle Ages into modern times in forested inland valleys, but if placed out in the skerries and exposed to all the forces of an austere nature (fig. 39), their life span was much shorter. Thus, the meagre remains of such chapels are usually very difficult to discover. Once fallen into disuse their timbers were already in great demand for re-use in nearby camp huts. People could easily remove a few stones, and would probably have been eager to do so if very few stones were available. One of the aims of this text is to suggest some "irregular" ways of locating such sites, by way of place names, oral tradition, legends and myths and, finally, concentrations of cultural layers under water.

In exceptional cases we find regular stone buildings, but most often they are ruined, rebuilt into other shapes, and even completely eradicated (e.g. figs. 7, 38, 41).

Chapels in the skerries were not just ritual places for devotion. They could serve other purposes as well. We only know something more in detail about them from Post-Reformation times. Thus they gradually acquired new meanings, both in a local sense and in the context of navigation.

The first meaning was economic. The parish priests and the bishops could potentially obtain a large and important income from a fishing chapel. This income derived from fishing tithes and payment for services, including gifts to the preachers, from the fishing community involved. Thus, the advantages were obvious if the chapels could be what in Norway were called *benådningskirker*, where the community itself built and maintained the chapel and also paid the priest.[25]

There were several local and regional variations. In Denmark there were no archipelagos. Fishing took place at the shore of the parish and the parish church served both fishers and peasants all year. This order reflects a more continental pattern than that in most of Scandinavia. Much of the fishing in Denmark was based in the coastal cities, which were rather densely placed in comparison with those of the rest of Scandinavia.

The second was storage. In medieval Norway the equipment of the levy fleet ship could be kept in the parish churches (preferably in the attic), according to the provincial Gulathing law. The later fishing chapels at the Baltic were small in comparison but they were as a rule used for storage as well during the winter when the harbours were totally deserted.

Nets, the boat riggings, their sails and even boats could be stored in the chapel. The first priority was bringing the fishermen's cargo of salted fish home to the permanent settlements. The booths or cottages of some fishermen may have been too small or too easily entered by strangers. Often they were kept open and accessible for emergency reasons – for shipwrecked sailors. The chapels were locked and the key taken away and sealed with wax.

Of course a chapel which was open and could be visited all year could not be used for storage, so this resource was probably used only in parts of the ice-covered Baltic. Goods that needed to be hidden so as not to attract the attention of crown officials could be brought into the chapel as well.[26] In the beginning of summer, usually in May, fairly close to the Mass of the Cross (*korsmäss*), 3rd May, the first thing to be done on the return to the camp was to produce the key with its seal unbroken in the presence of witnesses (see such a key in fig. 1).

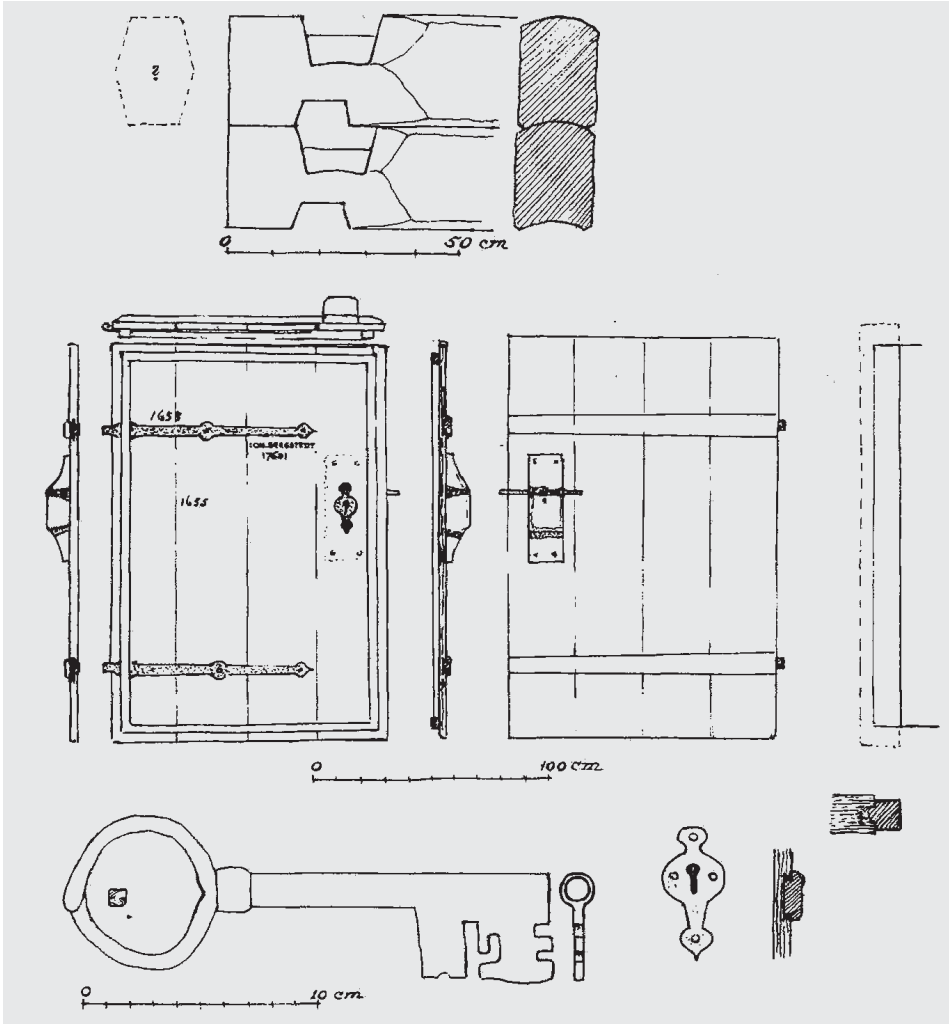


Fig. 1 Details from a small fishing chapel on the island *Storjungfrun,* Hälsingland, Sweden, with various years recorded, illustrating the difficulties of dating. The year 1619 appears to be inscribed in the chapel and 1547 has been preserved as a traditional foundation year. The door, marked on the inside 1653 and 1655, is massive. Lots of valuables were stored here, fishing gear, sails, tar etc., during the winter. The unbroken seal of the big iron key was the object of the first ceremony at the return of the fishermen in late spring or early summer. (Olle Homman 1955, from Granlund 1980)

Especially the principle of winter storage in chapels was valid for some remote boat teams. The Karlö fishermen from Finland still used the chapel at *Haparanda Sandskär* in the very north of the Bothnian Bay in the 1880s to store their newly tarred small boats before sailing home with their cargoes. In the chapel at *Rödkallen,* also in Norrbotten, hoop nets (*ryssjor*) and other large equipment were stored, even though the users were almost at home. For this reason they had made their own sea-booths too small for storage.

The third secondary function of the fishing chapels was that of sea marks. This function

was exceedingly important. On the windswept skerries, at least in the northern Bothnian, without dense vegetation to conceal them, these buildings clearly stood out against the sky and the sea. In fact, they were supposed to be remembered and also depicted exactly as they were; naval authorities discouraged any change in their appearance. Counterparts to these are, above all, churches and their towers, to some extent also windmills at the coast.[27]

The fourth function was as an assembly site. The chapel – being the only "official" or "communal" building available during the season – usually housed the meetings of the *hamnlag*, the community, which decided matters pertaining to the *hamnordning*, the regulations. Thus, it was not just the law and order preached during the services that made the chapel important for the authorities. It became itself *the symbol of social ideals* among the fishermen themselves and their families. It was usually the sound of the bell of the chapel which started everyday work and the precise moment for the rowing-out (*utrodd*).

Most medieval parish churches were donated by wealthy people, founded by and belonging either to the aristocracy or to peasantry with considerable means. Some medieval chapels seem to conform to the same pattern. For example there were the knight Erengisle Nilsson at Huvudskär fishing camp (AD 1450), and the noble family of Bielke in Kråkerum, Småland, and Torkö, Blekinge, which lived at approximately the same time. In later times there were the chapels of Nötö, Finland, founded by the countess De La Gardie in 1664 (votive), and of Väderskär (1680) in Småland, Sweden, which belonged to the aristocrats of two mansions. But for most we lack any information on the source of the chapel. Some were very likely independent creations.

In Lutheran times the fishermen themselves often established the chapels themselves. They had then to write a letter to the ecclesiastical authorities, who were responsible for the provision of clergymen even to seasonal establishments. No wonder that this was most common among the Gävle burghers in early modern times, of whom many could be expected to be literate.

Examples are the chapel at the twin harbours of *Barsviken* (*Balsviken*), or *Malviken* south of Härnösand in Ångermanland.[28] In the summer of 1758 a number of Gävle burghers applied for a permit to erect the chapel. Among these was also a woman. On 12th October 1758 the permit was given by the consistory of the diocese in Härnösand. The work was probably done by contracted carpenters in the local village. The chapel was consecrated 10th July, 1762.

The distance to the parish church is often mentioned as a good reason to apply for a chapel, especially if it was too far for the community to get back to camp the same day. Oldsters had problems getting there anyway. It was considered unworthy of divine services to be performed in a sea-booth with pungent smells of tar and rotten fish, or in the open air, although this was quite common at small sites. A famous painting by the Finnish artist Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905) gives a moving first-hand picture of an open-air service in the skerries of Nyland, Southern Finland, in the 1880s (fig. 2).

Apparently it was thought important to apply for a separate building since many of the fishermen were strangers. If there was no chapel they had to go to the Sunday service in the local parish. Strangers would have to be seated at the benches farthest back in the parish church, together with the poor. The landed farmers to whom in many cases the lease for the harbour was paid disposed of the more desirable seats closer to the altar. The strangers in this case belonged to the estate of burghers, formally and cognitively elevated above peas-

Fig. 2 Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905): Divine services in the archipelago of Nyland, Finland, 1881. The painting conveys a congenial tone emphasizing the simplicity and honesty of fishing people at the fringe of the sea of eternity. (Photo: Ateneum, Helsinki)

ants.[29] So maintenance of status may in some cases have been the mother of chapels in fishing harbours, at least in later times. All these motives would either be explicit, or to be read between the lines in applications.

It should be noted, however, that the relationship between the strangers and the local people appears to have been generally good, at least if marriages and interaction between fishermen/burghers of Gävle and coastal farmers in Ångermanland, for example, is any indication. In particular northern Ångermanland is implied, and maybe this fairly intimate and seemingly smooth relationship had to do with the absence of a local town at the time. The town of Örnsköldsvik was founded as a community (köping) only in 1846 and became a town proper only in 1897.

Finally, chapels in the skerries served as *monuments,* as did parish churches. Unlike the churches, however, they were not monuments and markers only of the authorities and the upper classes in society,[30] but also of the humble practitioners of maritime culture, and could thus be seen as signs of their common social identity.

The Graves of Strangers

The ritual demands of the people using the archipelagos were mainly two. One was the chapel as a place of regular devotion. The other was the need for a consecrated burial place. Often both went together. The chapel was normally surrounded by a round, oval or angular stone fence (Swed. *bogårdsmur;* figs. 15–16, 22–23, 25, 31, (33), 34, 36, 41, 47–48, 51–52).

It was most unusual for a chapel not to have a fence and thus probably a churchyard. A burial ground did not need to have a chapel. Usually the ground was marked by a cross or some other devotional monument.

In contemplating the latter case we should always remember that all normal burials took place at the parish church of the deceased. This was valid for fishermen and sailors as well. The fishing chapel for an exclusively local community was just an annex to its parish church. There was no need for a special graveyard at the chapel. Nor did any chapel, as mentioned before, *de origine* possess official burial rights. But it should also be noted that if a person who came from a remote place died at a fishing harbour his or her family might insist on a permanent burial in this locality instead of bringing him (or her) home after the fishing season.[31]

During the Middle Ages few dead people ended at other places than the parish churchyard. Exceptionally, there could of course have been separate mass-graves during plagues or during wars. But if we meet separate grave-yards for individuals in the archipelagos it is likely that they are *the graves of strangers,* e.g. drowned sailors who were unknown to the rest of the local community or parish. The harbour in question was also very likely a *harbour for strangers.*[32] Burials could be arranged there after a shipwreck, where perhaps the entire crew had succumbed. A ship might also have had a single crew member who had died on board in a harbour or haven and had to be disposed of immediately. The fear of contagion was always present.

How were anonymous corpses found on the beach recognized and sorted out as those of strangers? An illustration of this dilemma is found in the medieval Borgarthing law of Norway. If an unknown person *had his (or her?) hair shorn in the Nordic way* he or she could be buried in the parish churchyard, but of course in a place apart.[33]

People often feared that the anonymous dead were walking the earth. They believed, however, that *their ghosts could not pass water.*[34] This was a coherent popular belief. Any shore was thus a liminal place. This means that island graveyards for anonymous burials were preferred. In islands the shore situation was optimal. Explicitly, it concerned the tidal beach, Norwegian *flomålet*, "where the sea meets the green turf."[35] A shore that surrounded a piece of land made the opposite shores safe.[36]

Graveyards were established on islands along much frequented sea lanes, at dangerous and exposed stretches of the coast, at similar locations around islands, and in the vicinity of emergency or rest harbours or anchor roads. To be able to use such a place the burial rights had to be established. A strict delimitation and formal consecration of the area, both by way of the church, had to follow. Thus the limits laid out by a wall were absolute. No burials were allowed to take place outside of it. The wall enclosing it had to be maintained at all times.

Although temporary graves were dug and cairns built where corpses were found they were more or less illegal, always meant to be just temporary, their remains supposed later to be re-interred in such an endorsed burial place. It was believed that otherwise ghosts would haunt the site for ever. All the same it had to happen now and then that temporary burials became permanent. The need for a proper ritual was a decisive factor in death as well as in life. But, as we know from tradition and shall see later in this text, it was thought likely that even consecrated burial sites could be haunted.

A site made with some respect paid to individual graves and marked could look like fig. 4

in the following article on stone mazes. The skerry could be called *Dödman, Dödmanskär, Manskär,* "dead man's isle," just "dead man," or *Likskär,* "corpse skerry."[37] I will return to these names in connection with the stone mazes.

Introduction to the Locations of Chapels

It is supposed here that a large number of maritime chapels were built in the archipelagos of the North during the High and Late Middle Ages (14th to mid-16th centuries). This idea is justified by the fact that there was a clear economic boom in fishing. This is the period after the Black Death c. AD 1350. It is also that of strict enforcement of Lent, formally in place already since the Lateran Council of AD 1215, and a concomitant international market for fish as the most desirable food for Lent. According to medieval definitions any marine creature belonged to an extended taxonomic sphere of "fish." Thus even the meat of sea mammals like whales and seals was allowed during Lent.

The date given above has however seldom been proved at the individual sites. The overwhelming majority of the chapels preserved today were presumably built c. 1600–1850. Some may, however, be from the last part of the Middle Ages up to 1550 and the last part of the 16th century. As I have already indicated, in writing this text on chapel sites I hope to inspire more precise dating by way of dendrochronology and to encourage search for likely sites, supposedly medieval, without preserved buildings.

A comparative perspective such as this has never been attempted within this immense area.[38] Each of the countries and also the areas within them has previously been studied separately A wider perspective has clear advantages. Striking points of agreement will be discovered, especially within the areas chosen.

Most chapels were directly attached to seasonal harbours, presumably either for fishing or for shipping, and some for both. The islands I discuss in the Baltic (present day Sweden and Finland) were inhabited only during the ice-free seasons of the year. Some of those situated in Norway with ice-free waters all year could be used by a few families during winter as well, although many were exclusively seasonal. The main emphasis here, as mentioned in certain cases, starts with the coast of Norrland, Northern Sweden, and Finland. Southern Norway is covered to some extent in detail. But what is important is that my ambition is to discuss the entire Nordic area.

Some of the medieval harbours continued to be used for a long time. Their chapels may have been used, moved, reused or rebuilt far into Lutheran times. During the 17th and 18th centuries, after the Reformation, an even larger number of fishing chapels were built or rebuilt, certainly hundreds. I am most familiar with those on the Swedish northern side of the Baltic, in the middle parts of the Bothnian Sea. To a large extent these chapels have their background in long-range fishing – a kind of maritime transhumance – by burghers of Gävle and other towns in the Bothnian area, the part of the Baltic north of Stockholm, and burghers of towns situated at lake Mälaren closer to Stockholm. Some of them may have medieval roots. The town burghers' fishing expeditions were a major phenomenon in the area, with economic, demographic and cultural repercussions in early modern times.

The archipelagos of Finland have a number of chapels which seem to have a combined background of seafaring and fishing. In this case, a considerable number of sites have been

thought to be connected to islands mentioned in the earliest Baltic Sea itinerary sequence, from c. AD 1300.[39] It is true that it may be possible in several cases to show continuity from Catholic times, either at the same site or in the vicinity. These chapel sites therefore could appear to have served shipping rather than fishing. Proving this in separate cases is however an unsolved problem.

Within the borders of medieval Denmark there are few of this island type of chapel, simply because the definition of a Scandinavian archipelago does not apply here. But existing *coastal* chapel sites, probably with similar functions, have to be covered to some extent, if only for the sake of comparison.

The area, or at least parts of it, has a number of separate burial sites for drowned sailors or oral traditions of such, including cholera grave-yards from the 19th century. Some of these possibly had a chapel as well and may thus be older than the assumed purpose merely of burial would indicate. I will sketch types of indications of unknown chapel sites, such as oral tradition and place names as well as the position of these sites and their possible harbour remains, both above and under water.

There are generally many cases where oral traditions have been substantiated for churches and chapels from Catholic and later times in the North.[40] There are rich but unconfirmed traditions belonging to chapel sites in the skerries and the archipelagos or generally to the coasts of the North. Thus, it is likely that a considerable number of chapel sites have not yet been discovered.

In order to find sites as yet unexplored a number of survey methods have been set up. A very important element is place names. Their significance lies in the fact that they may indicate the ritual activity, a building or a churchyard.

Names seemingly indicating a chapel or church could refer to something resembling a church, e.g. a high spur of land that has been likened to a church tower, or a canyon, a large crack or the interior of a cave to the nave of a church. In fact, legends and fairly recent free-church practice confirm that such places may have been used for divine services. On the other hand, such genuine names may also be explained in myths and popular tradition by reference to such practices (*explanation tales*), rather than to an actual chapel.

The name elements of current interest for churchyards would be e.g. *Kyrkogårds-*, *Körrgårds-*, *Kjerrgårds-*. Mostly an island, islet, skerry or holm is indicated. Sometimes their later background may be referred to in local tradition as a special burial ground set aside for victims of cholera or other epidemics. This background may be correct, but it is obvious that the burial ground may be far earlier than that. Peter Norman, a specialist on the ancient remains of the Småland coast of Eastern Sweden, has also adopted this critical stance.[41]

Another possibility is that the chapel building is referred to, where the name element *Kapell-*[42] or *Kyrk(a)-*, *Kirke-* (normally: parish/"church") has been corrupted in same way, e.g. to *Køre-*, *Kjøre-*, *Kab(b)el-*[43] ("cable, hawser"), *Kappars-*,[44] even *Kapar-* (which would seem to mean "privateer"),[45] for example. Since these outliers of the Christian church often had to be provided with a temporary hostel for the priest (normally a parish priest) the place may have been marked out by the place name element *Präst-*, *Prest-*, *Prästhus* ("house of the priest"),[46] *Prästkammar(e)-* ("chamber of the priest") or something similar.

A place name containing a reference to a church may have had many other implications. When Edgren and Hiekkanen in 1993 made a survey of sites in Finland, the sources they used

were the same as those pointed out here, ruins and similar remains, historical sources and place names containing the element *Kapell-*.[47] However, they expressed doubt about *Kyrk-* (church) names. I agree, but I want to point out that this also could to some extent be an open question. I have myself emphasized earlier[48] that a connection could rather be sought in the *ownership* of a specific (parish) church or the *Church* as a whole, as an institution, the *road* to a church building, and at the sea as a mark of direction to such a church or its tower, where a transit line could be drawn for purposes of navigation.

Tradition may also have changed the meaning. Perhaps later tradition knew little of the background which once denoted a very simple installation, e.g. a cross for devotion, a Madonna, a crucifix or a Calvary group under a small roof.

Fig. 3 The early medieval cross of *Kvitsøy* island, probably 11th century, in the bay outside Stavanger, Western Norway. It has been surmised that the consecrated sites of these crosses were sometimes used for open-air divine services. They could be regarded as an expression of influence from the British Isles. See Birkeli 1973 and Gabrielsen 2002. (Photo: Endre Elvestad, Museum of Stavanger)

The *Kors-* ("cross") names appear to be more straightforward in their meaning. But the cross could have been a sea mark or a market cross. In my recent text on sea marks[49] I have pointed out that the first Norse term for a sea mark is *hafnarkross*, "harbour cross." On the other hand, an individual burial or a burial ground may be the background of such a cross. Cross-roads may be denoted as well. Or perhaps a ritual meaning of a toponymic "christening" of a wild and pagan coast could have been intended.[50] Religion was ever-present and permeated all aspects of social life.

There are other possibilities as well. The Norwegian archaeologist A.W. Brøgger proposed that real crosses, of stone or of wood, could have been at the focus of early medieval Christian open air divine service.[51] The parish priest Johan Støren in Trøndelag, Mid-Norway, recounts in 1774[52] a tradition that a cross, once probably under a roof, that was visible in his time, had been placed at the centre of a stone circle where services were supposed to have been held. In Vest-Agder, Southern Norway, another tradition has pointed to another cross with the same function in front of the parish church of Harkmark. There is a site called *Krossen*, the cross, in Kjerkehavn, Hidra.[53] Another example is the terrain name *Korsen* appearing at the fishing camp outskerries Nordøyan, Frelsøya and Fråholmen in Namdalen, Nord-Trøndelag, where we know for each site that divine services in chapels persisted in 1597.[54] I will return to *Korset*, with a similar meaning in Storhamn, on Agön, Hälsingland, Sweden, in the context of a poor-box. A chapel could also be called a *Korshus*, "house of the cross," e.g. in Trøndelag, Norway.[55] It appears that this designation may have meant that this chapel did not have a churchyard.[56] The place name *Korsen* above might

even be an abbreviation or reduction of *Korshus*. It should be borne in mind however, that even the Cross in an abstract, symbolic, sense is a possible devotional object, as can be demonstrated in some Latin names of *capelle non curate* enumerated in the diocese of Linköping in 1515: *Crucis in Granby, Crucis circa Husbyfjöll*.[57] Thus, they would have been called *Hel(i)ga Korsets kapell*, "The Chapel of the Holy Cross." The Cross Mass, *Korsmässan*, 14th of September (otherwise 3rd of May), was an important market in the sound of Härnön, Ångermanland, Sweden, in the 16th century (see note 28). The Cross Masses were originally celebrated as a reminder of the re-taking by the Byzantine forces of the True Cross from the Persians (Sassanids) in AD 629.

In the West after AD 1450 calvaries and crosswalks were built. These had the name *kalvarieberg*. This name has been surmised to be a specialized meaning of *Kapell-* ("chapel") names. In these installations the stages of the Passion of Christ were revived. People walked in a miniature topographic model of the Golgotha rock instead of making a regular pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The stages of this walk were usually marked by some simple roof-clad building and several crosses. Most of these calvaries were found in the centre or the peripheries of cities, e.g. in the centre of Stockholm.[58]

Secondarily the existence in the past of poor-boxes (Swed. *fattigbössa, offer-* or *hamnstock*), another phenomenon often in direct conjunction with a fishing or harbour chapel, might have been pointed out in names. Jan Brendalsmo has examples from Norwegian Trøndelag of poor boxes at chapel sites.[59] The income from the poor-boxes could have financed the maintenance of a chapel building, as was the case in later times. Apart from that, fines for offences against the regulations of the fishing camp harbour (Swed. *hamnstadga*) could be used for the same purpose.

It was recommended to place a poor-box on *Kappalön* ("Chapel Island") in the sound Marsund of Åland in 1653.[60] The same source is mentions another *offerstock* or *hamnstock*, "poor-box in the form of a log chest," for the years 1705–1706 on Signhildsskär island between Åland and mainland Sweden.[61] This island had a medieval chapel to which I will return later. In my study of Lake Vänern a number of place names with the element *Böss-* among other possible denotations meaning "(poor) box," do seem to point out sites for poor-boxes, although often without any reference to chapels.[62] On the other hand *Bösshamn* of Lurö could have some connection to the Cistercian monastery which was supposed to have existed on the island for a few years after AD 1143. It certainly worked as a church for a considerable time after that. The ruins of the church and some other buildings have been excavated fairly recently. Their later function was presumably to shelter travellers who wanted to cross the lake. This route was part of a regular ferrying system in the 17th to 19th centuries. Close to another *Bösse hamn* in Ullersundet straits was situated a small chapel dedicated to St. Catherine.[63]

Such shelters with concomitant prayer sites could be financed by a poor-box as well. At the very northern end (bottom) of the bay Modermagen or Storhamn of the island Agön, Hälsingland, is found a terrain name *Korset* (the Cross), a name I have already mentioned. According to oral tradition a poor-box had been installed here and was in active use by sailors as late as the 19th century. Poor-boxes are known in tradition from several other places along the Swedish Norrland coast, especially in rest harbours or emergency havens. To the north another one was found in Kalvsundet, sometimes called *Böss(e)hamn* as in our recent example from Lake Vänern. This haven, or sound, which is fairly well protected, is

Fig. 4 Wall-painting depicting the great Gospel catch of the fishers at Lake Tiberias, dated 1699. Barsta Chapel, Nordingrå, Ångermanland. It is very likely that it was painted by Roland Johansson Öberg, the same artist as in Ulvö Chapel (figs. 5, 51). (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1985)

between the islands Bremön and Bremö kalv, south of Sundsvall, Medelpad. However, there is so far no known connection to any chapel site in the immediate vicinity.

The Saintly Landscape

The Gospels gave a secure foundation for a special cognitive place for fishermen in the Christian world. All the Gospels record it. The meaning is that the last shall be the first, and the simplest people will be raised to the top, also from an eschatological point of view. There was thus hope for fishermen as a group. They were chosen by the Saviour himself.

The first Apostles of Jesus were the fishermen at the Sea of Galilee. Two of them were to be Evangelists, of which one, St. Peter, was later to be seen as the Leader of the Church, together with St. Paul. The first summoned were the fishing brothers Andrew and Simon Peter, some say in that order, and the other pair of brothers, James and John (Matth. 4: 18–22, Mark 1:16–20, Luke 5: 1–11). They responded as one man and without hesitation: "And they straightway left their nets and followed him" or "And they immediately left the ship and their father, and followed him."[64]

The fact that these men represented a family must certainly have appealed to the Nordic fishermen who also often operated in small teams. Luke mentions that after the intercession of Jesus so much fish entered the nets that they burst and the boats started to sink (fig. 4). This might once have been quite a potent sign to people if the boats were of the size and quality displayed by the contemporary boat wreck found at the kibbutz Genosar at the Sea (lake) of Galilee.[65] It probably represents the result of a shipwreck. The vivid description of

Fig. 5 Jesus observing the fishermen at Gennesaret in *Ulvö* Chapel, Ångermanland, by Roland Johansson Öberg 1719. The iron fish spear used on larger fish appears somewhat irregular. But on maps of the Swedish Agency of Land Survey (*lantmäteri;* founded in 1628) the symbol for a fishing camp was a fish spear of this type. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1984)

the fear of sinking in rising waves speaks for itself. The sudden and extremely violent storms on Lake Tiberias or Gennesaret were a function of the heavy down-falling (katabatic) winds to 700 ft below sea level.

St. John is the only Gospel that does not provide a fishing context for the first Apostles. On the other hand St. John has, like the others, the miraculous episode where Jesus walked on the water (John 6:16–25), combined with his quieting of the storm (Matth. 14:24–32, Mark 4: 35–41, Mark 4: 35–41, 6: 47–51, Luke 8: 22–25) and also his striking miracle of feeding 5000 people with two fishes and five loaves of bread (Matth. 14:17–21, Luke 9: 12–17, John 6:5–13). These stories must have played a large part not only in preaching but also probably in the imagery within the chapels. In the 17th- and 18th-century paintings on the walls of Northern Swedish Lutheran fishing chapels, the Saviour can be seen in some of these situations (Barsta, Nordingrå and Ulvön, Nätra, both Ångermanland, figs. 4–5).[66] Others, now disappeared, may have had similar illustrations. Undoubtedly, these texts and pictures influenced in more than one way the cognitive worlds and daily life of the summer camps of fishermen and their families. References to fishing, fishermen and fish abound in later Christian imagery. The Apostles were the *Fishers of Men*. The first Christians were called among themselves *pisciculi*, "small fish" (or maybe "small fry") in the imagery of baptism. This fish imagery is already found in writings by the church father Tertullian c. AD 150–230. The *piscina* containing the holy water means "the fish dam." The Pope as the metaphoric successor of St. Peter wears the fisher ring, the *annulus piscatoris*. The metaphor of the Trinity could be illustrated by fishermen, with three heads but only one body, called

Trinacria (also the symbol of Sicily). One of the most prominent symbols of Christ himself was a fish, Greek *ichtys*. In many cases a conflation of languages and several abbreviations have worked. The Hebrew name Jäsos, was abbreviated in Greek majuscules as IHS, but it could also be understood as an abbreviation in the Latin alphabet of *Iesus Hominum Salvator*, "Jesus the Saviour of Men." According to a late medieval acrostic *Ichtys* summarizes *Iäsos, Christos, Hyios Theou, Soter = Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour.* Fish were not doomed in the Deluge, and were permitted as food for Lent, etc.[67]

A votive silver fish hanging in a small chapel such as that of Skaga in Västergötland, Sweden, was thus not only a prayer for good catches but also a reference to the Saviour himself.[68] This was by no means a unique occurrence.

The foremost protector of fishermen in the Christian world including the North was always the Virgin Mary. This tradition carried on well into Lutheran times. In Sweden it was customary to talk metaphorically about the sea and its resources as *Jungfru Marie visthusbod*, "the store-house of the Virgin Mary," and with identical terms Scottish fishermen referred to it as *Mary's storehouse*. Other terms for a storehouse might be used in the West Nordic area, among the Norse or around the Bothnian Bay, such as *stabbur*, or *härbärge (härbre, häbbare)*, but the meaning was always the same: "The notion has been widespread among the fishermen that the sea and thereby the fish in the sea was something that belonged to the Virgin Mary, the sea was her storehouse."[69] Sites for devotion in a Catholic context could have been a Madonna in a simple shelter (perhaps called *kåve, kove;* see below) as well as a chapel of St. Mary and any maritime – or other – saint. Since archipelago chapels were small and very simple, there was seldom room for more than one altar. But effigies of other intercessors between man and God could certainly be on the timber walls.

Chapels were called after a saint, to whom they were dedicated. There could also be several saints invoked, but usually only two in the name of a chapel (Lat. *patrocinium*, Plur. *patrocinia*). Could a remembrance of the saint(s) invoked in a chapel be found in local place names? Of course, most of them were simply personal names of peasants owning this ground. Names like *St. Olof,*[70] *St. Olav,* for short *Ol/a/, Marten (Morten)* for *St. Martin, Jan* or *Jon* for *Johannes, St. John,* would be obvious choices. Another common name was that of *St. Clemens,* by its Nordic name form (s) *Klemme(n)t*. These terrain names are seldom thought of as being connected with chapels or similar places of devotion, but could very well be. And as we shall see there are many other possible saintly names.

As far as I have been able to trace in *patrocinia* (dedications) for individual churches and various preserved wooden sculptures, paintings etc., the probable maritime saints or other protectors to whom devotion was shown were those that I have listed below. It is probable that remains of their names or legends are preserved in local myths and popular and oral traditions. Their attributes and insignia may also explain archaeological material at the sites of the chapels. References in place names form one of the possible ways to locate earlier unknown medieval Catholic sites at the coast.

The Main Saints Thought to Give Various Forms of Maritime Protection in Catholic Contexts

The hierarchy of churches, from cathedrals and parish churches down to lowly chapels, corresponds in some degree to a hierarchy of saints or other holy *patrocinia*.

The saints are often, but not exclusively, symbolized and represented by ships or ship-related items. Sometimes their names are used for islands and capes, obviously to give protection at sea.[71] The saints could be thought to protect boat people in general, sailors above all, but also ship builders, merchants, fishermen, travellers like pilgrims, ferrymen, divers, light house attendants, salvage people, pilots etc.

Here, the choice of saints will necessarily be restricted to about forty-five (45). I have included a short background for most of them.[72] I will point out some examples of Nordic churches named after these saints, to show that they were known here. Of course the character of the Catholic Church and its clergy was international. The saintly world of *Legenda aurea*, The Golden Legend, of Jacobus de Voragine, a Genoese priest (1230–1298) must have been known, although the list of the saints in his stories is not exhaustive, even for the Mediterranean.[73] It is to be expected that most of the known saints were possible as *patrocinia*. There seem to be few of the less well known kind invoked in lowly archipelago chapels but surprises do occur. Since their individual festival days could be of interest to certain interpretations I have marked most of these as well:

1) St. Andrew. 30/11. Apostle and originally fisherman at Tiberias. Patron Saint of Scotland ("St. Andrew's banner").[74] Represented by a fish.

2) St. Anna (Anne). The mother of the Virgin Mary, 26/7 (often together with St. Joachim). Her name is found in the archipelago parish of *S:ta Anna(e)*, in Östergötland, Central Eastern Sweden. During the Middle Ages it was known as *S:ta Anna in scopulis* – 'of the skerries.' Her chapel is represented among chapels without a priest in 1515 (appendix). In Bornholm, Denmark, we also find the chapel of St. Anne at Sandvig.

3) St. Anthony of Padua. 13/6. Franciscan monk, 1195–1236, also known for having preached to the fish of the river Brenta near Padua. He is also the patron saint of the ship-building town of Papenburg at the river Ems in Germany.[75] Symbolized by a fish, he is represented at least by a chapel, unidentified here, *Antonii circa* in the list of 1515 (appendix).

4) St. Athanasius. 2/5. Orthodox Church Father from Alexandria, AD 293–373. The great enemy of the heresy of Arianism and exiled at least 5 times. While in Rome he introduced monasticism from the east (Egypt). During church conflicts and persecutions he escaped in a boat on the Nile. Probably not likely in the North.

5) St. Brendan (486–575). 16/5. A legendary Irish founder of monasteries, famous above all for the *Navigatio Sancti Brandani*, recounting his miraculous journey to the unknown waters of the West, the theme revived as an experiment by Tim Severin[76] in our time.[77] Could be represented by a fish. See St. Malo (St. Maclovius, below).

6) St. Christopher. 25/7. According to legend he was the giant Carrier – in the guise of a small child he bore the Christ across a river (e.g. on Gotland, fig. 6). Invoked by pilgrims, travellers, ferrymen. A picture of him was often found at the entrance of parish churches, since it was believed that merely gazing at it protected people from death during that day.[78] Near the Baltic he is particularly associated with the town of Riga, which has a large wooden statue of him, still preserved. Inland he sometimes took over the functions of St. Nicholas.[79]

7) St. Clemens. 23/11. An early Christian saint and pope. According to his legend, in AD 101, he was thrown into the sea with an anchor around his neck. He was buried in the ancient church of San Clemente in Rome. A patron of Rhine skippers and also of skippers at the Baltic, of divers, sea people in general, light houses and their attendants. Quite a likely choice for a fisherman as well. He was popular in medieval name-giving in northern Sweden, in later days not least among the Saami. *St. Clementis* church at the archipelago of Kvitsøy (Aumas = Eime?) outside Stavanger, SW Norway.

8) St. Columba (Colmkille) of Iona. 9/6. Irish saint, 6th century AD. He was invoked to get good sailing winds. Little known in the North.[80]

9) St. Erasmus. 3/6. Died c. AD 300. He is depicted with a capstan and hawser. This symbol was often misunderstood inland and was seen as a ball winder, and a new legend was developed that he was tortured before his death as a martyr. Often used as protection against lightning. He is supposed to be the name-giver of the *St. Elmo Lights* (*St. Elmo's fires* or else *Corpo Santo).* He is also associated, in Portugal for example, with the mast-tops and rigging of sailing vessels. These however, also could be associated with Peter the Martyr, below.

Fig. 6 A giant (6-metre-high) St. Christopher in the church of Vamlingbo, Gotland. There are many paintings in churches depicting the motive of the Carrier of Christ. The popular belief was that a glimpse of it preserved your life for that particular day. See Haastrup in Haastrup & Egevang (eds.) 1986: part 2 (1375–1475): Chapter 39. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1970)

10) St. Francis of Paola (1416–1507). 2/4. Franciscan hermit and founder of his order, but only in later times one of the patron saints of shipping. Probably too late for the Catholic North.

11) St. Francisco Xavier (1506–1552). 3/12. Jesuit missionary in Japan, China and India (Goa). He was later proclaimed the patron of seafarers doubling the Cape of Good Hope by the pope påve Benedictus XIV (1740–1758). Too late for the Catholic North.

12) St. Gertrud(e) of Nivelles. Died AD 664. 17/3. Patron saint of travellers, but also

Fig, 7 The ruins of the chapel of St. Hallvard on *Lauvøya*, near Horten, Southern Norway, sketched in 1850. The chapel was a votive church *(lovekirke)*, where various votive gifts were deposited by sailors, situated at an old harbour, called *Lousont* by Dutch sailors in the 16th century onwards. (From Wikander 1985)

invoked against rats, since people associated her with ships because of ship rats. In Holland it was customary to drink to her from a tankard formed like a ship before setting sail. In Sweden the temples of *S:ta Gertrud* are often the churches of German (often originally Hanseatic) congregations, e.g. in Stockholm.[81] The diocese of Linköping is listed in a tally of chapels without priests, *non curate.* In this list St. Gertrud is represented by the chapel close to the monastery of Kronobäck, not far from the coast, in Småland, Sweden (appendix).

13) St. Hallvard. 15/5. Norwegian saint, born c. 1020, protector of the city of Oslo, tried in 1043 to save a woman, was then persecuted by three men and murdered by them together with her, and thrown with a quernstone into the fiord. Associated with maritime chapels in Norway. Votive chapel for sailing men at Lauvøya, Norway (fig. 7). In Sweden often invoked together with *St. Botvid* (below): they shared certain qualities: they were both laymen, killed while performing merciful acts. Both have a comparatively local identification. They are also associated with passages in boats.[82]

14) St. Henrik (Henry). 19/1. The patron saint of Finland, a bishop of English origin, suffered martyrdom after the partly legendary Swedish first crusade across the Baltic to Finland, commanded by King Erik Jedvardsson, *St. Eric,* the patron saint of the realm of Sweden (and of Stockholm), c. AD 1150. Examples are found on altar pieces, and the cenotaph of the church of Nousis (Nousiainen) Finland (dated AD 1429). Due to his official status he is perhaps an unlikely choice for a simple fisherman. However he is pictured at

archipelago chapels in Finland, at least at Kjulo/Köyliö parish in Satakunta.

15) St. James (Jacob). 25/7. Apostle and disciple of Jesus, his corpse magically transported in a 'stone ship' (or in fact only "on a stone") to the harbour Padrón at Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, N. Spain. He is the great pilgrim, but also the patron of *La Reconquista.* The ship is sometimes illustrated in connection with this great pilgrimage site and with *la concha de Compostela*, the shell, as symbol. He is mainly known as a pilgrim in the North in the Gothic period, with a Danish wall painting as an example.[83]

16) St. Joachim, see *St. Anna (Anne).* The father of the Virgin Mary, according to late traditions, 20/3. The pair Anna and Joachim was customarily illustrated by two doves.

17) St. Johann (John) of Nepomuk. 16/5. The patron saint of Bohemia (Czechia), drowned in the Moldau (Vltava) AD 1383 (1393). A doubtful choice in Scandinavia.

Fig. 8 St. Nicolaus of Myra and Bari, with his attribute the ship, a sculpture of a Romanesque arch, secondarily placed on the 18th-century exterior of *Forshem* church, Västergötland, Sweden, dendrochronologically dated c. 1136. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1978)

18) St. Judoc (Josse). 13/12. Hermit, originally from Brittany, died 668. Patron saint of people connected with shipping, and merchants (especially English). Unusual in the North but represented e.g. in the parish church of Å, Vikbolandet, Östergötland, Sweden.

19) St. Judas (Taddeus/ Lebbeus). Apostle, missionary, together with *St. Simon* a patron saint in England for ship builders and their guilds.[84] Both together 28/10.

20) St. Julian(us). 29/1. "The Hospitalite, the Knight of the Johannites." Martyr, but from a historical point of view a mythical figure. The ship as an emblem, patron saint of ferrymen, travellers, sometimes crusaders, but even of sailors and galley slaves. Less likely in the North.

21) St. Nicholas of Myra and Bari. 6/12. Fourth century AD, Asia Minor. The ship and the anchor as emblem, often with the bishop himself as a full-length figure with his crosier. He

Fig. 9 The legendary sailing race between St. Olav and his brother Harald, who was much less a saintly character, a popular theme in medieval folklore. Wall painting, *Skamstrup* Church, Sjælland, Denmark, c. 1380. See Haastrup in Haastrup & Egevang (eds.) 1986: part 2 (1375–1475): Chapter 6. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1984)

is of course better known as S:a Claus and the foremost European patron saint for sailors and merchants/tradesmen. Often the saint of maritime cities where the principal church is devoted to him and the town seal may depict him. In the North he was only second in popularity to St. Olav. His name is found as *nikulas*, *nigulas* on rune stones, early 12th century (Sweden: U347, U631). Examples are parish churches of Ål at Esbjerg, Western Denmark and Forshem (fig. 8), Västergötland, Sweden,[85] both already from the first half of the 12th century. The two baptismal fonts with the first depiction of the stern rudder are devoted to his legend, made in the same species of sandstone from present-day Belgium c. AD 1170–80, in the church of Zedelghem close to Bruges and in the cathedral of Winchester, England.[86]

22) St. Nikon, "Repent ye", a Greek Orthodox saint. Very unlikely to be of interest in the North, at least after the severance of contacts with the East by the Mongols in c. AD 1240.

23) St. Olav, "The Eternal King of Norway." In the North *Olsmäss/Olavsöka*, 29/7. Killed in the battle of Stiklestad, Nord-Trøndelag, Norway AD 1030. The foremost Nordic patron saint for seafarers and merchants. Probably considerably more churches devoted to him in Sweden and Finland than even in Norway itself.[87] The routes to his shrine in Nidaros, Trøndelag, Norway are even a considerable part of the study of land roads in the north.[88] But also sea routes are implied. His legendary sailing-race with his brother Harald (as king called Hårdråde, killed at Stamford Bridge in AD 1066) is depicted in Skamstrup kirke, Sjælland, Denmark (fig. 9).[89]

St. Olav is so well represented in the North that it is quite likely that an isolated medieval ship illustrated in a church must be devoted to him or at least that the church must have

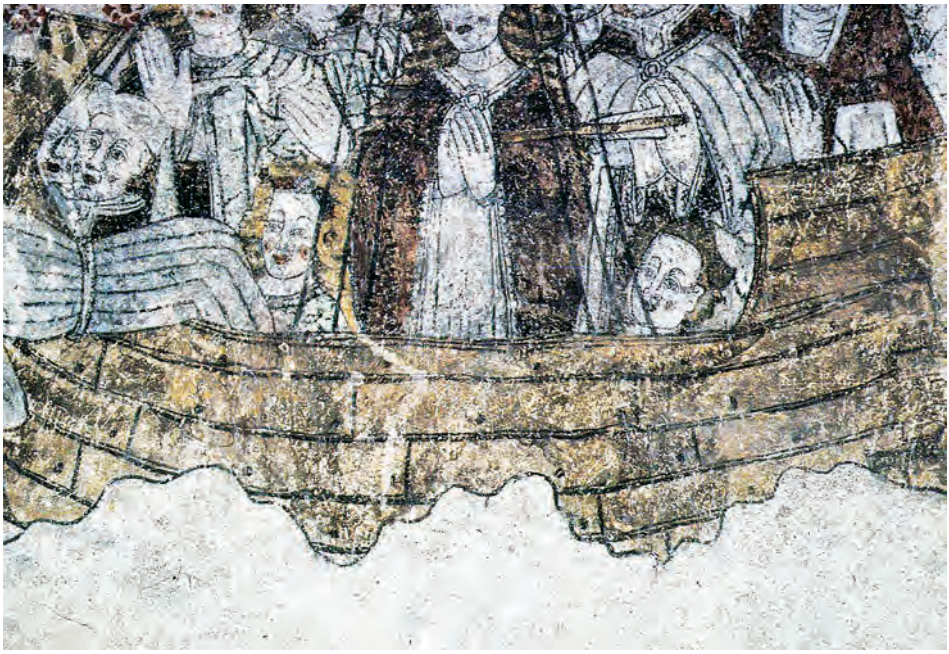


Fig. 10 St. Ursula and the 11,000 virgins being slaughtered in a ship in the Rhine at Cologne. Detail of a wall painting of *Ytterlännäs* parish church, Ångermanland, Sweden. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1983)

an altar or a chapel devoted to him. St. Olav is, like S:t Nicolaus, common on town seals and other heraldic objects. He is a very likely – and well-recorded – choice by fishing and sailing men in the North. In the list of 1515 (appendix 1) he is memorialized – and in fact still is in the name – at the island chapel of Böda, Örehamn, Öland. As we shall see he is particularly popular in harbour chapels of Gotland and Norrland, Sweden. A string of place names connects his cult with maritime sites along the Norrland coast (fig. 26). In several cases these sites are supposed in legends to have been visited by him in person. The same applies to the terrestrial sites.

24) St. Paul(us). 25/1. The Apostle Saul from Tarsus in Asia Minor, disciple of Jesus, is associated with ships because of his extensive missionary travels and in particular his miraculous rescue from a storm at Malta.

25) St. Peter (Petrus). 29/6. The Apostle. Like S:t Paul, St. Peter is associated with ships, although he was not miraculously rescued. Symbolized by a fish. Perhaps a more likely choice for a church in an urban environment.[90]

26) St. Peter the Martyr. 29/4. A Dominican monk of Verona, Italy, murdered in AD 1252. Invoked in stormy weather. See *St. Erasmus* above, sometimes associated with the St. Elmo fires as well.

27) St. Phocas of Sinope (at the Black Sea). 22/9, 14/7. A slightly mythical figure. The patron saint of sailors, in particular in the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean. His name is identical to the Greek word for a seal (the animal), which has given associations with the maritime world in general.

28) St. Simon. Apostle, missionary, suffered martyrdom together with *St. Judas (Taddeus/Lebbeus*-above), and was with him the patron saint of ship builders, often depicted holding a ship.[91] Both together 28/10.

29)–30) St. Thomas of Canterbury and *the apostle St. Thomas.* Thomas the saint, *St. Thomas Beckett,* is often depicted sitting in a ship. This is supposed to remind us of his courageous return from his exile in France, after which he was murdered in the cathedral of Canterbury before New Year's Eve in AD 1170 (29/12). His feast day may also have been 21/12. The first depictions still show a ship with a side-rudder, see above on *St. Nicholas.* He could at this time be invoked at ship yards.[92]

He should, however, not be confused with the Apostle *St. Thomas, doubting Thomas,* who was supposed to have travelled to India as a missionary. Also 21/12. A rune stone of c. 1200 mentions *tomas.* There is a painting of him in the church of Sønder Jernløse in Själland, Denmark (dated c. 1125–50). That he has a ship as a symbolic attribute is probably due to the fact of his being associated with the Augustine monks of nearby Eskildsø, later of Æbelholt.[93]

31) St. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins. 21/10. The princess Ursula tried to avoid being married to a pagan Hunnish king. According to an obscure legend her martyrdom and that of her followers took place on board a fleet in the harbour of Cologne and was perpetrated by Huns. Virgins martyred there are mentioned in an inscription from c. AD 350–450 in Cologne. This story is well known in all Nordic medieval calendaries. Examples: a wall painting in the church of Ytterlännäs, Ångermanland, Sweden (fig. 10), and the famous altar case of Hans Memling in Bruges, Belgium. She is associated with some maritime myths, e.g. to that of *St. Sunniva* of Selje, Western Norway, which will have a particular place in this text (below).

32) St. Vincent (de Paul). Earlier 19/7, now 27/9. The ship as emblem. A patron saint of sailors and galley slaves. Probably unlikely in the North.

33) St. Vincentius. 22/1. Died in AD 304. The arch-martyr of Spain, the patron saint of Portugal. For sailors etc. Probably unlikely in the North.

The fish as an attribute was used in connection with *Sts. Botvid, Brendan, Maclovius (St. Malo of Brittany), Peter, Andrew, Elizabeth of Thüringen* and *Anthony of Padua,* who was supposed, as we have already seen, to have preached to the fish of the river Brenta. Of course there are several others, e.g. *San Zeno* of Verona, but they are presumably too remote in this context.

Here is a short description of the three saints hitherto unmentioned in this text:

St. Botvid, a local saint of Södermanland, Sweden. 28/7. He went to England and returned as a Christian missionary. At home he liberated one of his thralls, who was a prisoner of war from the lands of the West Slavonic peoples and was murdered by him on the island Rågö around AD 1080 while trying to repatriate him by boat to the other side of the Baltic. His relics were later transferred to the church of *Botkyrka (Botvidskyrka)* where a large stone church was built in 1176. It is commonly believed that the magnificent Romanesque stone coffin from his church with a runic inscription for a certain Björn was that of his brother. His attributes were an axe and a fish (fig. 11).[94] The axe signifies his death and the fish refers to an episode of his *vita,* his miraculous catch of fish in an inland lake. He ought to have been a suitable *patrocinium* for a fishing chapel on the east coast of Sweden, Curiously enough there is no such known, but a possibility will be discussed below.

Fig. 11 The figure of a priest displaying the usual attributes of St. Botvid, with a fish and an axe. St. Botvid was, however, a layman. Detail of a 12th-century monumental burial chest at Husaby, Västergötland, Western Sweden. This is far from the core area of St. Botvid iconography in the east, if it is correctly interpreted, and may in this case have carried a particular significance at this church site. Trotzig 1987.

St. Malo or *St. Maclovius.* 15/11. He was born c. AD 520 in Wales but later went to Brittany. According to legends he was a seafarer and follower of *St. Brendan.* His relics were later robbed and kept in the town of S:t Malo.

St. Elizabeth of Thüringen (1207–1231). 19/11. She was a pious countess, daughter of the Hungarian king.

There are many other maritime saints, however not of much current interest for devotion in the Catholic North. Among these are the saints of the Rhine, *Sts. Werenfrith, Maternus, Lubentius* and *Arnul.* According to legends they were miraculously transported after death on the river against the current but without any propulsion. On the peninsula Teelin in Ireland Mary and three saintly women, etc.[95] were invoked.

On the other hand, according to Alain Cabantous, it can be shown that in recent times the local saints and saints without any specific maritime connection, were important in Catholic fishing milieux of France and Flanders.[96] There were 26 in the northern part of the current area, that is, 6% of the patron saints of the parishes were maritime in nature. Devotions to the Virgin made up 21, 7%, but to local saints as much as 40%. In Brittany devotions to the maritime saints were only 5, 8%, those to the Virgin 11.5%, to local saints 4.3% and to others 40.4%. But in the medieval Catholic North there were uncommonly few local saints. Besides, we are concentrating our attention here on the small archipelago chapels to which there is almost no counterpart in France. Their patron saints are connected to the parish churches.

Therefore in the list from AD 1515 of *capelle non curate* (without priests) of the diocese of Linköping,[97] mentioning only sites on the coast of the mainland and on Öland, but not

in Gotland, and in other material later presented, we find dedications to, apart from some expected, also to *St. Barbara, St. Bartolomew, St. Botolf, St. Birgitta* (St. Bridget of Vadstena), *St. Gertrud, St. Canute* (*St. Knut*), *St. Clara, St. Elof (St. Elav), St. John the Baptist, St. Lawrence, St. Margaret, St. Otto, St. Sigfrid* and *St. Stephen*. In the following remarks I digress slightly in order to discuss these saints:

St. Barbara. 4/12. Martyred in exceeding pain in AD 303 or 306 in Nicomedia, Asia Minor. She is one of the main helpers, and the protector of the dying. She is associated in a rather far-fetched way with a large number of crafts. One of the three holy virgins, together with *St. Margaret* and *St. Catherine of Alexandria*. Chapel in Gräsgård, Öland mentioned in 1515 (appendix), dedicated to her together with St. Stephen.

St. Bartholomew. 24/8. One of the Apostles, a great missionary traveller, according to legend he was martyred in Armenia by being skinned alive. Patron of several crafts, he is often, strangely enough, associated with leather crafts. His day is associated with fishing chapels in Norrland, Sweden. See note 28.

St. Birgitta, St. Bridget of Vadstena (1303–1373). Until 1969 the day of her death was dated 8/10, but is now 23/7. St. Birgitta is the foremost patron saint of Sweden (and in fact also of Europe), and founder of the Birgittine monastic order, which has a great following in the North. She is memorialized by two chapels in the list of 1515: *Beate Birgitte* close to Motala at Lake Vättern, and in Sikavarp harbour of Öland (Appendix 1), still called *S:ta Britas kapell* (fig. 36). In fact it seems obvious that she superseded her namesake, *St. Brigida (Bridget) of Kildare*, Ireland, at least in some places.[98]

St. Botulf or *St. Botolph*. 17/6. St. Botolph was a foremost Anglo-Saxon abbot saint, who died in AD 680, and was quite popular in England. In the North he is mainly found in ecclesiastical contexts in Denmark. But the gilded *antemensale* of Broddetorp, Västergötland, Sweden, mentions his relics. The name *Botolf* is already found on a Swedish rune stone (N235). Chapels at Kråkerum (also including Pata Chapel) and Gränna, both in Småland in 1515 (below, appendix). Markets on his day.

St. Clara (1194–1253). 12/8. Born in Assisi, Italy, founder of the Clarissians' Convent order, associated with the Franciscans. Invoked in illness (of a feverish kind) and associated with some crafts. Nowadays she is also considered the saint of television! Her chapel existed before the monastery at Torkö Island, Blekinge, S. Sweden.

St. Elof (Elav). A local saint of Öland, chapel at Borgholm mentioned in 1515 (appendix). No details of him are known.

St. John the Baptist, Johannes Baptista. The *Nativitas Jo(h)annis Baptistae* feast, 24/6. A predecessor and baptist of Jesus himself, one of the patrons of Sweden and Finland. Often represented by his head on a dish, since he was decapitated by king Herodes Antipas, and by the Lamb with the Banner of Victory, the arms of Gotland. The fishermen's' chapel on Southern Öland, recorded in 1515, (appendix) and *Beati Johannis* close to the important town of Söderköping (the same ref.) were dedicated to him. The early wall paintings of the royal Danish parish church of Jelling, Jutland, dated c. 1080–1100, depict his story.[99]

St. Knut or *St. Canute*, Danish king killed with his followers in the church of St. Alban in Odense, Denmark on 13th January, 1086, which is his day. In about 1300 he was replaced by the other Knut for the guilds (below).

St. Knut Lavard was a Danish duke and pretender to the throne, murdered 7/1 1131 and canonized in 1170. Kings belonging to his powerful family sped his elevation. More than

47 Knut guilds are known in Denmark. Some are found in Sweden as well (7), presumably mostly serving Danish merchant needs. The chapel at the fort Gråborg in Öland, now in ruins, was dedicated to him (appendix).[100]

St. Lawrence, 10/8, according to his legend he was martyred in AD 258 by being put on a heated gridiron, with which he is depicted. A very popular saint, and available for many purposes, of which none has anything particularly to do with the sea.[101] However, in the list of 1515 (appendix) he is associated with a chapel on Visingsö, an island in Lake Vättern, Southern Sweden, and by another in the maritime town of Söderköping in Östergötland.

St. Margaret. 20/7. From Antiokia in Pisidia, Asia Minor. Martyred under the emperor Diocletian in AD 304. She helped in childbirth, was a protector of farmers etc. One of the holy virgins, together with *St. Barbara* (above) and *St. Catherine of Alexandria.* Chapel in Bjärby, Runsten, on Öland, in 1515 (appendix).[102]

St. Otto. 9/4. St. Otto was bishop of Bamberg in Germany, and the missionary saint of Pomerania, Chapel in 1515 at Högby, NE coast of Öland (appendix).

St. Sigfrid. 15/2. At the turn of the century 1000 he was supposed to have been the *hird* bishop of King Olav Tryggvason of Norway, but later went to Sweden. He is associated with the see of Växjö, Southern Sweden, and the baptism of the first Christian king of Sweden, Olof Eriksson Skötkonung. His attributes are the three heads of his own nieces in a vat, which he was supposed to have seen as stars on the water of the lake Helgasjön at Växjö. Chapel in 1515 at Hagby in Möre, on the mainland S. Kalmar, SE Sweden (appendix).

St. Stephen, the Protomartyr. 27/12 (in the east also 2/8). The first Christian martyr was stoned to death early in the first Christian century by a Jewish mob led by Saul, later *St. Paul(us)*. Depicted in the late 13th century at the famous parish church of Dädesjö, Småland. Wall paintings in Højby and Kongsted on Sjælland, Denmark.[103] Associated with a legend concerning Stephen and king Herod of Judaea. This legend, in which several previous accounts come together, tells that a slaughtered cock was miraculously brought to life crowing *Christus natus est.* The legend of the miracle of the cock is found in the first half of 12th century stone sculpture in Skara cathedral and also illustrated on the contemporary *antemensale* of Broddetorp, both Västergötland, Sweden. In popular dramas and ballads he was either one of the shepherds at Bethlehem or a groom and protector of horses, with which he (Staffan) is particularly associated.[104] Chapel dedicated to him, together with *St. Barbara*, in Gräsgård, Öland in 1515 (appendix).

In the province of Hälsingland there was a second Scandinavian Stephen, *Stefan*, a missionary bishop, probably identical to *Stenfin(n)*, mentioned by Adam of Bremen already about 1080 (but not as dead). According to persistent and credible local traditions he was martyred at the village of Själstuga and buried at the church of Norrala. If this story is true he was one of the earliest true Scandinavian martyrs. Even in late Protestant times, during the late 18th century, his grave, *Hille Bror Staffans stupa*, was venerated and a stone house, still standing, was built on the spot. Later I will mention him as connected with possible medieval chapel sites in the prominent foreland of central Hälsingland, called Hornslandet, a former island.

Finally, an important pilgrimage spring existed in Denmark with a chapel devoted to an obscure *Helena (Lene)*, possibly a version of the local saint, *St. Helena* (or *Elin*) of Västergötland, Sweden.[105] I will return to this site because of the story connected with it.

I should mention also that the patriarch *Abraham* is invoked for the chapel at Aspö in

Finland. A woman saint, of whom we will hear more later, *St. Thora*, with a consort and brother, *St. Arild*, elsewhere unknown, was invoked at Torekov and Arild in Skåne,. The chapel of *St. Albert* on Ærø in Denmark was dedicated to the bishop of Prague, the patron saint of Poland, *Adalbert*, Slavic Wojciech, martyred among the pagan Prussians in the inland parts of the delta of the Weichsel (Wisła) in AD 997, the same year that *Gedanum* (Danzig, Gdańsk) is mentioned for the first time.[106]

The Views and the Realities of the Church

I will present here a general idea to explain why the Catholic Church was attracted to the coastal sites for preaching. The views of the Catholic Church, especially in the British Isles[107] have been admirably summarized by the maritime archaeologist Joe Flatman and I quote him:[108]

"*Fresh* water (and by default springs, streams, rivers and lakes) in medieval Christian literature and the arts is entirely associated with positive connotations, including life, birth and baptism, sustenance and redemption; in contrast, *salt* water (and by default the seas and oceans) is usually associated with, or directly analogous to, some of the most negative of connotations and/or marginality in the available sources. Under such circumstances, brackish water – the meeting of 'good' and 'bad' water, especially in the intertidal zone – is morally questionable and the intertidal zone an undeniable liminal space of spiritual as well as physical conflict.

Examples of the positive connotations of fresh water abound in the bible and biblical commentaries; examples of the negative connotations of salt/sea water are similarly legion, and this ambiguity is reflected extensively in surviving iconography. There is also allied evidence of the wish to 'control' an otherwise marginal and unconstrained environment, such as the Church focus on laws of the sea, and the provision of coastal lights, chantries and chapels.

On the basis of the theological context outlined above, medieval monastic communities , as informed more broadly by the entire medieval Church perceived of the seas and oceans at best as akin to deserts, at worst as the realm of Satan, and thus at the forefront of the battle between Christianity and the devil. This places zones like the coastline, especially intertidal, brackish-water mudflats, at the spiritual battlefront – the literal boundary between 'good' (land, fresh water) and 'evil' (sea, salt water). Witnessing the daily rise and fall of the tides in such a location against the rhythm of the monastic cycle of daily prayer and meditation, exposing and then covering the foreshore, was a deeply spiritual event for medieval Christianity. So too would have been the physical hardships of exploiting such a zone – the discomfort, cold and dirt, as best expressed in the numerous monks and saints (most famously St. Cuthbert) reputed to have stood praying for hours at end while fully or partially immersed in lakes, rivers or the sea. Foreshores and tidal rivers such as those of the monastic communities discussed here, with a high tidal range, are extremely powerful liminal places."

The liminal quality of the shore and the islands (although there is no tide in our area) is one of the themes which I will explore further on in this text. It is surmised that the dualism of sea and land is a recurring feature in maritime cultures, especially of the North, and

of a "cosmological" or structural character. If so, its roots could be assumed to be parallel to Catholic times and Catholic thinking, but also to go far beyond these.

This liminal theme of tide and shore may appear unexpectedly in saints' vitae or legends such as that of St. Malo, Maclovius, who once fell asleep at low tide at the beach and was found floating, still asleep, at high tide without being wet, thus avoiding the evil salty waters!

On the other hand, as mentioned, for the church and its component parts: the local priests, the monasteries and the dioceses, the bishops and other dignitaries, there were certainly economic motives for being near the sea. There were profits to be had though shipping, ship building, shipwreck and salvaging, piloting, the erection of sea marks, fishing and the ownership of maritime facilities at sea. Besides, members of the mendicant orders, Franciscan and Dominican friars, could be sustained by preaching and begging for food and lodging in fishing milieus, seasonal fishing camps etc.[109] These motives were adapted to the theological views of the Church and its famous saints.

Approximately the same motives may apply in Protestant times, but sometimes the initiative for a certain chapel may have come from the fishermen and, presumably also from the sailors, themselves, as we can see above. The income, if there was one, would in any case go to the parish, the parson or the bishop.

Northern Sweden

From 1975 to 1982 I made a one-man maritime archaeological survey of the coastline starting at the border of Finland in the north down to Stockholm.[110] I made frequent visits to fishing camps for interviews and visited chapels as well.

To clarify the situation I should describe regular parish churches at the very north of the Bothnian coast. All the present stone churches were built as late as the period c. 1480–1520, just before the Reformation.[111] They were presumably preceded by wooden churches. Any medieval chapel in the skerries must have been wooden, like those which still exist.

There are considerably fewer archipelago chapels known in the northernmost Swedish provinces Norrbotten and Västerbotten than further south in Norrland, e.g. Ångermanland and Hälsingland. This is true for the corresponding part of Finnish Österbotten as well. One reason is the profound effects of the land upheaval on this very shallow coast. Remains have lost their relationship to the sea, been obliterated and maybe forgotten. The existing chapel sites also seem to be more recent than the other more southerly ones. A knowledgeable author like Kjell Lundholm believes one can find some remains from the Middle Ages,[112] but none are so far known.

It should be noted that this area, especially the northernmost archipelago, has the richest concentration of stone mazes in the North. Is this just coincidence? Stone mazes are found elsewhere, along the southern coast and in Finland, but more sparsely, although with certain exceptions, i.e. local clusters. I will return to this subject.

The chapel at *Haparanda Sandskär* in the parish of Nedertorneå is the closest to the Finnish border. It was originally a fairly large timbered parish store-house which was moved a little before AD 1800 from Björkö at Torneå, nowadays in Finland. There is no formal churchyard but at least two individual 19th-century graves exist. The island had a fishing camp visited during the summer by fishermen both from the present Swedish side

Fig. 12 The elegant bourgeois rococo chapel of the isolated fishing camp on the island *Malören*, Norrbotten, northernmost in Sweden. It was built on the initiative by burghers of Torneå in 1770, and has almost a twin on Maakalla in Kalajoki and Nötö, Finland. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1976)

and from Hailuoto (Swed. Karlö), the large island outside of Oulu (Uleåborg). Today Sandskär is part of a Swedish National Park.

At *Malören*, parish of Nederkalix, which is a low lagoon-like out-skerry further south, the chapel is more sophisticated than the one described above, a beautiful octagonal building of bourgeois rococo character (fig. 12). It was built by Torneå burghers in 1770, and has almost a twin at *Maakalla* in Kalajoki, built in 1780, and in the south on *Nötö*, built already in 1756, on the Finnish side. At this time the fishing camp here was the largest and also the most isolated in the north. There could have been at least 200 boat crews at times, from both sides of the inner Bothnian. In 1789 Abraham Hülphers points out[113] that the chapel serves as a better sea mark than an earlier wooden beacon in this shallow environment. Today the light-house, built in 1851, is the most prominent point.

The island *Renskär*, parish of Nederkalix, had a large fishing camp where a chapel was built in the 1720s. This building disappeared late, probably around 1800.[114] Luleå burghers and peasants of the parish shared this camp. This area had several large camps but it seems that only a very few ever had a chapel. In the case of Renskär the peasants later moved to *Likskär*, where there is no known chapel, although there are extensive other remains.

In the archipelago of Luleå there is a fishing chapel on *Rödkallen*, dating from the 1790s, the camp being shared by local burghers, local parishioners and Finnish fishermen from Karlö (Hailuoto) in Finland, see Malören further north.[115] *Småskären*, with a chapel from the 1720s, was used by fishermen from the town of Luleå, and the same applies in part to *Brändö-Uddskär*, where the chapel was built in 1774. All belong to the parish of (Neder)luleå.

In northern Västerbotten there is a later chapel on *Pite-Rönnskär*.[116] This harbour was used by Piteå burghers in present-day Norrbotten, as can be seen from its name. As at Malören the chapels of Rödkallen and Pite-Rönnskär operated as efficient sea marks. Light-houses were erected in 1872 and 1905, respectively. These islands were also pilot stations.

Fishing, of herring mostly, was extremely important for a maritime town like Luleå. It was not just a household requirement. The Bothnian trading requirements were introduced in earnest in AD 1636. Export from the Bothnian cities was allowed only by way of the capital.[117] This meant a decline for many cities. It is interesting to note that this decline had an

effect on church art in this area, which is farthest from Stockholm. The renaissance of the early 1600s was retarded and its characteristics were still dominant during the 18th century in fishing chapels like that of the burghers at Småskären. Further south the later baroque and rococo styles flourished at the same time.[118]

Fig. 13 Foundation of the purportedly "monastic" building on a former island, *Klosterholmen*, called *Bure kloster*, in Bureå, Västerbotten, Northern Sweden, regarded as such already in the early 17th century. This could not be a chapel itself, but such a facility must have existed in the vicinity. The dating is early 16th century. An outpost of the Franciscan order? If anyway related to the sailing route a connection may have existed to Jungfruhamn at Bjuröklubb (figs. 43–45; at the top of fig. 44). (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1976)

Another fishing camp used by Piteå burghers was *Skötgrönnan* in Bureå, south of Skellefteå. Accordingly it was also called *Pitgrönnan.* Here are extensive remains of the camp but none of the chapel, although reliable records of it exist.[119]

The name *Kapellskäeret,* "the chapel skerry," is found as a place name both at Boviken and at Frostkåge close to Skellefteå. This name is an example of a place name which may indicate the previous existence of a chapel. Nothing has survived of traditions or remains, but both names occur on 17th-century maps.

In the south lies *Gräsviken* in the northern part of the parish of Lövånger, where Finnish burghers once had their camp. Its chapel has been moved to the local museum in Bureå. The harbour has now entirely dried out due to the strong land upheaval. The locality is marked on the map from 1661 (fig. 50).

In the village of Bureå are found remains of a small ecclesiastical construction, called *Bure kloster* or just *Klostet*, "the monastery" (fig. 13). It is situated on a spur of what was once an island, called *Klosterholmen.* Johannes Bureus mentions the site and its name already in the first half of the 17th century.[120] It seems to date from the early 16th century (on the basis of a beer tap find).[121] It has been speculated whether a Franciscan outpost, a *grangie,* could have been here. Another probable outpost is known on the island Vätö north of Stockholm.[122] Another possibility is that this *Klostet* could have been a *terminar* house, more like a simple hostel. Maybe one existed on this site before the Franciscan friary was established on Kökar, Åland, apparently along the same sea route as Vätö, to Finland.[123]

There are several local traditions in the North about what have been called *kloster,* that is, monasteries, convents or friaries. Christian Lovén has used traditions from the 17th and 18th centuries to suggest some functions similar to those of monastic establishments or rather of their outposts. Apart from the sites at Bureå and Vätö is the ruin at Björnö stenhus (stone house), Mönsterås, Småland, in the far south.[124] Jan Brendalsmo has reached the same conclusion concerning such a tradition in Norway. Unusual details have

Fig. 14 Tracing the remains of a chapel at *Orrskär* churchyard, Holmön archipelago, Västerbotten, Sweden. The author in the foreground. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1999)

been transmitted concerning a site in Grytting, Trøndelag, Norway. Parts of the timbered – apparently originally three-story – building were described in the 18th century as a possible *selehus,* or *sælohus,* a hostel or a shelter.[125]

In the Scandinavian countries actual monasteries were exceedingly rare outside medieval cities and dense agrarian settlements. In Finland are also found remains of the same kind, often located close to a church, in some cases a parish church which is then thought originally to have been a "monastery." It could also be theorized that the building of a monastery had been begun but never finished.[126] Maybe some or all of these actually were *sælohus?*

I mention only in passing the interesting but enigmatic site *Jungfruhamn,* at Bjuröklubb, Lövånger parish. Because of its particular interest (figs. 47–49) I will discuss it in another section. Close to this site there is a later chapel in the most recent fishing camp, on *Bjurön.*[127] (fig. 50, map from 1661). In the bay *Blackefjärden* in the southern part of Lövånger there was a maritime chapel mentioned in 1731, but no information on it

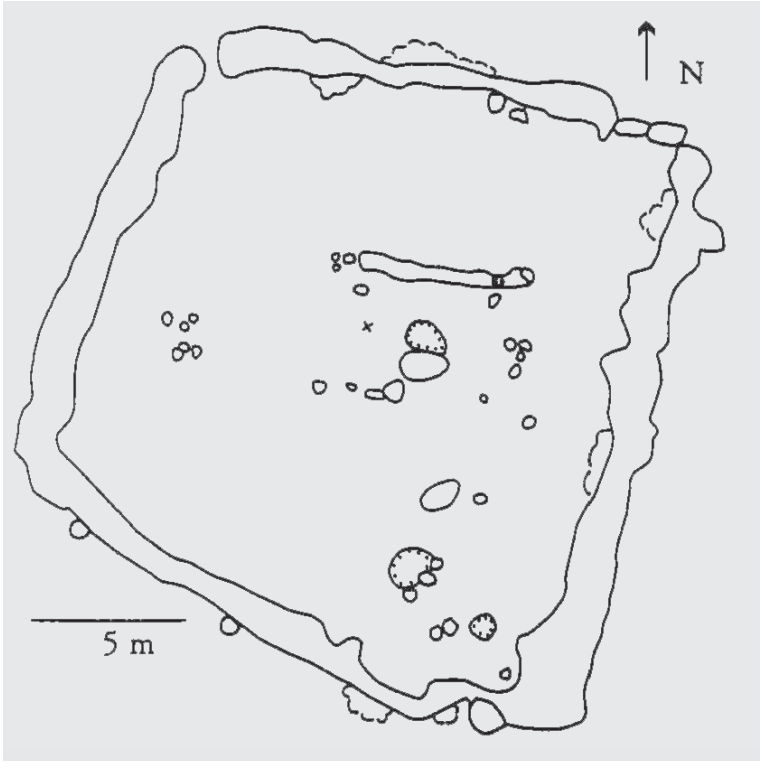


Fig. 15 Plan of the churchyard, *Orrskär,* Holmön. The finding spot for the late medieval coin is marked with a cross. (After Huggert 2004)

Fig. 16 The churchyard of *Orrskär* (see fig. 15). (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1999)

exists.[128] Another was built on the island *Stora Fjäderägg* further south, and north of the archipelago of Holmön.[129]

The next chapel is on the mainland of Holmön, which belongs to the parish of Sävar, north of Umeå. This island has been occupied by farmers and/or fishermen since the Middle Ages. During the 16th century three to five permanent settlers were registered. The present, fairly recent, church of the community replaces the annex church of *Helena Elisabeth*. Like Malören or Kalajoki this is an octagonal or rhombic wooden church from 1802, which has been moved to the regional museum in Umeå.

In the forest south from the recent church of Holmön there are remains of what was probably a medieval chapel within a stone wall of 12 x 20 m, to be understood as a churchyard (figs. 14–16). It is called *Orrskärs* (or possibly *Öskärs*) *kyrkogården*. Its maritime significance is obvious. The site is close to a waterway, now closed, which would have been excellent for shipping during the Middle Ages. Oral traditions mention Gotlanders (!), who were supposed to have been fishing around the islands long ago. These remains were supposed to be in some way connected to them. Recently Anders Huggert – because of the lucky find of a coin, Sten Sture d.ä. (the Elder), ½ örtug, Västerås 1470–1503[130] – was able to date these remains as late medieval.

It could be that a medieval chapel once stood on the island of *Snöan* in Nordmaling parish south of Umeå. At least this is a reasonable supposition. The present chapel was built in 1819. There are extensive remains of a fishing camp and unusual number of stone mazes (9) to be found on a single island. Lichenometric readings indicate that the harbour has been used since the 15th century.[131]

The next site is on the mainland in the parish of Grundsunda, Ångermanland, but in a location not unlike an archipelago, apparently cut off by water from land communications. A small isthmus called *Kyrkedet* separates it from the land inside. Possibly this wetland was passable by water during the Middle Ages (fig. 17). This former inner waterway continues in another narrow isthmus, which is called Skede.[132] The site itself is called *Kyrkesviken*, "church bay."[133] There are several house foundations and the ruin of a chapel. Excavations during the 1930s and resumed at the end of the 1980s have revealed a settlement from the 13th century, which may have existed for another hundred years.

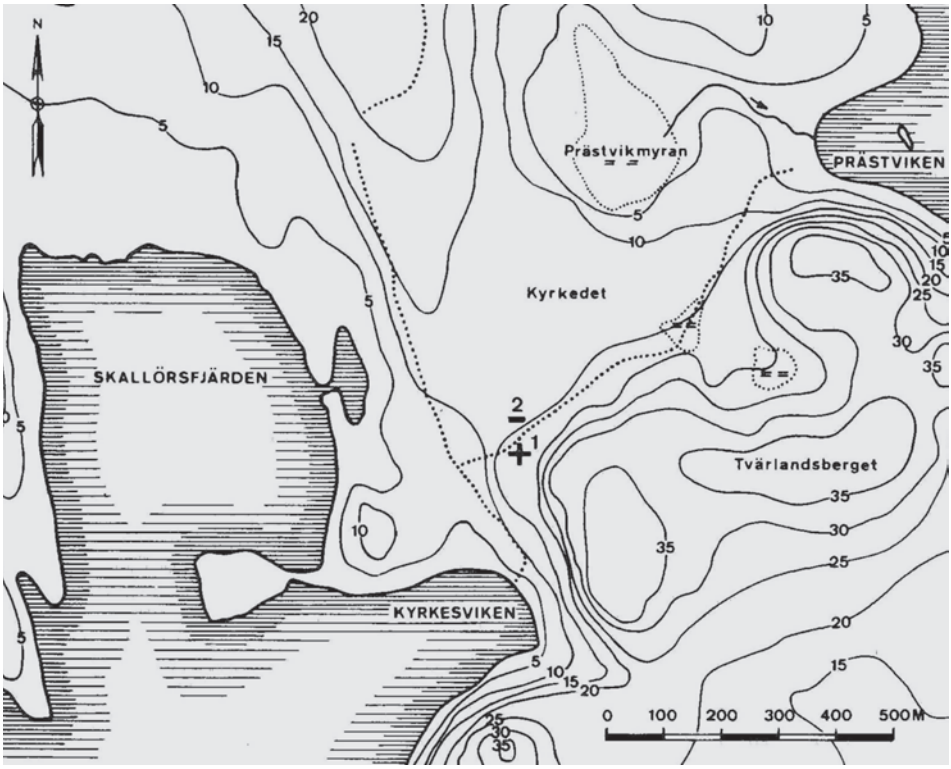


Fig. 17 The chapel site of *Kyrkesviken*, Grundsunda, Ångermanland, Sweden (see figs. 18–19). The cross marks the chapel foundation. The settlement remains are nearby. The present wetland isthmus of Kyrkedet may have been under water during parts of the Middle Ages. As we can see several place names with the first element *Kyrk-* and *Präst-* are found. On the hill Tvärlandsberget is a spiral laid of stones, to connect with the following section on stone mazes. (After Huggert 1976)

Some finds were rather unexpected in an environment where fishing, hunting and small-scale animal husbandry must have been dominant. Especially interesting is a silver finger ring with a cross, of a type that is known in Sweden only in Cistercian monasteries in the south.[134] Tradition mentions the names of a number of peasants who built the church, and indicates that this site was that of the first parish church of Grundsunda. This however is very doubtful. Possibly the chapel or church was never completed, although it was used as one[135] (figs. 17–18). It is significant that there is no churchyard marked by a fence, or any burial sites. The present stone parish church was built in the 14th century in the village a little further north, probably a much more central location for the other settlements of the parish.

The southern part of the area I have covered along the Swedish Bothnian coast, "the High Coast," is now a World Heritage Site. Here there are a larger number of fishing chapels than there are in the north.[136] For my purpose I will examine only the chapels of the remote town burghers, often called *gävlebohamnar.* Any others I will mention in passing, if need arises.

In most of the larger fishing harbours in the province of Hälsingland (adm. County of

Gävleborg) and the administrative county of Västernorrland, wooden chapels are preserved from the 17th and 18th centuries. Almost all of those which have chapels were founded by town burghers from the south, especially people from Gävle. This town was founded or at least received its first privileges around 1446 as the first and only medieval town of the Norrland coast. In 1557 the town got its privileges for the coast of Southern Norrland. The crown granted fishing privileges to Stockholm in AD 1436 and to Trosa in AD 1454.[137] Documentary evidence of fishing activities also includes the town of Östhammar, where conflicts had arisen with the local villagers of Singö in the archipelago of Uppland 1484 and with those of Juni in Medelpad much further north in 1477.[138] The phenomenon of remote fishing is thus known in a piecemeal way from the 15th century. It is probable however that there was remote fishing, mainly local, earlier in the medieval period but perhaps without regulations of the kind introduced at *Huvudskärs hamnfiske* south of Stockholm in 1450. The archaeological evidence points to a great upsurge of herring fishing during the middle of this century, but also this evidence appears to be restricted.

Fig. 18 The chapel foundation at *Kyrkesviken* (see figs. 17, 19). (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1976)

Fishing burghers from many other towns later used the Norrland fisheries, such as those of Lake Mälaren, from Strängnäs, Uppsala, Västerås, Arboga, Torshälla, Mariefred, Södertälje and those of Roslagen, just north of Stockholm, the coastal front of Uppland, with the towns Östhammar and Öregrund. All were originally founded in the Middle Ages. A later town, founded in 1622, with interests in Norrland was Norrtälje, also in Roslagen. The chapel supposed to be the oldest in Norrland, at Bergön in Hälsingland (figs. 20–21), has traditionally been ascribed to fishermen from Norrtälje. Since, however, this chapel is supposed to have been built in the 1530s – or even about 1450 according to persistent tradition – the attribution could not be to the town, but only to fishing people from the area around Täljeviken bay, where the town was later placed. Perhaps there is nothing unreasonable in the attribution after all. In the 1570s this was a lively market area with a wide

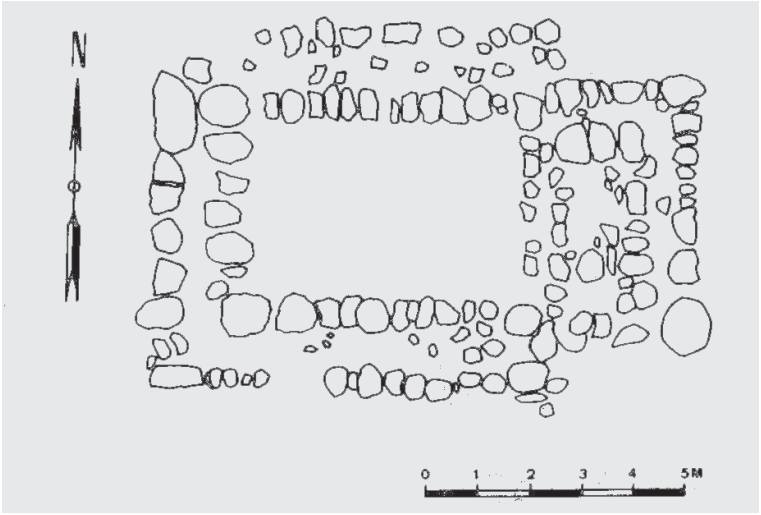


Fig. 19 Plan of the chapel foundation at *Kyrkesviken* (see figs. 17–18). (After Huggert 1976)

Fig. 20 Interior of the chapel at *Bergön* in Hälsingland, Sweden (see fig. 21), according to traditions founded by Norrtälje fishermen in AD 1535. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 2006)

network of contacts. Burghers of Norrtälje were also recorded as active further north in the later part of the 17th century in Ångermanland, particularly at the fishing camps of Ulvön and Bönhamn.

But it is only a minority of all known so-called *gävlebo-hamnar*, in total about 100,[139] which still has or is known to have had a chapel. Some of these camps may have been larger than we imagine today. There are several chapels which have disappeared, e.g. that of the island *Iggön* in Gästrikland (adm. county of Gävleborg), not far from Gävle, recorded for the last time in 1544. This could mean that it was the first recorded fishing chapel erected by Gävle burghers, apart from the chapel in the town itself, torn down in 1560.[140] At this time King Gustav Vasa gave the fishing privileges along the coast to the Gävle burghers. Two other early chapels which are of supposedly local background but have now disappeared are found, one at *Arnön* in Hälsingland,[141] and one (probably) also at *Prästhus(hamn)* in Ångermanland.[142] These two were situated in maritime surroundings but also integrated into the agrarian landscape. They do not change the general picture.

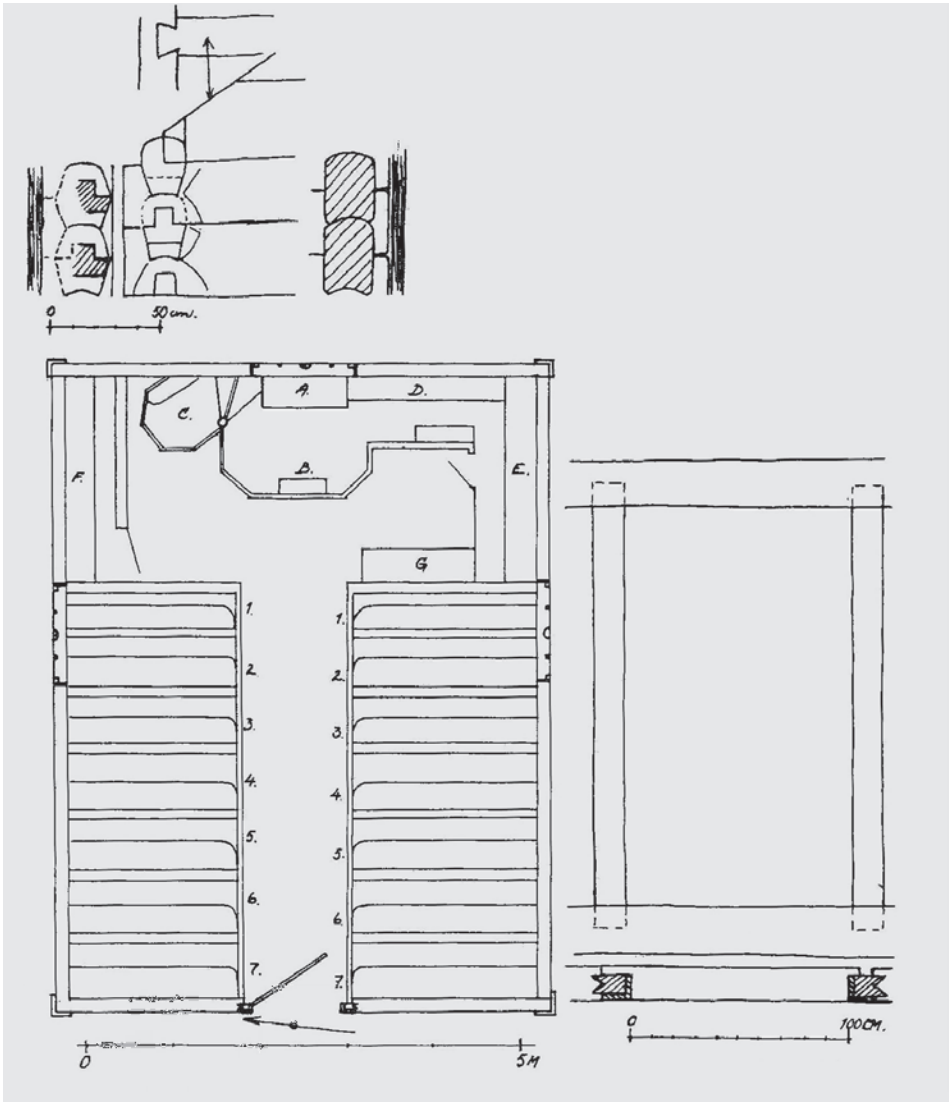


Fig. 21 Plan of the chapel at *Bergön* (see fig. 20). 7 benches on each side for 4 people, women to the left, men to the right = thus maximum 56 people in all. (Olle Homman 1955, from Granlund 1980)

The oldest of the existing wooden chapels along this southern coast is, as mentioned in connection with the burghers of Norrtälje, supposed to be *(Yttre) Bergön* i Rogsta, Hälsingland from 1535[143] (figs. 20–21). Possibly it is even a little older, at least the site as such. In the period before 1652, when the afore-mentioned *Prästhus* på Hemsön, *gävlebohamn* was donated to the fairly new town of Härnösand, it may have had an early chapel. If we believe the tradition, the original chapel at Skagshamn in Ångermanland may also have been erected in the 16th century.[144] The original chapel at Skagshamn in Ångermanland may also have been, if we follow the traditions, erected in the 16th century.[145] This would mean that

some of the harbours most remote from Gävle were established at the very beginnings of burgher expansion.

The following foundation years or centuries have been suggested or recorded for chapels in *gävlebohamnar*. It appears that most could have been rebuilt, partly or entirely in the recorded year. Since several originally may have been simple timber buildings, taken down at another place, e.g. the current town or from the out-buildings of a farm, and re-erected at the fishing camp, some early dates of inscriptions could be misleading.[146] Dendrochronology might not necessarily be more reliable than dates given by tradition, but it would at least offer maximum dating.

1) Yttre Bergön, Hälsingland, 1535 – (observed inscription; figs. 20–21).

2) Iggön (Kapellskär), Gästrikland, to 1544.

3) Gävle town fishing chapel, to c. 1560.

4) Skagen, Ångermanland (16th century?), 1683.

5) Bålsön, Hälsingland, 1603, with neighbouring Kuggörarna 1778, but mentioned in 1767 = below, no. 22.[147] According to persistent tradition built by fishermen from Oxhalsö, Blidö, in the archipelago of Stockholm.

6) Storjungfrun, Hälsingland, 1619 (carving in the wood, on the door the year is estimated to be 1547, but also 1653, 1655 appear; fig. 1).[148]

7) Ulvön, Ångermanland, 1622 (carving; and the famous paintings from 1697 make this dating likely; fig. 5, and fig. 3 in the following article on stone mazes).

8) Norrfällsviken, Ångermanland, 1649, ruined but new-built in 1978.

9) Bönhamn, Ångermanland, 1650 or between 1632 and 1674).

10) Agön, Hälsingland, 1660, Older predecessor at a more northerly site according to tradition.

11) Trysunda, Ångermanland, 1654.

12) Barsta, Ångermanland, 1654, 1664–1665 (paintings).

13) Grisslan, Ångermanland, 1600s.

14) Bremön, Medelpad, 1624, 1685. Repaired 1723.[149]

15) Lörudden, Medelpad 17th century, c. 1620, built anew in 1727.

16) Skeppsmalen, Ångermanland, 17th century / 1799.

17) Kråkö, Hälsingland, 1736.

18) Berghamn, Ångermanland, 1752.

19) Barsviken, Ångermanland, 1762.

20) Skeppshamn, Medelpad 1624, or in the 1560s, moved 1768, new chapel built this year.

21) Marviksgrunnan, Ångermanland, 1771–1783.

22) Kuggörarna, Hälsingland, 1778 (mentioned in 1767).

23) Rövikshamn, Medelpad, originally possibly in 1560 or 1624, torn down in 1770, 1782 (now moved).[150]

24) Åstholmen, Medelpad, 1788.

Between 21 and 25 of the chapel sites thus appear to have a credible background as having been established by burghers from towns in the south, including Gävle. This means that about 25% of the known *gävlebohamnar* had a chapel. But, as indicated, there are several chapels which were not founded by Gävle burghers or other non-local people. And there might very well be as yet unknown chapels both in such harbours as well as in more local fishing camps.

There are a couple of sites which indicate chapels founded by local people. Quite anonymous remains are found on the western side of the island pair of *Jättholmarna, Västerön*, out in the open sea in Northern Hälsingland. There is an almost square (burial?) fence of large stones around what could possibly be a simple house foundation. The local name is *Dödmanskär*, "Dead man's skerry." This could indicate a burial site. Fairly recently a possibly medieval fishing harbour has been located at a lake on the island, formerly a narrow bay of the Bothnian Sea. On the eastern island another harbour is called Gammelhamn, "the old harbour." But *Jättholmarna* and *Västerön* are indeed mentioned in 1477 in connection with harbours for remote fisher burghers.[151]

Further south is *Arnön* or *Hornslandet*, a peninsula, only connected to the mainland by a narrow strip of land. In the Iron Age it was a narrow sound, and probably a little later a portage. According to tradition a chapel was built on the strip, with its settlement Arnön, close to water at the bay coming in from the north. Like Lövånger in Västerbotten and the Norwegian sites of Stad and Lindesnes there is a medieval inner route to the central area of the main coastal parish Rogsta. (I will discuss these three sites later.) The outer route passes *Kuggörarna*. The fishing establishment of the southerners here is mentioned from 1778, but it probably had much earlier precursors. Olaus Magnus named the area *Koggesund* on his Carta marina of 1539. This must indicate that larger ships of the type or size called *cogs, Koggen*, were known to pass here. The inner route was in any case closed to them because of their deeper draught.

As can be deduced from the comparisons above this area is precisely a most probable site of an early (in Scandinavian terms) and well-established medieval sailors' chapel surrounded by legends of saints. A possible *patrocinium* would have been that of St. Staffan of Norrala, undoubtedly an early historical figure connected with this province.[152] Although sometimes conflated with motifs associated with St. Stephen, the proto-martyr (mentioned previously in the saintly landscape), St. Staffan was very much a part of a living tradition during recent centuries.[153] The area has a particular significance for a Swedish expansion northward. The sea route to *Stor-Hälsingland*, all the lands to the north during the High Middle Ages, skirted this coast or may even have started at this point. But so far, no indications for a chapel seem to exist, except at Arnön (and the certainly much later fishing chapels at Kuggörarna and Bålsön, discussed later), which is perhaps a less likely location for a chapel of this importance.

The archipelago area outside the present town of Hudiksvall (founded in 1583) has an unusually large number of fishing harbours, within a perimeter of approximately 30 kilometres, possibly all with late medieval origins. Some were *gävlebohamnar*, like *Agön, Bålsön* and *Kuggörarna*. Others, like *Gackerön* have extensive remains of fishing harbours but with no chapel so far discovered (see above) or mentioned in tradition. The chapel at *Kråkön* was built in 1736.

The most interesting harbour, on *Drakön*, has an early (?) chapel ruin (figs. 22–23). Even today its old name, *S:t Olofs hamn*, is preserved, but it now refers to the bay outside. The harbour itself is a perfect lagoon with a narrow entrance (figs. 24–25), closed by sediments since c. 1450 – like another *S:t Olofs hamn* on Fårö (figs. 34–36), and is now a wetland slowly drying out. And like a third *S:t Olofs hamn* in Selånger, Medelpad (inside Sundsvall) and attendant *S:t Olof-* place names in the coastal area it seems to reflect a pilgrimage route to S:t Olav's shrine in Nidaros (fig. 26).[154] The inland part of this route started in Selånger.

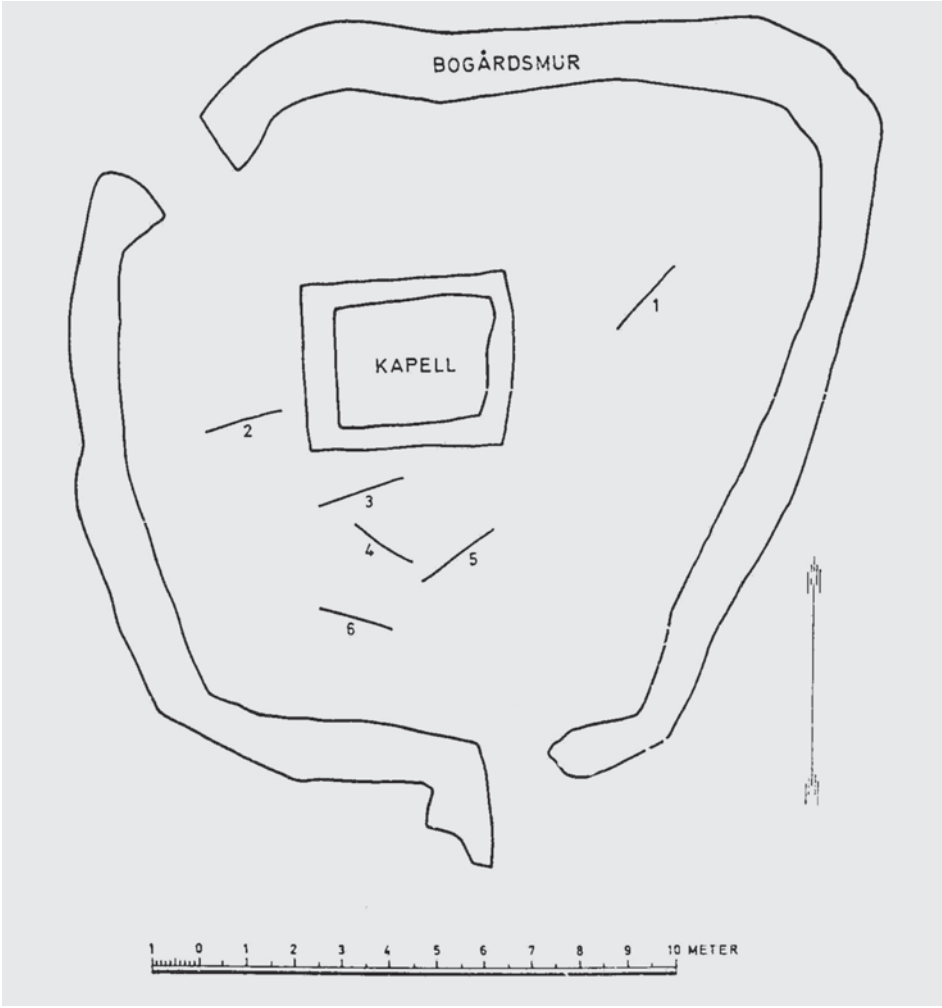


Fig. 22 Small circular graveyard of *Drakön*, Hälsingland, Sweden, with its tiny chapel foundation in the middle (see figs. 23–25). Depressions indicating burials are marked; all may date from the 19th century. (From Lundström 1981)

North from here there are no instances of these place names. This ought to mean that they go back to the Catholic era.

The excavator Anders Huggert believes that the Drakön site was not only a fishing harbour. Like Kyrkesviken in Grundsunda, Ångermanland, and Bjurön (Jungfruhamn), Västerbotten, it was a staging point along the medieval route to the north.[155] There are, as in Kyrkesviken, somewhat surprising finds like a *misericordia* dagger, more likely in the castle of a knight than in an obscure fishing harbour. It was used to finish off an enemy in heavy armour, stuck into the neck between the massive cuirass and the chain mail. Dated finds including coins indicate the period c. 1200–1400. The settlement is built on artificial house terraces at the inner part of the harbour. Behind it is a chapel ruin with a circular fence. Burials are known from the churchyards, but only from the 19th century. No dating

Fig. 23 Chapel site of *Drakön* (see figs. 22, 25). (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1978)

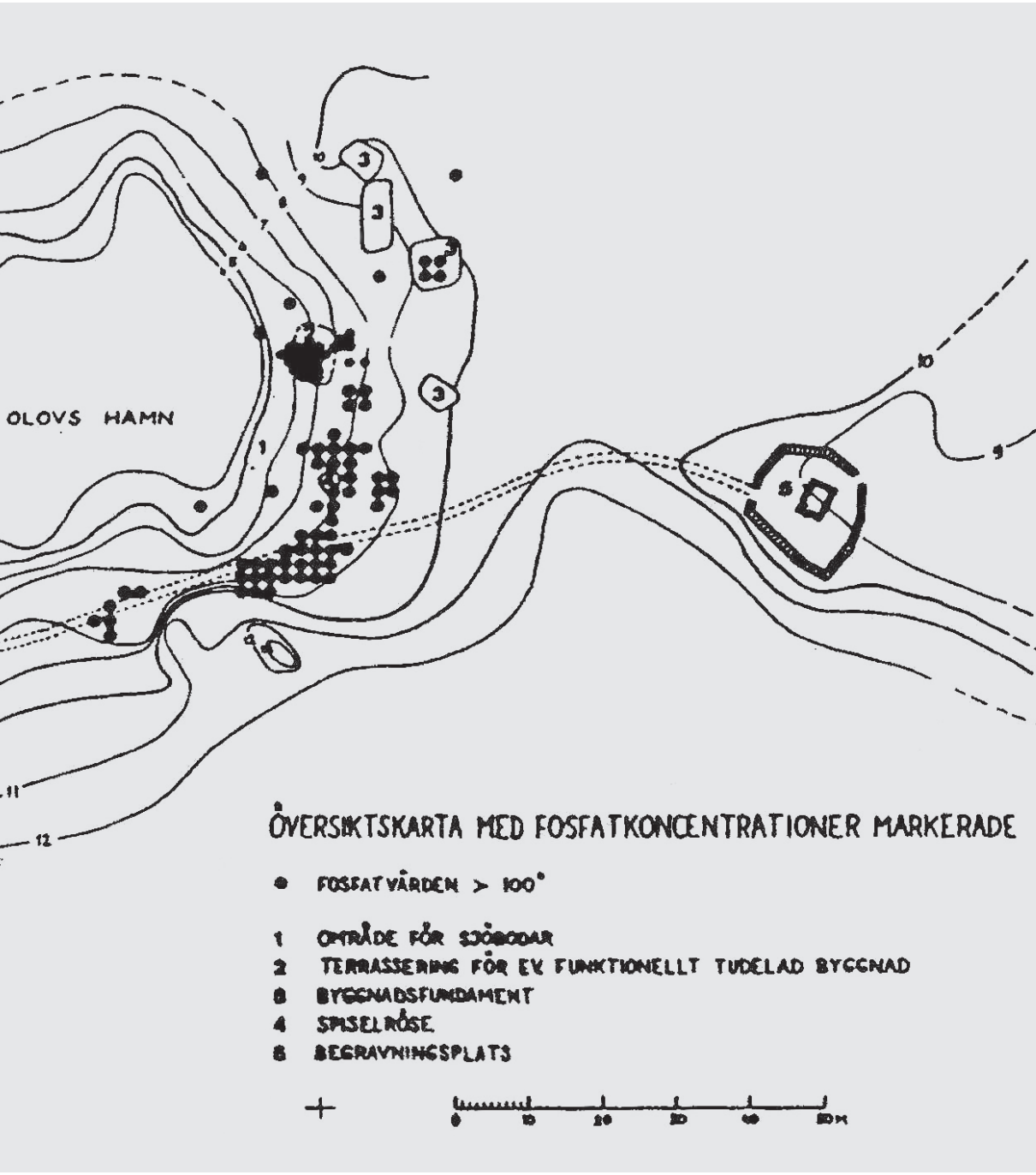
Fig. 24 The lagoon-like harbour, now a wetland, of *S:t Olofs hamn*, Drakön, with waterfront and excavated house terraces. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1978)

finds have been made so far at the ruin itself, but it would be rather remarkable if it does not date from the active period of the harbour. In the wetland, that is, the ancient harbour, is preserved organic material, such as wooden parts of boats and some artefacts which indicate fishing.

Interestingly, there are in the forest next to the harbour two stone cairns placed in a line pointing from the outside to the entrance passage of the harbour. The archaeological surveyor of the area, Erik Enström interprets them as foundations for sea marks, wooden piles. We may here have one of the few examples of approximately dated sea marks, possibly even harbour crosses, of the Nordic Middle Ages, accordingly from the period before the closure of the harbour.[156]

I want also to mention the place name *Jungfruhamn* "harbour of the Virgin" in the parish of Njurunda, Medelpad, further north. Its name occurs in the 18th century and as late as 1825 on a map, and recurs in couple of small tarns, *Jungfrutjärnarna*.[157] This site is unknown as a *gävlebohamn* although several others are known from this stretch of coast. It comprises a lagoon and a narrow entrance which is drying out like the wetland at S:t Olofs hamn on Drakön. So far, nothing is known of archaeological remains, but it has a

Fig. 25 Harbour and the chapel of *Drakön*. Phosphate concentrations are marked together with the house terraces. The chapel site and its churchyard to the extreme right. The sea is at the extreme left. The harbour basin was presumedly cut off from the sea by a barrier thrown up by storms. (From Huggert 1976)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ÖVERSIKTSKARTA MED FOSFATKONCENTRATIONER MARKERADE
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3 BYGGNADSFUNDAMENT
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5 BEGRAVNINGSPLATS
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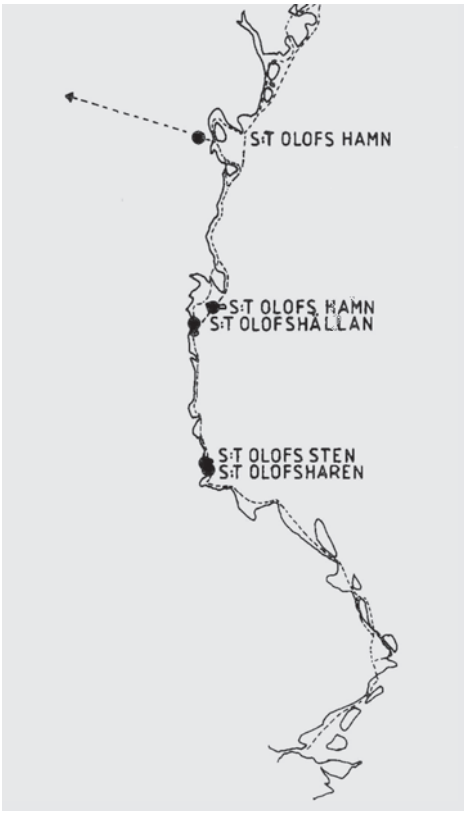


Fig. 26 *S:t Olof-* (Swed. form of St. *Olav*) place name sites along the coast of Southern Norrland, Sweden. They seem to mark a pilgrim route by sea from the outskirts of Stockholm in the south up to the inland route which starts at Selånger, Medelpad, close to present-day Sundsvall, with its harbour, *S:t Olofs hamn*, recorded as a free harbour in 1519. Apart from the two harbours, skerries and rocks are named in the inner, coast-hugging route.

promising context. The name would then allude to the Virgin Mary and possibly also to a chapel or another site of devotion to her.

Some later buildings, like the chapels of *Sandviken*, founded in 1864, on the northern island of the Ulvö group, called Ulvön, seem to have had little or no connection with town burghers from the south. Others in the same situation are *Lövgrund* close to Gävle, from 1831, *Prästgrundet*, Söderhamn, from 1838, and *Bönan*, also close to Gävle, from 1843. Some are even later, like *Lungön*, south of Härnösand, from 1864–68, and *Spikarö (Spikarna)*, S. Alnön at Sundsvall.[158] At that time the number of fishing Gävle burghers was rapidly diminishing. They had formally lost their fishing privileges in 1772. Some of them were now turning to shipping or shipbuilding in their home town which at the time was a thriving seaport, sometimes only second to Stockholm in Sweden. The last fisherman from Gävle, E.A. Grellsson, went with his own brig *Anna* for the last time to Trysunda in Ångermanland in 1899. It is told that he returned later to the island, but this time by train.

The crown transferred the fishing rights of many of the original *gävlebohamnar* which were near recently founded new cities, to the burghers of these cities. This happened at Hudiksvall, founded in 1583, (the camps of Kråkön, Drakön, Agön, Bålsön), at Härnösand, founded in 1585, at Söderhamn, founded in 1620 (the camps of Prästgrundet, Storjungfrun) and at Sundsvall, founded in 1621 (the camps of Brämön, Krankbo, Röhamn, Lörudden).

Bothnian Finland

There are comparatively few fishing chapels on the Finnish side of the Bothnian Sea proper (the border in the south could be discussed, and the statement thus modified to a certain extent). One reason is probably the strong land uplift with great effect on the extremely shallow coastline. This is "the Low Coast" contrasted with "the High Coast" on the Swedish side, both World Heritage Sites (or rather areas). Archipelagos do exist but there are more in central Österbotten (Ostrobothnia) and in the south.[159] As on the Swedish side the stone

Map 4 Documented names of approx. 100 long-distance fishing harbours (*Gävlebohamnar*) along the Swedish Norrland coast, c. 1500–1900. (From Westerdahl 1989a)

mazes are more numerous here than elsewhere in Finland. As mentioned before, the 18th chapels of Maakalla at *Kalajoki*, are well known. They are similar to those of Malören in Nederkalix, Sweden. There is also *Tankar* fishing church, outside Gamla Karleby (Kokkola). Several burial sites are mentioned on the islands: *Petsamo, Mjösund, Vallgrund, Skutgrund, Kyrkogålskäret* ("churchyard skerry")[160], for example, and on the holm of *Panike*.[161] Dating is doubtful, but it is possible that chapels existed formerly, although it is sometimes unlikely that they are medieval in date. As in a few other areas, tradition mentions votive churches with a definitely maritime character, especially that of *Korsnäs*, south Österbotten.[162] Another votive church[163] is supposed to have stood on *Eskilsö* outside Kaskö. It should also be noted that there are several place names with the element *Kapell-* or similar, where tradition reports a chapel site.[164] In Sideby, southern Österbotten, is found a small skerry called *Kyrkoskär*, in 1650 and 1695 *Kirkegard Skier*, "churchyard skerry."[165]

According to tradition there was an ancient chapel, called *Havskapellet*, the "sea chapel" on the former island *Räfsö* in Björneborg (Pori). Historical sources mention burials at the site. In the 19th century four named persons were interred there. The site is partly destroyed. During a minor excavation only traces of fishing activities from earlier times were recorded.[166]

One of the largest islands in the northern archipelago at Raumo is *Reksaari*. Some scanty material indicates that a building, thought to be a medieval chapel, was erected here. The site is called *Kartunkari* after a fisher homestead nearby. It was surrounded by a narrow churchyard where burials have been recorded. The chapel, if it was one, may have burnt down. A coin from 1573 may indicate its latest use.[167] North of Turku (Åbo) *S:t Henriks kapel*, "the chapel of St. Henry," should also be mentioned. This is in Kjulo/Köyliö parish, also in Satakunta. It is curious that no remains so far have been reported from, for example, the important harbour called *Lökan* (*Lyökki*) in the archipelago at Gustavs (Kustavi). It was also well known to Swedish sailors in the 17th century.

Because our sources of information about the sea routes are lacking or haphazard, the best material on the crossing of the divide between Stockholm in Sweden and Åbo in Finland is a diary[168] by an interesting 17th-century Swedish parson. His name was Petrus Gyllenius (1622–1667), born and active in Värmland, Western Sweden. He went by sea for his studies at the University of Åbo (Åbo Akademi) and returned several times to Finland after his ordination.

According to the FSF there was a burial ground in the archipelago southwest of Turku (Åbo), in addition to another votive chapel on *Kapellholmen* in Nötö, Nagu, A new chapel was erected in 1664, but later deserted, rebuilt, but once more deserted in 1785.[169] This churchyard was used until 1869. The timbers of an old chapel are supposed to have been re-used in a barn, which still stands, reminding us of the fate of the 18th-century chapel of Ny-Hellesund, Norway (discussed later). The present-day church was built in 1756 and is thus quite similar in shape to the two in the North, Malören in Sweden and Maakalla in Finland. Further out in the archipelago is a chapel site documented at *Björkö* in the parish of Korpo.[170] Inside, at *Attu* in the parish of Pargas (Parainen) there is also a place name indication for a chapel.[171]

Later I will discuss in some detail the medieval chapel of *Signhildsskär* in the Sea of Åland.[172]

Several chapels in the archipelago of Åland are mentioned. The medieval stone chapel of *S:t Olof* at *Lemböte* situated directly on the barely covered rocks on the main island fairly

Fig. 27 *Hamnö* ('harbour island') of Kökar archipelago, Åland. 1. Franciscan convent. 2. House foundations. 3. Munkbron, harbour site. 4. Modermagen, harbour site. 5. Kappelskatan, foundation of a chapel with a fencing wall. (After Gustavsson 1993; see also Gustavsson 1994)

close to Mariehamn would reasonably be characterized as a site of maritime devotion. The site is mentioned in 1547,[173] but Lemböte, is known itself as *linabøtæ* by the itinerary sequence from c. 1300. No burial place is known or possible in the vicinity, because of the rocky terrain.

In 1652 there was a chapel at *Rödhamn* and according to tradition in 1674 another existed on *Kappalö* at the Marsund sound in Hammarland, on the border to the parish of Lemland. But the latter seems to have been medieval since the confiscation of a church bell by the crown is known to have taken place there already in 1544. The chapels of *Brändö* in Kumlinge and *Flisö* in Föglö are also in the Åland archipelago. Another was excavated at *Geta* in 1960. Any of these areas might originally have contained medieval sailor's chapels.

The ecclesiastical activity at *Kapellskatan* on Hamnö in Kökar seems to have started already at the end of the 13th century (fig. 27). Here is a reliable chapel foundation, 5 x 7 metres, and somewhat surprisingly it was furnished (at a later time?) with roof tiles and stained glass windows. No graveyard is known in the vicinity. In the late 15th century a regular Franciscan monastery was erected here (fig. 28). Perhaps some sort of military establishment was placed here as protection along the main route between Sweden and Finland.[174] Kökar is one of the places mentioned, as *thiyckækarl*, in the itinerary sequence c. AD 1300 (see below).

In northern Kökar there is a fairly large island called *Kyrkogårdsö*, indicating a churchyard. In the main island of *Sottunga* traces of a chapel were recorded in 1661. Among notes on several possible small, limited churchyards with a wall to fence off the area, there is at least one mentioned in *Nyhamn* south of Mariehamn, but apparently without a chapel.

South Finland and the Bay of Finland

It is reasonable that the largest archipelago of the north, that of Southern Finland, almost continuous along the southern coasts, and widening across to the large Åland group, would be a promised land for medieval chapel sites on islands.

Several of the chapel harbours I have mentioned previously could be connected to islands, possibly havens, of the itinerary which is dated c. AD 1300 on a linguistic basis.[175] 18 sites in Finland are mentioned. This itinerary was bound together with the manuscript of the tax register, often called *Liber Census Daniae*, of King Valdemar Sejr of Denmark (1202–41).[176] It seems that at least 20 chapel sites are of interest in this connection (map 5).[177]

The structure of chapel harbours west of the cape of Porkala seems to indicate a connection with an ancient main route at sea. At Porkala the itinerary crosses over the Bay of Finland to the city of Reval (Tallinn) in Estonia. Only three chapel sites are found east of this crossing.

This connection to a sea route is thus valid both for Lemböte and Kökar above. Traditions dating back to the 17th century indicate a chapel site for Utö, *uthøi* of the itinerary, but they are vague. At present there are two chapel houses, one inside the light-house itself (from 1814).[178] In his diary of 1651, mentioned above, Gyllenius notes that the parson of Korpo served the fishing camps of Pattskär and Enskär in the Utö island group. Presumably they were without any chapel building,[179] but we do not know for sure.

In particular, archaeological attention has been directed to the chapel ruin and the churchyard at the sound of *Kyrksundet* in the archipelago of the parish Hitis (Finn. Hiitinen; fig. 28). This site was excavated in 1938–39 and is probably identical to *ørsund* mentioned in the itinerary. Interestingly, it seems that this may not be the only place where the churchyard can be considered older than the chapel (fig. 29). In this early excavation an ossuary-like concentration of human bones, some burnt and some not, was also found. This could

Map 5 Place names in Finland mentioned in the Baltic itinerary of c. AD 1300 in the Tax Register (jordebog) of King Valdemar Sejr of Denmark. (From Westerdahl 1990)

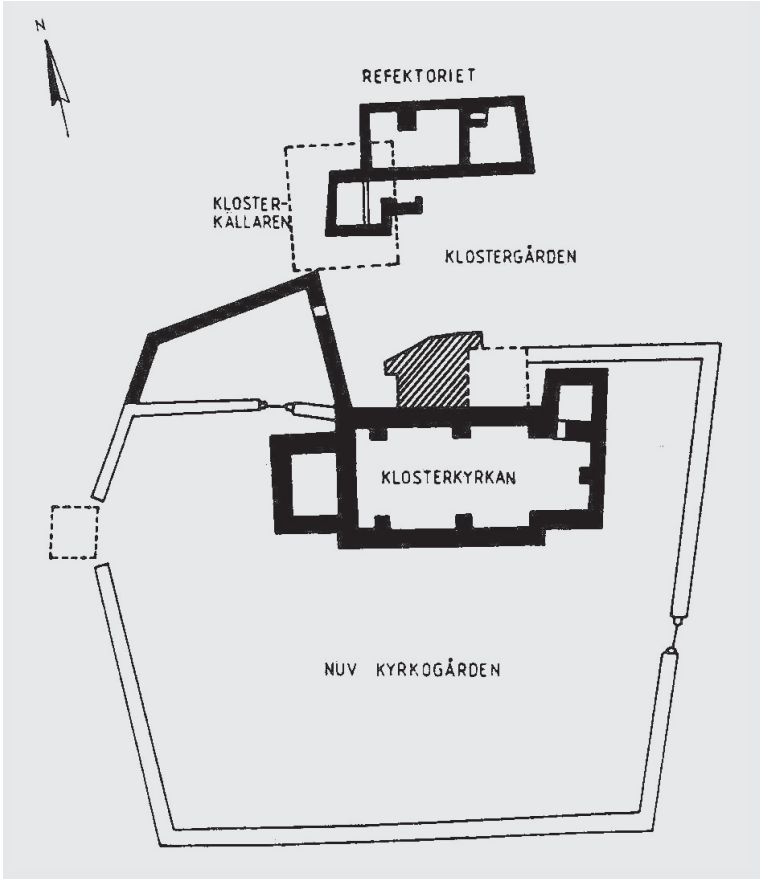


Fig. 28 Plan of the Franciscan convent of *Kökar*, late 15th century, with some kind of predecessor (chapel). (Gustavsson 1993; see also Gustavsson 1994)

mean that an older site had been cleared for a formal Christian churchyard.[180] In the immediate vicinity there are indeed the cultural layers of a Viking Age harbour and also what is very likely a pagan outdoor shrine with offerings.[181] In the same parish there is another possible chapel foundation at *Tunnhamn*, and yet another at *Vänö*, for seafarers, where in 1680 a chapel is actually mentioned. I will return later to the story of its origin. According to oral tradition this later chapel was destroyed by an accidental fire in the 1860s. There are also traditions regarding a chapel, so far not located, "within shooting distance" of the harbour site *Jungfrusund* (sometimes called *Jungfruhamn*), which was called *Dragewegskapellet*. The name may indicate a site where ships were warped, or even portaged.[182]

Along the itinerary sequence c. 1300 is also the important island of *Jurmo* along the main route, called *iurima*, with two excavated foundations, very plausibly both for chapels. Recent finds have shown that glass windows existed there.[183] A new chapel was built in 1703 and yet another, which is still standing,[184] in 1846. Later I will discuss briefly another story of chapel origin on this island. There is also *Hangö*, called *hangethe* in the same source. Hangö has a persistent oral tradition of a chapel since the 17th century, localized at the place name sites *Kapellhamn* and *Kapellbacken*.[185] The site was excavated recently; the churchyard was first substantiated by skeletons and the chapel by finds of window glass fragments and late 16th- and 17th-century coins.[186] There is also an apocryphal note[187] on

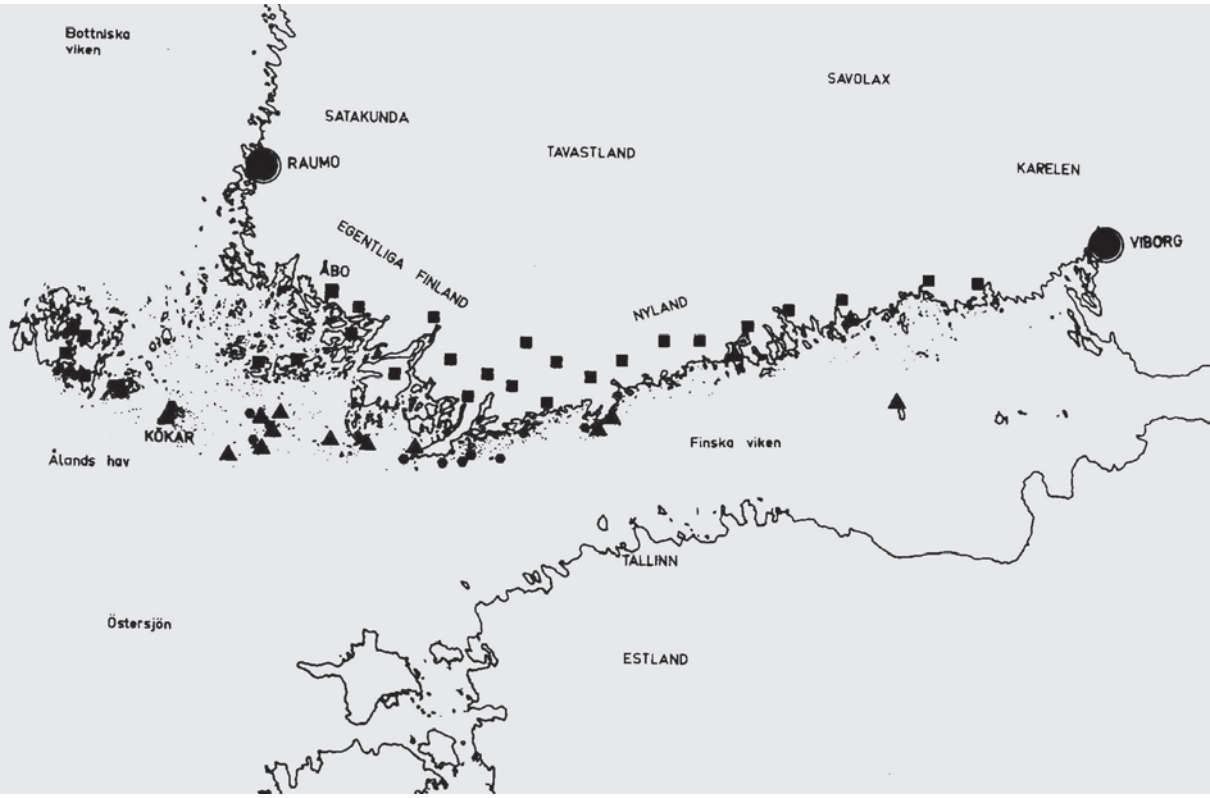


Fig. 29 Chapels in Southern Finland along the Baltic itinerary of c. 1300 (see Westerdahl 1990). Squares: parish churches, mostly on the mainland; round markings: place names in the itinerary; triangles: archipelago chapels. After Edgren & Hiekkanen 1993. The earliest recorded parishes in the Åboland archipelago are Kimito (1325), Pargas (1329), Korpo (1384) and Nagu (1395).

an ancient church, based on the place name *Kyrkudden* at Orslandet which presumably is *horinsaræ* of the itinerary. This is close to the inner route at Barösund.

Other possible chapel sites along the Bay of Finland are found at *Räfsö* in the parish of Kyrkslätt, close to the cape of Porkala, *purkal* in the itinerary. At *Kyrkogårdsö* in the same parish one would expect another ancient churchyard or burial place.[188] What appears to be a chapel has been found on *Aspö*, possibly *aspæsund* of the itinerary (a later version, fig. 30). This chapel was dedicated, somewhat unexpectedly, to the patriarch Abraham.[189] Another chapel was situated on the island group of *Stor-Pellinge* in Borgå. The easternmost chapel sites in the notes, in this case from the 18th century, come from *Malmlandet* in Pyttis, east of Kotka and from the isolated island *Hogland* in Suurkylä, where a chapel existed in 1635. Its ground has been preserved.

Southern and Western Sweden and the Baltic proper

In the archipelagos of Uppland and Stockholm several island parishes started with chapels. All of these parishes were settled by farmers who were at the same time fishermen and

Fig. 30 *Kyrksundet* in the archipelago of Hitis parish, Finland, with chapel site and a Viking age harbour and market site to the right. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1998)

small-scale skippers and seasonal sailors. Thus it is sometimes difficult to decide whether these are the chapels I need for this text. The land is so low that it still appears almost as an archipelago, and it certainly was one in medieval times. I will give only a few examples. To the north is the fishing camp at *Fågelsundet* in the parish of Hållnäs with an ancient chapel site, marked by a possible foundation and place names like *Kappalshamnen*. This was an important coast-hugging inshore passage also for ships wishing to avoid the feared shallows and the open sea at the island Björn. Tradition has it that on a rock, called *Jungfruhällen*, Virgin's Rock, outside this chapel harbour a virgin was shipwrecked and possibly drowned. I will return to this legend and its counterparts later. An early chapel once existed in the northern part called *Wiggan*, at *Söderboda*, of the large island of *Gräsö* in Uppland. It is undated but the place name remains.[190]

At the entrance to the Stockholm route, the island community of *Norra Ljusterö* obviously got its chapel in the later part of the 16th century.[191]

In the archipelagos around Stockholm there have been many seasonal fishing harbours and many islands with permanent settlements. Several have a standing chapel, but whether they have a medieval background is doubtful. A logical place for an early chapel would have been *Kapellskär* in Roslagen, much later a ferrying station for Finland.[192] The most important fishing camps with a chapel still standing are *Måsesten* (dated 1596) at the island of Singö (parish) in the north, the archipelago groups of *Gillöga* and *Svenska Högarna* in Rådmansö much further south, the islands at *Horsten*[193] in Djurö, *Ålandsskär/Lökskär* (1646) and *Huvudskär* in Ornö, for which the first Swedish regulation, *hamnordning*, was written in 1450.[194] On Gillöga was found both a sea inn (krog) and a chapel. Granlund notes that here people were called to divine service with a sail.[195]

A chapel built in 1683 with a sailors' inn was also discovered early at *Djurhamn* on the large island of Värmdö.[196] This was the most important of the entrances to the winding route via Vindö strömmar and Baggenstäket to Stockholm from the south. This first inshore route was later partly replaced by a longer but straighter route through open waters in 1616[197] (fig. 42; more later). I will return to the important harbour here in connection with underwater finds.

Island church yards, some of which are traditionally associated with the plague, are found

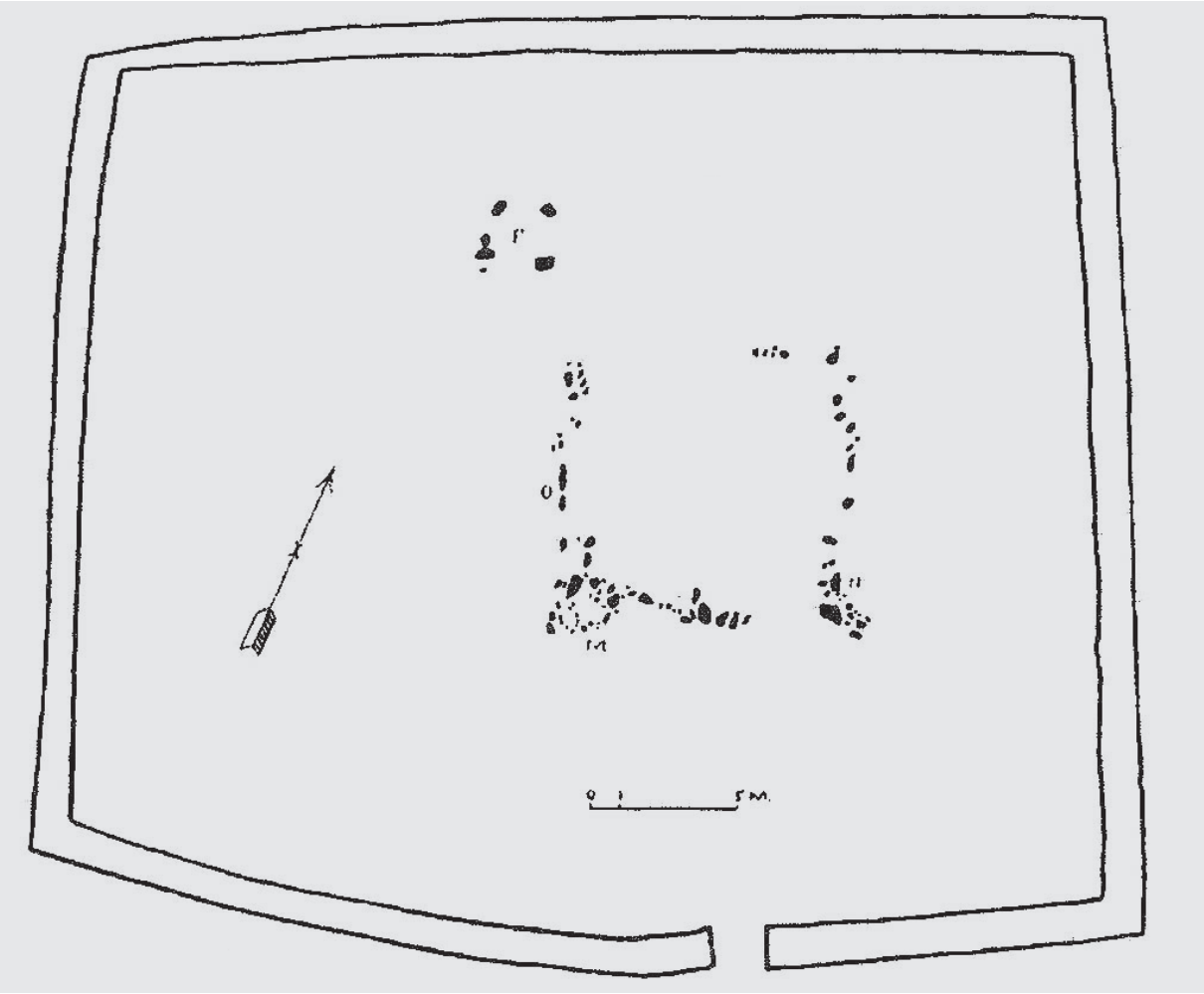


Fig. 31 Plan of chapel and churchyard of *Kyrksundet*. (After Edgren 1995)

on islands in the archipelagos Södermanland, e.g. *Högsten*, *Fifång*, *Askö* and *Landsort*.[198] It is remarkable that no fishing chapels are known here.

The island of *Rågö*, parish of Tystberga, had a cross laid out on the ground to indicate the spot where the local saint, St. Botvid, mentioned above (fig. 11), was supposed to have been martyred. According to his vita he was murdered here around AD 1120, but probably this occurred AD 1080, when he prepared to repatriate his liberated thrall from here to the eastern side of the Baltic by way of Gotland.[199] A chapel would in fact be expected here as a site of penance. It should have been built on the spot where he was assassinated or found. There are however no known indications of a chapel.[200]

There are probably several medieval chapel sites in the area, sometimes connected with these churchyards or burial sites. One was indeed recently found on the isolated skerry *Enskär* in the parish of Bälinge, Södermanland.[201] A place name *Kirkeskeer* is mentioned in this area in the beginning of the 16th century and a burial site is known there. A foundation

interpreted as a chapel site has been excavated recently and found to be older, 13th to 14th century, than the fishing camp which mainly belongs to the 16th and 17th centuries.[202] Johan Månsson mentioned this camp in his *Siö-book*, an important handbook for navigation in the Baltic in 1644.[203] Interestingly, this apparently means that the chapel must originally have served the needs of shipping rather than fishing. St. Botvid would be as likely a *patrocinium* here as on Rågö, given the vicinity of Rågö, the background of his planned route at sea and his associations with miraculous catches of fish, although made in an inland lake, according to his *vita*.

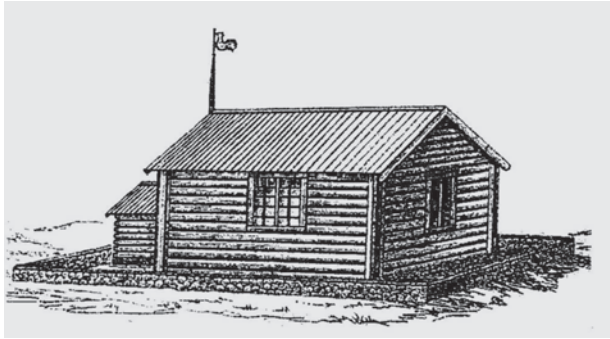


Fig. 32 Small island chapel of *Aspö* in Korpo, Southern Finland, in 1878. (From Edgren & Hiekkanen 1993)

In Östergötland, Peter Norman points to several burial sites of unknown date, e.g. on *Aspö*, at the sound Lilla Arkösundet, on *Kyrkogårdsskär* north of Bokö and on another *Kyrkogårdsskär* between Bokö and Stora Ålö, close to the entrance of the bay Valdemarsviken.

The parish where as a child in the 1950s I had my first experience of everyday life in the skerries is St. Anna in Östergötland. This parish was called *S:ta Anna in scopulis*, "St. Anne in the skerries," during the Middle Ages. It was a unique mark of maritime distinction to be under the protection of the saint. Here is also a ruin of a chapel, but it is presumably only the original parish church.[204]

I am compelled to ignore some of the possible evidence in this rich area. I will give only examples. But it is obvious that the same principles could be applied here as elsewhere as to the value of oral traditions, many of them recorded early and well-established, and the use of place names, unexamined foundations and fenced burial places. Despite the wealth of records and possible sites there seems to be no obvious connection with the named sites in the Baltic itinerary of c. AD 1300. This contrasts with the situation in Finland. The enumerated sites in this itinerary are far more numerous on the Swedish side, no less than 78 (map 6).

In Gloviken on the island *Kättilö* in Barösund,[205] Östergötland, a medieval harbour (fig. 33) has been registered. Among the remains is a foundation surrounded by a kind of wall. It is found on the northern side of the island, now called *Lotsudden*, "pilots' cape," but before 1895 it seems to have been called *Kapelludden*. This area is of considerable maritime interest, testified to by later customs and pilot stations. A trial excavation unearthed a hearth and a baking-oven. It is possible that the original building was built half-timbered, which is an alien custom in this area. The fence seems to have had some form of superstructure. Both were burnt down once but have been rebuilt. The date is 13th–14th centuries. It has been discussed whether these results show that the structure was not an ecclesiastical establishment.[206] It should be noted that there is space enough for a more regular chapel building on the cape, but no remains have been found so far.

On the island group *Väderskär* in Loftahammar parish, Småland, a well-known fishing

Fig. 33 Island site of *Gloviken* (bay) on Kättilö, Östergötland, Sweden, with a possible chapel and a harbour. See text. (Eriksson 1995)

chapel is still standing. This chapel was founded by the owners of the mansions Fågelvik and Hornsberg. It is called *Korumhuset* and was built in the 1680s. Here the fishing congregation was summoned with a drum.[207]

There is a legend about an island monastery at the site of *Björnö stenhus*, south of the island spur of Ödängla and south of Mönsterås in Småland, but the present building dates from later centuries. A possible earlier function, perhaps as a kind of shelter with monastic origin, has been discussed fairly recently.[208]

Moreover, we also find in Småland a chapel at the later market site *Pata* or *Pataholm* on the mainland opposite Öland at the northern part of Kalmarsund,[209] but also chapels according to the list of AD 1515 in *Kråkerum*, two at *Strömsrum* and *Ålem* and *St. Sigfrid* in Hagby.[210] Several other churches or chapels are known from a number of pre-urban turn-over or exchange centres at Kalmarsund. Their services were, like the sites themselves, probably more or less absorbed by the establishment of the major town of Kalmar in the 13th century.[211]

Gotland with Fårö had a number of satellite harbours for fishing with sea-booths belonging to the farms and homesteads inland. There was accordingly little need for fishing chapels among local people, since the parish churches were always available. No archipelago exists. This was a situation common to other parts of the mainland coasts, in particular in the south, including the whole of Denmark.

In spite of this three fishing chapels are actually known from the mainland of Gotland, *Hallshuk*, at Hall in the north, to which fishermen came from the entire island, but also from Öland and Ösel (*Saaremaa*) in Estonia. The others are *Gnisvärd* in Tofta in the west and *Kapelle* fishing camp in När, in the south. None is originally medieval in date, as far as is known.

Fig. 34 Fence and chapel foundation of *Gammelhamn* (*S:t Olofs hamn*) on Fårö, north of Gotland. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1986)

Fig. 35 Lagoon harbour of *Gammelhamn*. Here medieval pottery and ballast originating in the North Sea was found. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1986)

On Fårö is found an exceptional site, *Gamle hamn* (Old Harbour) or *S:t Olofs hamn* (figs. 34–36). This is not a fishing harbour. It consists of a narrow tarn basin closed off from the sea by a sedimentary barrier. This barrier must have been thrown up by a prolonged heavy storm from the north, perhaps around AD 1360. This is in any case the traditional dating of major inundation catastrophes in the North Sea. Fourteenth-century pottery and ballast, including mussel shells from the North Sea, have been found in the basin.[212] South of the harbour tarn lies a fenced churchyard with a chapel ruin, called "Sankt Äulas körka," "the church of St. Olav," in the local dialect.

The siting of the harbour is curious. Of course there is always need of emergency harbours for shipping, but these were provided mainly by several protected havens along the sound, Fårösund, between Gotland and Fårön. Henry of Livonia pointed out the sound as a passage to Curonian pirates when they killed the crusaders here in AD 1210. It would be remarkable if there were no chapels here. In fact it could even mean that the victims of this very episode were remembered, and even buried here. The inlet at *Hau Gröno* certainly displays remains of a small building, probably with a churchyard.[213]

The ballast at Gamle hamn indicates some kind of loading/exchange. I myself have tried to sketch a connection with the isolated island *Gotska Sandön* in the north. Together with the reef of Kopparstenarna this is one of the most feared foundering sites in the Baltic and

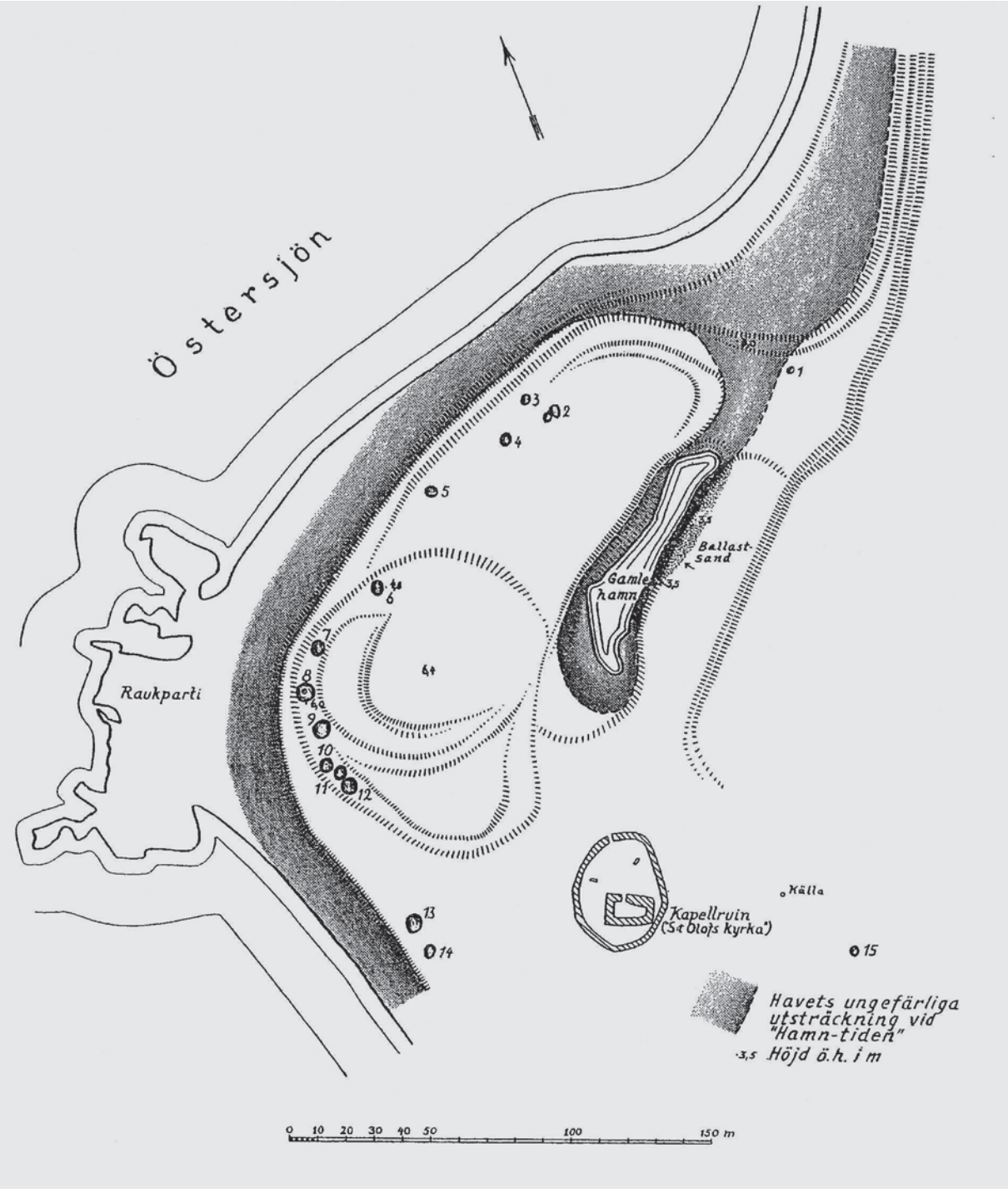


Fig. 36 Map of the harbour and chapel sites of *Gammelhamn* on Fårö. Iron Age cairns are seen at the waterfront. (Munthe 1942)

with good reason. This uninhabited island was used extensively in later times for seal hunting and wreck-plundering both by people from Fårö and to some extent also from Ösel (*Saaremaa*), *åjslar* in the Fårö dialect. There are burials and rich finds which may to some extent be ascribed to shipwrecks. No protected havens exist today, but a certain area at the eastern shore, called *Arnagrop*, may once have been one. This is the area of the greatest concentration of finds. Although no evidence has been brought to light it could be a likely place for a chapel and a burial ground for drowned sailors (fig. 37). Close to the site are two capes, *Norra* and *Södra Kyrkudden*, "church point," which may (alternatively) be a variant of *Kyrkogårdsudden*, "the point of the churchyard."[214] Perhaps seal blubber and wrecked goods from Gotska Sandön were loaded at Gamle hamn on Fårö. If one thinks boldly about a chapel on Sandön, it readily occurs to one that a parallel invocation to *St. Olav* would probably have been as suitable as one to *St. Clemens*, given the shipwrecks taking place here.

A tradition was recorded around 1800 in Fårö about *Helgomannens kapel*, "the chapel of the Holy Man."[215] *Helgoman* is the name of the fishing camp. It was supposed to have "got its name from an old monk or priest who had lived there and have held matins and vespers with the fishermen."[216] It may have a significant parallel in the isle *Heligman* at Signhildsskär in the sea of Åland (below). It should also be noted that we have a shallow islet called *Heligholm* (Hamra/Sundre) in the very south of Gotland, but unconnected to any possible chapel site.

A further memory of St. Olav found at Akergarn on Gotland is *S:t Olofsholm*, with a chapel from the 13th century, which has been connected with the landing and wintering of the fleet of the Norwegian king in the first decades of the 11th century. The site was once an island, but it is now connected to the mainland. It could very well have been mainly a chapel for sailors, and is known to have been used for pilgrimage. This was still an important haven for sailors in the 17th and 18th centuries, but the chapel was already in ruins in 1633. It was an unusually large stone building for a chapel, approximately 30 x 12 metres. However, its remains are built into a present building, used for storage.[217]

Öland has a local fishing structure similar to that of Gotland. The farmsteads had their own structure with sea-booths. But during the Middle Ages Öland was also a centre for remote fishing. A large seasonal fishing camp for herring was set up at *Kyrkohamn* in the parish of Ås in the south. Extensive remains of booths in a row could still be seen. The dating is 13th and 14th centuries. This camp was served by a stone chapel, sometimes called *Rosenkinds kapell*.[218] However, a trial excavation seems to confirm the statement in 1279 of a regular parish church here at Ottenby, but later superseded. Both the graves found, and the size of the building and its dating appear to agree. It is in any case identical to the chapel that was consecrated to *Johannes Döparen*, St. John the Baptist, sometime during the 13th century. This chapel later apparently gave its name to the light-house *Långe Jan* "Long John," an important sea mark to those who passed here by way of Kalmarsund or crossed the Baltic from here. It could also be understood as a maritime *noa* name for a point of which the original name, now lost, was *taboo* at sea.[219] Already the chapel with its roof-turret had once been a seamark, as illustrated by its oversized depictions.[220]

On the northernmost point of Öland is an important haven for the traffic to and from Gotland called *Örehamn* or *Grankullavik*, with a chapel, *S:t Olofs kapell*, on a holm called

Storskär, in the parish of Böda.[221] This chapel is also mentioned in 1515 in the list of chapels *non curate* (not permanently served by a priest) of the diocese of Linköping, referred to several times before in this text (cf. the appendix).[222]

Some other cases illustrate the connection between other churches and shipping. The parish church of *Källa* served its probably important harbour Källa hamn to the northwest.[223] The chapel of *S:t Otto* was mentioned in 1346 and 1515 but it was close to the inland parish church of Högby.[224] There were other chapels, St. Stephen and St. Barbara probably in *Össby* in Gräsgård parish,[225] St. Margaret at *Bjärby* in *Runsten*[226] and two at *Borgholm*,[227] with certain maritime connotations.[228]

Fig. 37 Approximate area where a chapel might have once stood on *Gotska Sandön*, the isolated island in the middle of the Baltic. Low cairns and other burials have been found in the sandy ground together with skeletons and loose finds from the Middle Ages and presumably later as well. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1974)

The eastern side of Öland is shallow, making it unsuitable for ships of larger draught. There is however an important fishing harbour at *Sikavarp* in Bredsätra, with a Gothic stone cross and a ruin of a late medieval stone chapel, *S:ta Britas kapell*, also called *Långöre* (or *Öre*) kapell (fig. 38).[229] This harbour sometimes also served the needs of shipping. Certain authors have maintained that this would have been the site where the relics of St. Birgitta (St. Bridget) were placed on her way back from Rome to Vadstena in 1374.[230] This may have been a myth. The *patrocinium* of this chapel was in fact originally St. Brigida of Kildare, Ireland.[231]

Another significant maritime site on the eastern coast of Öland is the island *Kår(e)holm*, close to *Kårehamn*, mentioned in medieval sources as an important place for shipping. The medieval forms *Kuraholm* and *Kurahamn* may indicate either the presence of "kurer," Curonians, or the former existence of a *kur*, a shelter of some kind. As in many other places one questions why there is no information regarding a chapel here.[232]

I have so far no detailed information on Estonia and Latvia, and unfortunately I cannot further explore this interesting coast within the space allotted, but I must make a certain point: from my Latvian colleague Juris Urtans of Riga I have obtained information on sites just to show that the perspective I have applied is relevant here. The chapel of *Jurkalne* (German *Felixberg*) in Latvia and the cemetery close to it, both now destroyed by the sea,[233] seem to be connected in legends to a shipwreck at the spot. In Curonia oral tradition places a church or chapel at the mouth of the *Irbe* River, perhaps the same spot where the Danish king Sven Estridsen established a church in AD 1077. However, most of the traditions about

Fig. 38 Stone cross at *Sikavarp*, Öland, Sweden. The chapel ruin of the 13th century was originally dedicated to St. Brigida of Kildare, Ireland, and later rededicated to her namesake St. Bridget (Birgitta) of Vadstena. The cross which presumably is of the same dating as the chapel stands at the harbour. In the background is also visible the lighthouse (Heidenstam type, 1870s). (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1984)

churches or chapels in the region of *Kolkas rags* (Norse *Domesnäs*) pertain to sites fairly far from the sea.

The sedimentary coasts of the south have no archipelagos nor as a rule natural harbours except in river estuaries. On the sandy cape of Falsterbo in Skåne the medieval *nundines scanienses*, the Scanian market, with the greatest seasonal fishing camp of all Scandinavia, was situated. Here were two small cities, Skanör and Falsterbo, with fairly large churches to serve the settlements. But there might have been a need for smaller chapels because of the large number of fishermen and merchants flocking to the place, perhaps representing the different towns represented, like Rostock, Stralsund etc. Separate burial sites are not known, but extensive rows of booths are.

Mats Anglert[234] has discussed the coastal chapels on Skåne. These are not strictly island chapels, although a few exceptions do exist. Fishing harbours with origins in the Middle Ages like *Kivik, Viken* and *Torekov* had chapels.[235] Further on I will discuss the later chapel, a fairly large church building at Torekov, because of its associated legend. Perhaps chapels existed also at *Munkakyrkan* on the island Ven in Öresund and at *Lilla Hammar,* close to Skanör/Falsterbo. According to tradition there was a chapel in the fishing harbour *Barsebäck* at the Sound.[236] There are terrain names which may indicate a true island chapel site at *Kapellhamn* on *Hallands Väderö*, an important island haven with Iron Age origins. Another interesting place name, *Kappelistofterna*, "the chapel foundations" was first recorded in 1697 at *Kabusa* in Stora Köpinge.[237]

Among other indications of medieval archipelago or coastal chapels in present-day Sweden is the terrain name *Kappelsåkern* at Saltärna, Ronneby, Blekinge.[238] Chapels existed on *Sturkö* Island,[239] at *Hellevik* in Mjällby and *Utlängan* at sea in Torhamn parish, where the itinerary sequence of c. AD 1300 starts, the site being quoted as *utlengi.*

Otherwise, as I noted above, there seems to be no such obvious connection of the itinerary c. 1300 to chapel sites in eastern Sweden along the route depicted (map 6) as to its continuation in Finland, although there have been attempts made to find more intimate links.[240] It is true that some places may be identical with known or possible chapel sites. But there might be others not yet discovered, see above on the Gloviken site, which is situated close to where at least one of the sailing routes referred to must have run.

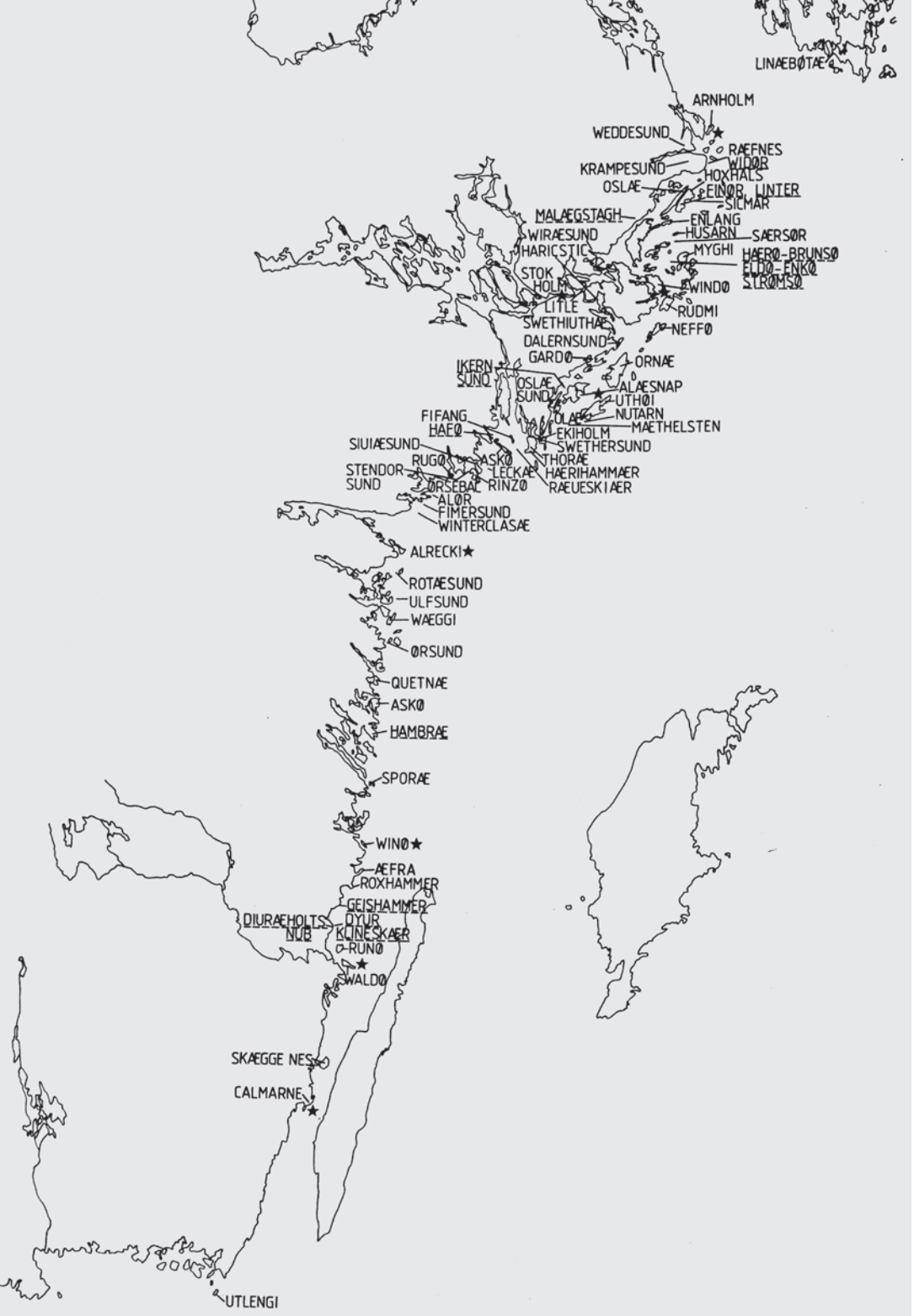
There is also a maritime Franciscan friary on the island *Torkö*,[241] also in Blekinge, to be compared to that of Kökar in Åland. This former site, which at first in 1467 had only a chapel to *St. Clara,* was founded in 1489 by the noble family Bielke, who also owned the somewhat enigmatic site of *Björnö*, at Kråkerum, Mönsterås, Småland, mentioned earlier.[242]

Several coastal chapels are known on the Danish island of Bornholm. Those which do not directly serve the towns seem to be *Salomons kapel* in Allinge-Sandvig, which was truly a fishermen's church, *St. Anna* in Gudhjem, *St. Trinitatis* in Rø, *St. Margrethe* at Maglegård, Øster-Marie and a further site in Allinge.[243] There is a place name indication in *Kirkholmen*, a skerry at *Christiansø*, together with *Bodholmen* (presumably pointing to fishing booths), from before the establishment of the Danish naval base.

As I have already pointed out there are no true archipelago chapels in present-day Denmark. But other coastal chapels abound.[244] One can point out some medieval examples from great fishing camps, such as *Dragør* on the large island of Amager close to Copenhagen, and on the sandy spur of *Albuen,* belonging to Lolland. An interesting site is the medieval *St. Alberts kapell* on the coast of Ærø among the southern Danish isles.[245]

Now I will consider the areas west and north. Few medieval coastal chapels are known in the west coast of present-day Sweden, although obvious candidates exist, such as *Morup*[246] or *Galtabäck*[247] in Tvåker, with special maritime significance during the Middle Ages. It is possible that a Danish cultural pattern may have played a part in this seeming absence of coastal chapels. But on the other hand no real archipelago exists, except further north in a tiny part of Halland, Västergötland (Gothenburg area) and in almost the whole of Bohuslän. The first chapel in the *Styrsö* archipelago is in Västergötland, with a churchyard which has been excavated. It was first mentioned in 1596 and might have been a product of the great herring period of 1556–1589. Except for the *Lesefrüchte* tradition, information about it is nowadays very vague. It has been called "the Viking churchyard" which is indeed far from the mark. On the other hand several burial places are known in the archipelago, *Brännö, Galterö, Buskär, Danaholmen (Danska Liljan)* and *Rivö*. These may be in part medieval and be the burial sites of drowned sailors. The burial site on Rivö is called *Korset* or *Korsvik*, which can be readily seen to refer to a cross, whether material or metaphorical, and reminds us of similar place names at Norwegian sites (below, on Trøndelag), where some in fact had recorded chapels. Before the important fort, Nya Älvsborg, was established at Göteborg in 1653, this island was called *Kyrkogårdsholmen,* "churchyard island" or something similar. There are mazes in the archipelago of Styrsö, and also the interesting case of a wall of a new official churchyard, inaugurated in 1840, which was extended to incorporate an earlier maze.[248]

Seasonal fishing camps in Bohuslän seem to have usually lacked chapels. Normally chapels were found only in permanent fishing settlements. Johan Pettersson, who carried out pioneering investigations, has little to say about archipelago chapels.[249] It is obvious that during the



Map 6 Place names in Sweden mentioned in the Baltic itinerary of c. AD 1300 in the Tax Register (jordebog) of King Valdemar Sejr of Denmark. (From Westerdahl 1990)

Fig. 39 "Kyrkan," Väderön. The site of the simple foundation reflects efficiently the austere environment of many archipelago chapels. (Photo: Pia Claesson, Bohusläns museum, Uddevalla)

great period of herring in the middle of the 16th century small chapels were erected, e.g. at fishing camps like *Stangen, Fiskebäckskil* (the old church, before the present one) and *Saltö* (area of Lysekil). In another publication Pettersson discussed another chapel site at a fishing camp, presumably from the same period, at *Geviks-* or *Getevikssund* close to Oxevik, in the same area (Lysekil). He also mentioned several of the other sites, but only in passing.[250] A site called *Kyrkan*, "the church," (fig. 39) in the outer archipelago of Väderöarna, has been partly excavated in the context of a haven with carvings and other small hut/house foundations etc.[251] In 1746 Pehr Kalm described a burial ground at *Homborgsund* as of the size of a "large, more or less square cottage" and made a sketch of it, including the four cairns which mark each grave.[252] In this province are also at least two fisher and/or sailor graveyards (on two different islands) in the neighbourhood of the out-harbour of *Vedholmarna*[253] in the archipelago of Fjällbacka. The Norwegian parson and author Peder Claussøn Friis mentioned both as graveyards around 1600.[254] A Franciscan friary in Marstrand may have been important for services in the skerries. According to Johan Anton Wikander burial customs in this area were undisciplined.[255] Drowned corpses were often buried where they were found. A similar custom of temporary or permanent resting places may have existed here and there, for example in Finland[256] or Eastern Sweden.[257]

In Lake Vänern I have noted some indications of medieval chapels or churches, notably *Lurö*, with its Cistercian monastery temporarily established in 1143,[258] and on the island extension *Fågelö*, a part of the large Torsö archipelago, at least meant for extensive use by fishermen and sailors.[259] At the much frequented harbours of Ullersundet straits on Kållandsö in the south a small medieval chapel site has recently been excavated.[260] In the area several parish churches seem to have been used. Otherwise the coastal parish churches were meeting places for sailors.

Southern Norway

Most of the chapels of Agder in Southern Norway are connected with what have been called out-harbours, *uthavner*. The use of this term could of course be strictly limited to

those which were of the classical type of the last centuries, as Dag Hundstad has defined it.[261] They were situated in the archipelago and directly at the sailing route, and defined as a condensed settlement with at least 100 permanent inhabitants, of which the vast majority (more than 75%) had maritime occupations, such as shipping, piloting, ship carpentry (repair) and inn-keeping. Fishing was certainly practised widely but mostly only for household requirements. The settlements had no formal rights similar to those of a loading place or a town. This is unique, and with Hundstad[262] we may call this a *maritime monoculture*.

This is presumably a more or less singular phenomenon connected to the major transport belt leading to the Baltic and back to the North Sea, possibly the most concentrated transport line in Europe. It was meant to serve the traffic along this dangerous stretch of coast which has tricky currents and strong, but unstable winds. Piloting and the maintenance of sea marks were necessary, and shelter was rudimentary because of contrary winds, storms and faulty navigation. Storm-driven and damaged, barely saved vessels had to be re-rigged and repaired and the crews had to get temporary food and lodging. Shipwrecked vessels and their cargo would have had to be salvaged and auctioned. So far in this text I have not dealt with anything resembling this type of exposed and yet extremely frequented coast.

It is hard to say when it is reasonable to assume that this traffic was sufficiently intense for such a peculiar form of settlement to emerge, but a guess would be the 17th–18thcenturies.

This means that minor settlements in Agder which came before, with like, but less well-developed functions, would be similar to what we have so far seen in the Baltic.

In this sense the chapel harbours that we find are still *uthavner*, out-harbours, i.e. they are situated on islands in the inner or outer archipelagos.

Two harbours are particularly important in this connection, *Ny-Hellesund* and *Selør*. *Ny Hellesund* in Søgne, Vest-Agder, is particularly known for its two impressive sea mark beacons, *Hellesunds varder*, or familiarly, *Jentan* (fig. 40). The beacons were rebuilt in a modern form and are part of the arms of the commune Søgne. Despite destruction during the German occupation their core and site may be among the oldest remaining in Norway.[263] The harbour is well protected inside a group of rocky islands with several entrances. In Norse medieval sources, the sagas of the kings, it is mentioned as *Helgasund*, "the holy sound,"[264] and in the oldest Dutch sailing description in 1543 as *Heilyghesond*.

According to the usual pattern of migratory tales St. Olav is associated with this site, as with many others in Norway.[265] However, St. Olav's actual former presence here cannot be substantiated by historical sources.[266] There are on the other hand two late medieval wrecks in the central area of the harbour basin, *Ny Hellesund I* with a probable non-Nordic construction from c. 1450, and a cargo of limestone from Tallinn, and the clinker-built *Ny-Hellesund II* from approximately the same time.[267] On the island of *Kapelløya*, sometimes earlier written *Cabbeløen*, there is a burial site. The last recorded burial took place in 1827.[268] No wall is visible, but both the place name and a detailed tradition also confirm the former existence of a chapel. The local historian of Søgne, Jostein Andreassen, was able to substantiate this. He also found that the chapel must have been taken down in the 1760s. Several logs from the chapel, painted with parts of bible verses, were installed in an existing building on the mainland. Since they are apparently of Lutheran origin, these verses date from sometime after 1550.[269] There is no trace of an earlier building, although it might have existed.

The ancient harbour of *Selør* is well documented, even better than that of Ny-Hellesund.

It was a vital part of the most important area of rest and emergency harbours west of Lindesnes, or *the Naze*. This is the southernmost mainland point of Norway. At this particular point one sees from the shores the two most important northern sea-routes parting company, stretching far, one to the north and the other towards the Baltic. This statement on parting company could even be understood in a literal sense since many of the ships sailing across the North Sea went in convoys. To double the Naze was understood as one of the highly significant symbolic stages in a long northern journey, where baptism of sailors was practised.[270] But currents and winds were tricky and it might be necessary to seek shelter for weeks, even a month. According to Norges kongesagaer, the sagas of the Norse kings,[271] St. Olav did really stop for quite some time during the winter of 1028. In 1156 the kings Inge and Øystein met here and the Bagler fleet was here in 1207, etc.[272] Records from the beginning of the 14th century mention English traffic to this spot from Kingston-on-Hull.[273] An inland waterway and the main portages at Lista, called *Listeid*, and *Spangereid* further east enabled smaller vessels to avoid the exposed and dangerous Lindesnes promontory.

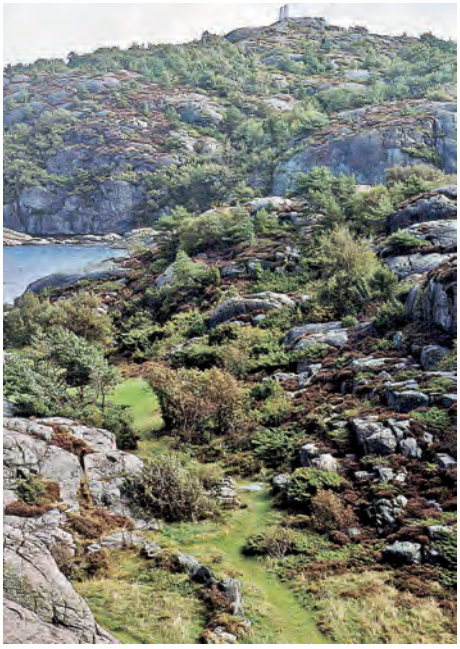


Fig. 40 Chapel site of *Ny-Hellesund*, Vest-Agder, from the other side of the isthmus across the island. In the remote background the famous twin seamarks on the top. Possible burial place enclosed by wall in the foreground. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 2005)

Like Ny-Hellesund, Selor is situated in a minor archipelago, from which protection is afforded far inward to the mainland. This sheltered area was probably in medieval days called *Korshamn*, "harbour of the cross," the present name of a settlement here. The earliest Nordic cartographer, the Dane Claudius Clavus,[274] mentioned Korshamn for the first time in 1435 as *corshaun*. The compound name *Korshamn*, *Korshavn* or *Krosshamn* was used in all of Scandinavia during the High Middle Ages. The *Kors-* or *Kross*-part may have denoted a cross erected as a sea mark or a market cross.[275] There are, as I have pointed out here and elsewhere, several other possible interpretations of this name element.[276]

In the vicinity of Selør an assemblage of medieval shipwrecks has been found, so far unprecedented in Norway outside the city ports. There are at least four sites of differing types, of which two match the ship archaeological type of a cog (Kogge). They are dated within the High Middle Ages, from 1265 to 1385, 1410–1460, 1460 and 1520, respectively.[277]

What has been called a chapel at Selør is a small but highly visible ruin of a stone foundation within a likewise very visible fence of stones. The fence is circular or oval (fig. 41), a characteristic common to several other sites I have mentioned.[278]

The site is situated on the plateau above the harbour basin of Selør with its settlement. The basin contains cultural layers where medieval finds have been successively unearthed

Fig. 41 Circular church yard with the ruins of a chapel, *Selør*, Vest-Agder, Southern Norway. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 2004)

over a long period. Despite this, the oral tradition about a chapel was not taken seriously. As far as I know, it was only in 1987, with an article by Johan Anton Wikander[279] that it could be ascertained that this ruin really was a chapel, at least late medieval. The Dutch publisher of a handbook of navigation, Lucas Jansz Waghenaer, describes the route to the haven in 1592 as the route to the haven under "kercsken", the church on the northern side. The English edition of the work by Willem Jansz Blaeu of 1612 mentions anchor roads "right against the white church."

Furthermore, the amateur historian Wikander has pointed systematically to traditions about ancient chapel sites and churchyards along this coast. Earlier, professionals, archaeologists or historians, were sceptical. The historian Torbjörn Låg states regarding traditional sites like Seløyene (Selør), Homborsund and Hesnesøyene that "indications are so vague that it is preliminarily best to ignore them."[280] But precisely in this area of Norway the archaeologist Frans-Arne Stylegar was able to substantiate several traditions regarding deserted church sites, at Sånum, a coastal site close to Mandal, and an early stave church at Åseral deep inland.[281] And, indeed, Selør does have a chapel ruin.

Several burial sites really do exist. There is a regular churchyard in *Kjerringvika* on the island Prestøyna at Hidra, which seems to be fairly late. There is also a tradition, somewhat eccentric, describing a burial site after a Viking Age battle at the harbour of *Hillesund*, west of Mandal, where the fallen were supposed to have been interred in a bog on nearby Ramsøy. The large harbour area at Flekkerøy near Kristiansand contains two sites with indicative names, *Kjerregårdsbukta* on Flekkerøy and *Kabeldalen*, in Vågsbygd. These may point to a period before the naval harbour was established in the 16th and 17th centuries. On Odderøya in the town of Kristiansand we know of another *Kjerregårdsbukta*, but this is in fact a naval cholera churchyard from the middle of the 19th century.

Other indicative names are found at Skjernøy, such as *Kirkeviga* and *Kapellheia* or *Kapitellheia*, but no suitable site has been discovered for a chapel there.[282]

Sailors are supposed to have been buried along the inner route, at *Landøy* in Halse or on the mainland, for example at *Torsvik* in Oddernes. No finds have been made.

Skeletons have however been brought to light at *Kjerrgårdshola* at the harbour of *Gamle Hellesund* (as opposed to *Ny-Hellesund*) in Aust-Agder. There is also a *Kabelviga* here.

Another *Kabelviga* is situated at a minor harbour, *Ulvøsund*, in the inner route called

Blindleia. Between Lillesand and Grimsand is the important harbour *Homborsund* with a churchyard in Sjøråger on the mainland. At *Kabbelviga* on *Vestre Hesnesøy* – long known traditionally as a harbour site – outside Grimstad – there is also a grave site for sailors where the last was interred in 1848. Yet another site of the same character has been identified on the island *Merdø*, a trading and pilot station outside the town Arendal. In the 18th century were reported here remains of a building which is thought to have been an "ancient monastery."

Furthermore, the large island *Jomfruland* in Telemark is supposed to have had a "plague" churchyard, in *Langesund* in the same fylke (adm. county) a cholera churchyard, and the same story is told about *Brevik* in this area. The background of these statements, as well as the background of statements about the Swedish east coast (mentioned previously), should be explored with scepticism.

There are 6–7 maritime sites called *Marikov* along this stretch of coast. According to Wikander[283] *kove* means "a small house, cottage." The same word seems to be reiterated in *Torekov*, a fishing harbour in northern Skåne where St. Tora is supposed to have been a local saint.[284] The interpretation of *Marikov* could be "the cottage/shed (altar?) of Mary," pointing to a tiny spot of devotion, presumably medieval.

These examples must suffice. Although it may be difficult in this fundamentally sea-oriented coastline to discern what has to do with the ocean and what does not, what should be considered an archipelago chapel or not, this is not the only area in the north where these questions arise. In any case it is clear that the material is as rich here as anywhere.

There are questions remaining on the striking absence of traditions or remains at sites which seem to be important, maybe more important than most. Why are there no theories about *Brekkestø*, between Kristiansand and Lillesand? Why not about *Svinør*, the complementary site to Selør on the eastern side of Lindesnes, or the fishing harbour of Våre in an area where many ships have been shipwrecked or found an emergency harbour? What about *Portør* outside Kragerøy, known as a medieval harbour, called *Portyrja*? Or *Hvaler* in Østfold?[285] This kind of question could, as we have seen several times, be posed also about sites in Finland and Sweden.

The fishing chapels are recorded to some extent in the bishopric of Bergen in a section of the so-called *Bergens Kalvskinn*, in which is also noted the income of the priests.[286]

For obvious reasons I will have to leave the other Norwegian material, place names, oral tradition and possible remains to others. But it is clear that the material is exceedingly rich, and not only at the coast. For example there seems to have existed a genuine medieval fishing chapel inland at *Øyra*, where the Lågen River flows into Mjøsa, the largest Norwegian lake.[287]

Norwegian fishing camps are highly variable in size and in function depending on the availability of arable soil and grazing areas, the presence of some permanent settlers all year – which is extremely uncommon in the Baltic – and/or that of a large number of seasonal fishermen from the outside. Some should be called fishing hamlets or villages rather than camps.[288] A large number may have had medieval chapels, if we believe only a small number of the stories and place names recorded.[289] Many are known during the following centuries and, as in Sweden and Finland, are still standing.

Sometimes a chapel has a continuous history, but often not. Tracing the history of a medieval chapel means recording the difficulties of building and maintaining one. We know

of many sites where we have recorded at least the existence of medieval chapels, but of which nothing remains except place names. It is only reasonable that other sites were not recorded but also left place names. Yet others acquired chapels in later times, in the 17th and 18th centuries, and some of these, at least the site, may be late medieval in origin. The reasons for this vary, but a salient factor was the accessibility of building material, invariably wood. A considerable number of the fishing camps were situated close to the best fishing waters on barren out-skerries. In southern Trøndelag we find the large archipelagos of Frøya and Hitra. Here were the medieval chapels *non curate* of Frøya in *Sula* and *Titran*.[290] I will return later to a tale about the origin of the chapel at Sula. In Hitra were also found *Kvenvær* with the same position on a barren out-skerry, but the chapel at *Ulvan* was provided with supporting land.[291]

In the Namdalen coastal district of northern Trøndelag at least five chapels existed in 1597, on *Nordøyan*, *Fråholmen*, *Hummelvær*, *Frelsøya* and *Sklinna* (now in the district of Leka).[292] They must certainly have had late medieval Catholic origins. There was another chapel at the large camp of *Sørgjeslingan*, although it was not mentioned in the same source.[293]

As to the *Frelsøen* and *Nordøen* camps it was pointed out at the same time that the fishermen were always in dire need of firewood, because they had to sail 4 or 5 *uger søs* to get to a forest.[294] It could easily be imagined how troublesome and even hazardous such trips must have been with the small fishing boats loaded with wood. Driftwood or wreckage was distant and only temporarily available. What a feat to transport the building material for a chapel on a barren island! One can marvel at the courage displayed at many other sites, indicating the significance accorded to these humble temples. However, maintenance was equally difficult. Many chapels had to be discarded. When decay and disuse had gone too far, chapels must have been welcome as fire-wood. Divine services were then transferred to other islands or to the mainland. The wealth of fish at a certain site tempted fishermen, but the supply was unreliable. The fishermen had desert the camp and find other places to fish. In a few generations the fish might return and the camp might be re-populated and even the chapel re-erected. Thus, the ritual landscape of fishermen's chapels is a dynamic and changeable phenomenon.

Some Questions to Explore Further for Each Possible Chapel Site

Are there any traditions about and connections to saintly place names or other associations with saints in the vicinity of the suspected site? When one examines a site where there may have been a chapel one should ask, are there are connections to saints or saints' names?

What is the maritime significance of the place chosen? Its topographical features and those of its vicinity may have an imprint in human cognition. Thus: was the reason for choosing a certain island or a certain location only because it was advantageous for fishing and shipping? What was the significance of a burial site? Did the burial occur before or after the chapel was built?

What happened first? Was the fishing settlement or the services required by shipping the primary aim? In at least one instance, at Enskär (Södermanland, Sweden), this question seems to have been resolved. Here the chapel appears to be considerably older than the fishing settlement.

Were the aims of shipping and fishing combined from the beginning? Were they contemporary in all respects?

Is it possible to see a connection to other chapels? Does there seem to be a system along a route, like those seemingly aligned along the Finnish bay (and the itinerary of c. AD 1300)? Are the distances between them approximately the same? Would this be a function of feudal interest?

Or was the island location primarily chosen to be a graveyard? Is the graveyard older than the chapel? At Lemböte in Åland it seems to be physically impossible that the graveyard could be older than the chapel. The burial sites are close to the chapel, which is rather unusual.

Was this graveyard Christian from the beginning or the descendant of a pagan grave site? This is a question partly derived from the results of research at Kyrksundet, Hitis (Finland).

Did outside entities, such as the local feudal power, the church aristocracy or the crown, have an interest in controlling sea routes and fishing? Did the interests of these bodies agree with those of local people? Were there important conflicts, within or between groups?

Any serious history requires detailed examination and also a larger perspective. In this text I have tried to accomplish both these aims. In studying the history of maritime chapels I have considered not only the tangible chapel spot, but also its regional, even its national background, and I have emphasized the value of oral traditions.

"How to Find the Chapel under Water"

My final point may appear as an anti-climax, but I believe the potential of underwater archaeology is grossly underestimated. It does not really matter where one starts.

The usefulness of legends for rather mundane archaeological implications is already obvious. If it is possible to record a story of a chapel at a certain maritime spot, preferably a possible harbour site, its more or less exact location could be verified by underwater investigations of a rather simple nature. We have noted the tendency of wrecks to be scattered at certain harbours rather than at coastal waters in general. In this text I have discussed Selør och Ny-Hellesund in Southern Norway. We should learn from these examples to apply the principle of underwater search to more anonymous locations. Wrecks may have been found independently from any interviews in which we listened to tales recounted by local people. These local people sometimes tell you a story which does not apply to any harbour that they know of. But not only wrecks may reveal a harbour or haven. A haven is not necessarily the background of a wreck site. In calmer waters a repair ship yard would be a reasonable alternative.[295]

In any case the harbour can also be measured spatially as to its activities. Its cultural layers are distributed according to the frequency and nature of the business undertaken. As an example I have chosen the case of *Djurhamn* on Djurö, south of Stockholm. There the search for finds has not been systematic at all.[296] Still, it has been possible to delineate four activity areas (of which two are not shown on fig. 42). One is the chapel site, the other the inn. Such frequency analyses could be done more rigorously and be duly scientifically documented – even to *find* an unknown chapel site.

If the number of artefacts of a certain type in a certain location is found to be greater than the number of some other types of artefacts, this number will indicate that a certain activ-

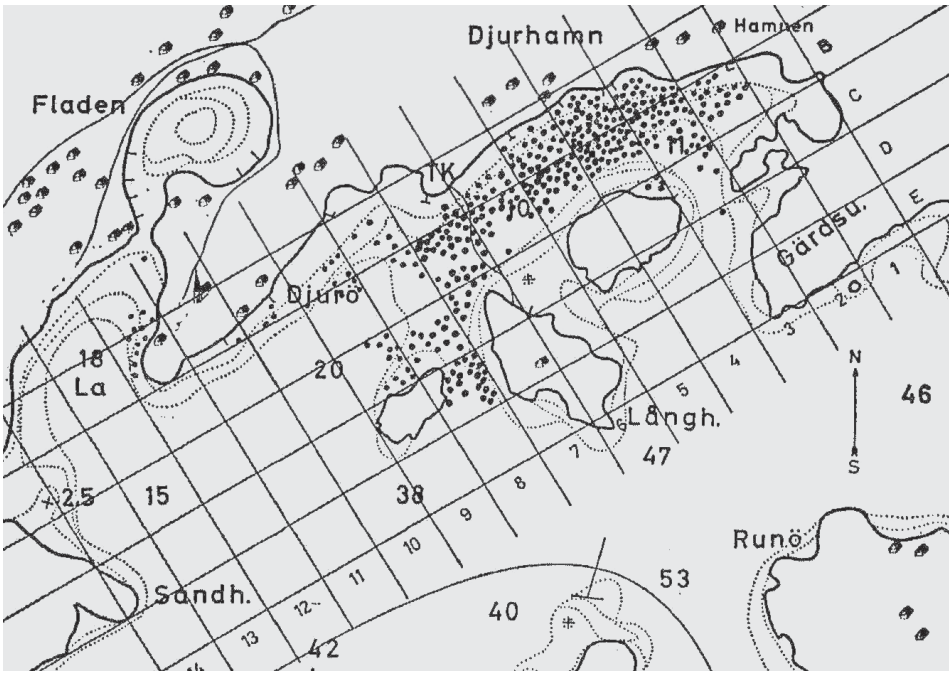


Fig. 42 Haven/harbour at Djurhamn on Djurö, south of Stockholm. Without systematic excavation, the registered underwater finds cluster at the chapel site to the left and at the inn to the right. Unfortunately, at the chapel are fewer finds but mostly due to the fact that these finds were made in the mud and not so often exposed and visible on the bottom, which results in a less obvious concentration. But the tendency is quite clear and reiterated at many other sites. Two other clusters of finds are not shown on this map. Both are found at the points outside where ships were anchored waiting for a suitable wind, either to go northward or southward. (From Cederlund & Löfstrand 1970)

ity took place in that area now underwater. Examples could be: animal bones from meals, pottery for cooking, or packing material used in loading or unloading. Of course exceptions occur: a collection of clay tobacco pipes might rather indicate idle waiting.

It does not appear to be impossible to find clues which are hard to research because of land-rise or cut-off water basins. Researching clues in such situations is much more difficult than researching them in open waters. As can be seen at the ancient harbour of Drakön, Hälsingland, even a wetland may contain well-preserved cultural layers.

The two areas which are not found on fig. 42 are the points where ships were waiting for the wind, in any direction from the harbour, south or north, east or west. There is a wealth of evidence from other haven areas of such points.

The possibilities for research certainly apply to havens and harbours mainly used for loading, resting or emergency. A critical point is whether fishing harbours and camps would display such remains. I think they would. Not only during the Middle Ages was the need of international shipping for fishing camps obvious. Fish was an extremely attractive article and could be bought directly from the producers. The fishermen might want to exchange fish for other goods. Of course it could be surmised that the loading place did not need to be at the same spot as the fishing camp, since the requirements for landing small fishing

vessels were quite different from those for larger cargo ships. Moreover, the fishing camps were resources for shipping, providing piloting and possible repair. Finally, in situations where the crews needed other assistance, the skerries were the only places at the routes to provide it. There might be corpses on board to be brought on land to bury in consecrated ground, a situation that brings us directly to questions about chapel sites and burial grounds.

The Legends of St. Sunniva, The Virgin, The Mermaid, Mary, Any Woman Coming to Land and Presumably Having Founded the Chapel

Now I approach the second main subject of this text, the myths, legends and beliefs of the cognitive maritime world. Legends connected with the founding of chapels mostly concern women or female characters.

St. Sunniva of Selja, Norway

The best known legend is that of St. Sunniva. Her name is undoubtedly Anglo-Saxon. She was supposed to have been an Irish princess, daughter of a king. Sunniva was supposed to have fled from a pagan king who wanted to marry her. This background of hers is partially shared with St. Ursula of Cologne, mentioned elsewhere. She and her followers escaped in three vessels set adrift without oars. Finally they came ashore at two Western Norwegian islands, two ships at Kinn to the south and the third with St. Sunniva herself on board at Selja at Stadlandet further north. The story of the people involved in the ships at Kinn and their further destiny is more or less lost in the major legend, but according to early versions some of their bones were found.

The latter island Selja, and Stadlandet itself, are both rich in maritime significance (fig. 43). The cape of Stad with its forbidding cliffs juts out into the Atlantic (fig. 44). Its passage was fraught with dangers. Apart from its vicious currents the sea at Stad is stormier than at anywhere else along the entire coast. On the other hand it was a favourable area to start a sea passage directly to any of the Atlantic islands. The direction and distance from Stad was computed from western Norway to almost all of the Atlantic possessions of the Norwegian realm during the High Middle Ages. These calculations also included the distances to Shetland, the closest, Orkney and the rest of the British Isles, and further by way of the Faroes to Iceland and Greenland and vice versa. It is no wonder that St. Sunniva, coming from the direction of northern Scotland, was supposed to have landed here.

On both sides of the cape there were always emergency harbours in which to rest and wait in contrary winds or other emergencies, so as to be able to double the cape later in greater safety. The harbour area to the south incorporates the island of Selja, deep inside the coast.

No less than three sites along the base of the peninsula were supposed to have been used as portages to cross the isthmus with smaller vessels or only cargo. Presumably both were carried, even the vessels. If the cargo only was carried it would be reloaded on the other side (fig. 43).[297]

I believe that the cognitive significance of the meeting of sea and land could hardly be

Fig. 43 Peninsula of Stad, west cape of Norway, with the island Selja at the lower part. One of the portages across the isthmus, *Dragseidet* with the settlement *Drage*, is marked. (From a tourist presentation of the monastery site)

Fig. 44 Dramatic maritime landscape at Stad. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 2005)

more marked than at Stad. There is only one other place in Norway to compete with Stad in this sense. This is *Lindesnes, The Naze* to British sailors, in the far south (discussed earlier), where the seaways of the North Sea part company, to the Baltic or northwards in the direction of Bergen, Stad and, ultimately, the White Sea and northern Russia. Shelter harbours on both sides exist here as well, of which the above-mentioned *Selør* to the west and *Svinør* to the east are the most important. It has also been emphasized that this area, like Stad, comprises an alternative passage with portages further inshore and partly inland. A myth is told in the area of Lindesnes which could be as important as the St. Sunniva legend, but which could have a political meaning as well.[298] It is the story of the Danish king Ragnar Lodbrok and the local girl Aslaug Kråka, associated with the portage of Spangereid. In fact, Aslaug Kråka was once found at the shore as a child. It is indicated that her father was a god or that she was brought up by a god (Odinn) in disguise. This legend is undoubtedly expresses the notion of the meeting of sea and land, with the sea as a female and the land as a male.

Here, the chapel harbour of *Selør* or *Korshamn*, is implied. *All such well-frequented stopping havens of international shipping fed and spread the development of dominant myths.* It seems that even smaller harbours, as pivots and nodes in the maritime cultural landscape, could be centres for the retelling and spread of stories.[299]

I return to St. Sunniva: she and her followers lived for a while on the island, which may have been uninhabited at the time. The coastal dwellers in the area suspected unseen strangers of stealing their sheep, which grazed on the island. They called in the brutal pagan jarl Håkon. In their distress the St. Sunniva and her people crept into a cave (a view from it on fig. 45). Before they were discovered the

Fig. 45 Wall of the rock shed on Selja to the right. Inside the cave was the most holy site, called *Mikkjalskyrkja* (Michael's church). The relics of the saint and her holy followers were supposed to have been found there. In front of it stands the chapel ruin of *Sunnivakyrkja*. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 2005)

Fig. 46 Ruins of the monastery of Selja itself. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 2005)

roof of the cave fell in, killing them instantly. The relics of Sunniva and her male followers were, according to the legend, found later by means of miraculous signs, such as a fragrant smell and a pillar of light, during the reign of the Christian king, Olav Tryggvasson. She was sanctified along with the men, including her brother. The year was later supposed to be AD 996.[300] In medieval Norway the day of their death was celebrated on the 8th July as *festum sanctorum in Selio* (Norse *seljumannamessa*).

Research has suggested that several elements were amalgamated into the legend: the story of St. Sunniva, the death of the strangers, the holy men of Selja buried under the mass of falling rocks, Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins, perhaps including the Seven Sleepers of the Orient, and related stories from early Christian times.[301] The foundation of the legendary structure was present fairly early. Already in the 11th century Sunniva's Anglo-

Saxon name was well known in Norway. This later developed into the particular and very popular Norwegian woman's name *Synnøve*. A Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. Alban (fig. 46) was erected on the island, which kept the relics of the saints, and a local bishopric was established, and later transferred to Bergen. It was still an important pilgrimage site in the late Middle Ages, with its holiest spots being the cave and the church of St. Sunniva (fig. 45). Selja has sometimes been called the womb of the Norwegian church.[302] In a sense St. Sunniva christianised Norway. This is a metaphor which has had cognitive repercussions in other sites discussed later. She was well-known along with her legend in the Catholic North (also discussed later). In Norway there seems also to have existed a parallel story of another Anglo-Saxon virgin saint called *St. Brictiua* or Norse *Brettiva*.[303] The cult of St. Sunniva and *seljumennene*, the men of Selja, was promoted by the Church in all of Scandinavia, for example by the Cistercians in Sweden. Some examples are from the collectar of the diocese of Skara, either associated with the abbey of Varnhem or the convent of Gudhem.[304] Later I will mention her cult in Finland.

Jungfruhamn, Bjuröklubb, Västerbotten, N. Sweden

The name *Jungfruhamn*, "harbour of the virgin," nowadays refers to a shallow entrance, quite unlike a harbour, to an ancient site. This site, now inland, is called *Jungfrugraven*, "grave of the virgin," the supposed chapel site. During his antiquarian journey in Swedish Norrland in 1827, Nils Johan Ekdahl found a "jungfruhamn," a "Virgin harbour" and a "kyrkogård," "churchyard" here, on Bjurön: "At Jungfruhamn is a curious stone setting where a Virgin is supposed to be buried."[305]

Other versions are more specific. Some emphasize the notion of a foreign lady, sometimes specified as "French," sometimes not. But common to them all is the idea that she was a fine lady, perhaps a princess.[306] Others specify her as "a captain's daughter," which may have meant approximately the same to ordinary people!

The grave at the site, which does exist according to witnesses,[307] must be from later times. In fact lichen growth indicates a date in the early 20th century.[308] This may be the reason that the legendary aura of the place has more or less dissipated.

The former harbour, which originally was called *Jungfruhamn*, is now inland, situated in a wetland. Very early 14th-century datings from the Iron Age have been obtained from a settlement here.[309] Close to it is found what is thought to be a very small foundation of a chapel, where the grave is located, surrounded by a round or oval low wall of stones,[310] of the same shape as a churchyard or burial site (figs. 47–48). By means of lichenometry it has been dated to the beginning of the 16th century. More specific datings extend from 1490 to 1656, which seems to give some support for the idea that it was a precursor to the present fishing hamlet situated in the former channel between the island Bjurön and the mainland, established late in the 17th century. But in all other respects the place is still an archaeological enigma, perhaps only a deserted burial ground. Recently, it has been proposed that it was originally a Saami cult site.[311]

Bjurön is no longer an island, as it was in the 17th century (figs. 49–50). It is an important maritime passage point, where the large parish of Lövånger covers a stretch of land extending out to the east into the Bothnian Bay, making this part closer to Finland than anywhere else except at the Kvarken sound considerably further south. In the past, contacts

Fig. 47 Tiny ruin of a chapel inside the fence at *Jungfrugraven*, "grave of the virgin," at Bjuröklubb, Lövånger, Västerbotten, Northern Sweden. The centre is marked as the site of a later grave. (Photo: Christer Westerdahl, 1975)

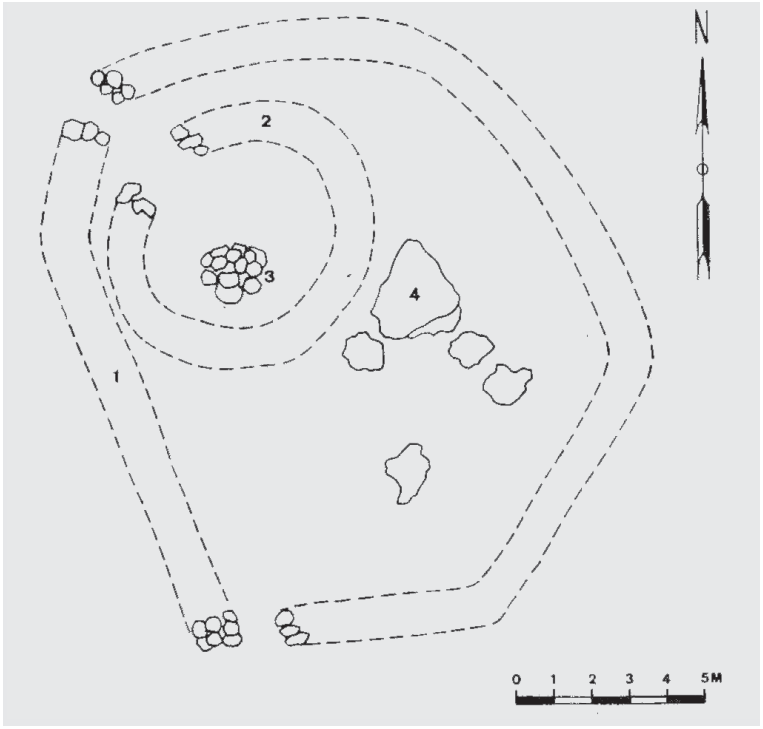


Fig. 48 Plan of the site *Jungfrugraven*. See fig. 47. (From Huggert 1976)

with Österbotten on the other side were lively. In 1555 Olaus Magnus mentions as an important landmark the highly visible rock of Bjuröklubb, calling it "the crowned rock."[312] Possibly he had visited the place, at least passed it during his journey to Torneå in 1519. The harbour site of his time may have been discovered inside the rock as late as 1993.[313] According to Olaus, the smell of drying fish (herring) on its rock was then noticed far out to sea, thus an *olfactory* sea mark! Seal hunters and fishermen, local or not, have settled seasonally in different sites on the point, notably at Grundskatan, at least from early in the Migra-

tion Age (400–550 AD).[314] In fact these remains are so far the oldest known house remains in this northern coastal area, together with the sealing locality of the island Storrebben in the neighbourhood of Piteå further north. Remains at Bjuröklubb date as well from the Viking (800–1050 AD) and later periods, from which dated rock carvings record dates into the last centuries, including a seal hunter's visits from Finland.

This is also a significant area from the maritime point of view (map, figs. 49–50). As in the vicinity of the capes of Lindesnes and Stad in Western Norway there are alternative harbours, one at Bjuröklubb itself, which opens to the north, and another in the shelter of the northern arm of the land (Vånön) on the other side of the bay, which opens to the south. Moreover, as at Stad – and also at Lindesnes – there is a way to avoid doubling the cape by means of a portage. There is a long winding inland watercourse, coherent in the early Iron Age but which later became a series of possible portages because of the strong land uplift (0.9 m/100 years; fig. 49).[315]

Another problem is that the name of the impressive rock of Bjuröklubb does not seem to be the original one. The present name refers to the inland village Bjurön, literally "the beaver island," which indicates the former island where the rock is situated. As with similar sites the earlier name might have been *Jungfrun*, "The Virgin," which then could have left its seal on *Jungfruhamn*. Thus, the "virgin" implied would then be of a topographical nature, not Mary, nor the Mermaid (if we do not apply a "cosmological" perspective; I will discuss this later).

It should be pointed out that there is a similar situation at Hornslandet in Hälsingland Sweden: where there are inner routes and strong indications of chapel sites, but so far no recorded traditions or legends of the sort one would expect.

If the problem of Bjuröklubb is similar to that of Hornslandet, the probability increases strongly that this name is one that was taboo and therefore forbidden at sea (Arnön). The well-known case of *Blå Jungfrun* has been mentioned earlier and will be again in connection with stone mazes. This other name of Bjuröklubb has then been replaced, possibly only with *Klubben* (meaning approximately "the rounded cape"), but a male counterpart could also be *Bonden* ("The Farmer") which is found at many such significant sites of maritime ritual around the map.[316] The closest known is the bird rock *Bonden* at the outskirts of Umeå in the south. As can be seen the range of suppositions still includes the meeting of land and sea, in this case also male and female, respectively. Could it also be that this possible virgin has been re-interpreted as the Virgin Mary? *Jungfruhamn* could have been more officially *Den Heliga Jungfruns hamn*, "The Harbour of the Holy Virgin," a name recurring further south, where it was recorded during the Middle Ages.[317] If so, the chapel was devoted to her. No early written evidence has survived.

There is a serious flaw in early medieval attributions, however. The word *jungfru* for a virgin is a comparatively late import from German *Jungfrau* into Nordic languages, not before the 15th century. The indigenous term is *mö*, etc. A considerable number of place names contain this element, but not the most prominent points.[318] This 15th-century dating is thus consistent with the others made in *Jungfruhamn* and with the activities carried out there. It is also consistent with the occurrence of stone mazes in the area, so-called "jungfrudanser."

I suggest that the same legends about *Jungfruhamn* were once told further south in Medelpad (above), at Bremö sound in Medelpad, a site indicated only by place names.[319] A

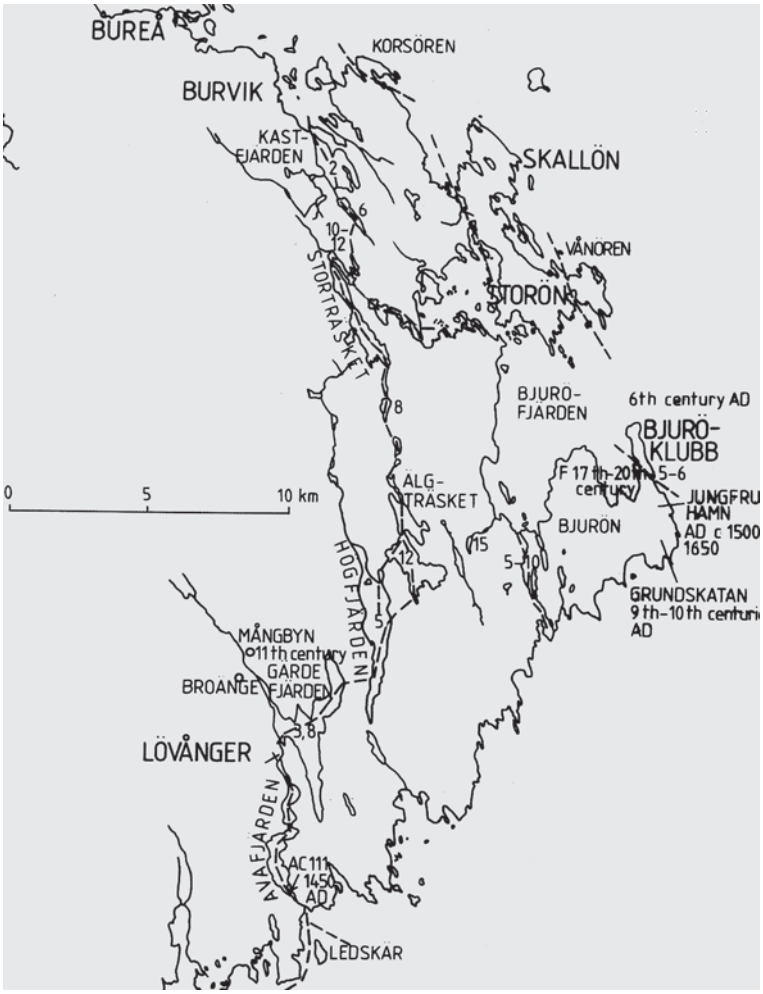


Fig. 49 Maritime cultural centre of Bjuröklubb with *Jungfruhamn* and associated networks during the Iron Age and Middle Ages. The inner waterway routes circumventing the cape, interspersed with portage points on certain levels in metres a.s.l., are marked. At the top is Bureå with *Bure kloster* (fig. 13). The chapel sites of Gräsviken in the northern part (inside Skallön) and Blackefjärden in the south are not marked.

similar tale of a woman sailor coming ashore has been recorded, and told about various places along the channel between the island Bremö and the mainland.

Often other sites remind us of a virgin by their names. Some of them certainly have ritual connections, including chapels, burial grounds and stone mazes. There is also a tradition about a chapel in Southern Finland, called *Dragewegskapellet* (mentioned previously), somewhere in the neighbourhood of the important resting harbour *Jungfrusund* in Hitis.[320]

Signhildsskär, Åland, Finland

Signhildsskär is an isolated small island and skerry group in the centre of the Sea of Åland between mainland Sweden and the archipelago of Åland. It was called *Sancte Signhildskär* in 1538 and *Sanchte Signille skär* 1545, remarkably both in a linguistically masculine form.[321] Different versions of the legends as to the identity of the woman Signhild have come down to us. In the FSF[322] is said: "On the north side of Signilskär could be seen traces of old ruins. According to folk legends these are supposed to be remains of a chapel that was

Fig. 50 Outer routes in the Bothnian are marked on this map of Lövånger parish by Jonas Persson Giedda in 1661. Two important harbours are marked with anchor signs north and south of the rocky cape of Bjuröklubb. The cape itself is still an island and a fishing camp, *Biurö Hambnen,* and has been established in the narrow sound. This may have been a descendant of *Jungfruhamn* in the vicinity to the south (not marked). *Gräswik* (Gräsviken), the site of a fishing camp with a chapel is found on *Granöhn* inside *Wonöhren* close to the northern anchor sign. (Photo: LMV – Swedish Agency of Land-Measuring, the Map Archives)

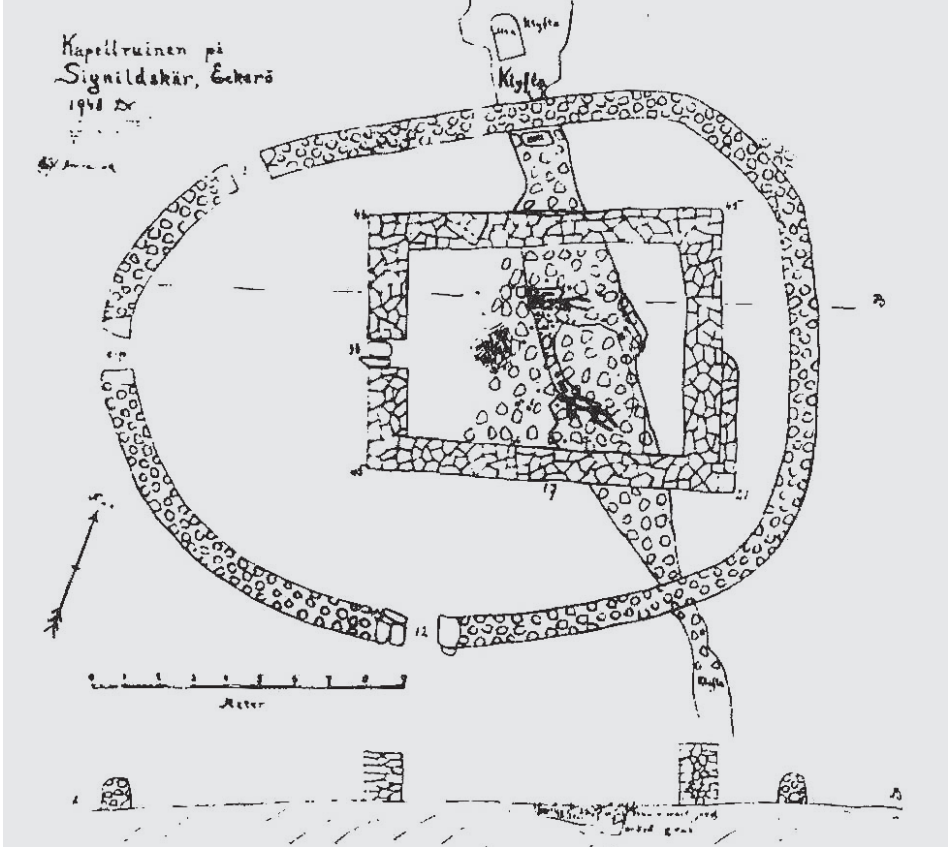


Fig. 51 Chapel and churchyard of *Signhildsskär*, Åland. Matts Dreijer 1949. (From Ringbom & Remmer 1995)

erected by a Swedish queen. The name of the queen was Signild and from it the islands got their name." In other versions Signel or Signella, an English queen or princess, are spoken of. She is supposed to have landed here, foundered, or at any rate set adrift in a storm. One of the versions states that she escaped from enemies. She also had a holy man as her follower. Northwest of the main island lies the small holm of *Heligman* (Holy Man). It is interesting that we find another *Heligman*, a skerry close to Gotland (parish of När) in the middle of the Baltic. So far no other similar details, which may have been there earlier in this tradition, have been found.[323]

There are also, as I have mentioned, *Helgoman* and *Helgomannens kapell* on Fårö. These names all form interesting parallels to the names of the holy men of Selja, *seljemennene* or *sancti in selie.*

In any case, as a consequence of the foundering or of a promise made during the storm, according to the legend Signhild founded a chapel on the main island. The ruin of the chapel is an almost square building within an oval or circular wall (Swed. *bogårdsmur;* fig. 51). Inside it finds have been made of skeletons and it has been interpreted as a burial site for drowned seafarers.

Like most of the other foundations the chapel is laid without mortar. Presumably this means that the building once placed upon it was wooden. The use of the chapel can be dated by finds of coins from the 13th and 14th centuries AD. Unfortunately it has been more or less destroyed since, for misunderstood military reasons.

A version of the legend says that Signhild, after founding this chapel, christianized the

whole population of Åland. Compare this with the idea that St. Sunniva is the mother of the Norwegian church!

This island group has always been of great maritime and strategic importance because of its location in the middle of the sea passage. Here the mail route passed between Sweden and Finland. There are remains of an old fishing camp along a dried-up lagoon. In the 1560s an alms or poor box was set up. This was a pilot station from 1728 on. Later were added a signal gun (1790), an optical telegraph (1796) and a light-house on *Heligman* (1868).

My suggestion is therefore that this is another local version of the St. Sunniva story.[324] St. Sunniva was well-known in Finland, through the contacts between Nidaros of Norway and the diocese of Åbo, manifested in the Missale Aboense of 1485 as well as in Sweden (above).[325] Like the others this version was attached to a site of supreme maritime significance.

Selør, Norway

The same details may be found in other legendary material still current today. In the vicinity of the interesting chapel harbour *Selør* in Vest-Agder, Southern Norway, mentioned before (fig. 41), where I did some fieldwork on sea marks in 2004–2005, there is a rock called *Danskeflua*, "The Danish shoal." The story goes that on this rock a Danish princess was shipwrecked. It does not say if there was supposed to be any connection to the erection of the chapel nearby, but one informer indicated that this was possible.

A Votive Ship in Denmark

Henning Henningsen has registered a legend of slightly similar character on the church ship of Skive, Jutland, Denmark.[326] In this case an English lady was supposed to have been shipwrecked and so have built the church – and also the church ship. As I will point out later it is probable, as Henningsen emphasizes, that such statements in the North about votive gifts would be considered legendary. The church ships in Protestant times mostly had an entirely different background. This is a Catholic custom and as such it might point to the Middle Ages.

Helle Lene in Denmark

Reminiscent of these stories is that of the spring and chapel of *Helle Lene* ("holy /He/lena") in Tisvilde, Själland, Denmark. This famous pilgrimage spring had a similar story as to its origin. A Swedish princess was supposed to have been killed and thrown into the sea at the coast outside Skåne and her corpse was stranded on a stone. The latter detail seems to connect her with St. James of Compostela. On the other hand, there is a Swedish saint, *St. Helena*, of Skövde in Västergötland, which may have been referred to.[327]

Torekov and Arild

The female local saint *St. Tora* was, as I have mentioned above, associated with the fishing harbour of *Torekov* in Skåne. Torekov is situated on the vast peninsula of Bjäre in the north

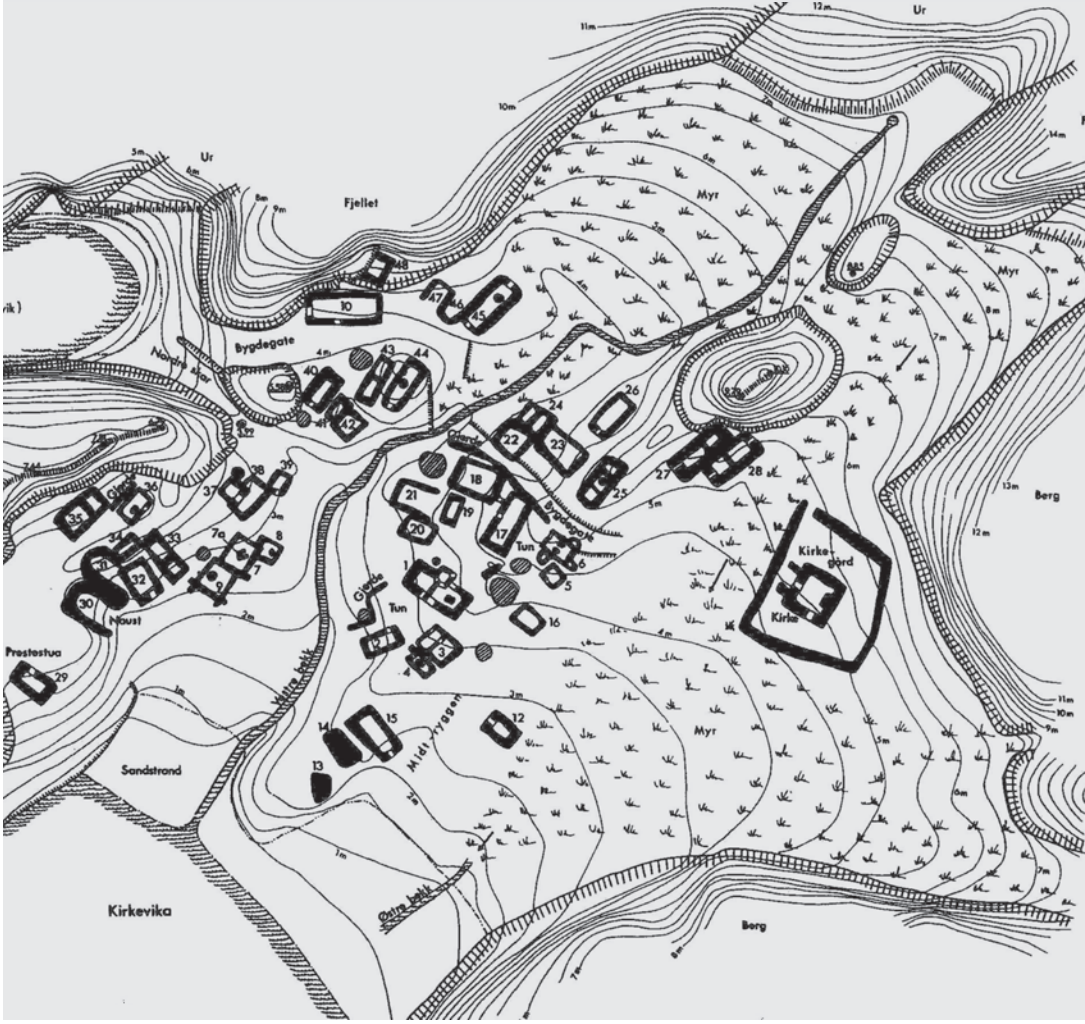


Fig. 52 Fishing camp (fiskevær) of *Mjelvik*, Troms, Northern Norway. Here the camps were slightly less seasonal than those of the Baltic. Note the church/chapel with its churchyard. (From Simonsen 1980)

of the province. This saintly virgin is recorded in the Middle Ages.[328] In various legends she is supposed to have been Norwegian and to have landed at the harbour from the sea. Her brother, thus a male *consors* illustrating the same gender structure, I believe, as the brother of St. Sunniva or of Heligman at Signhildsskär or on Gotland/Fårö, appears as the *patrocinium* of *Arilds kapell*, sometimes *Arvids kapell*, at another fishing harbour called *Arild(släge)* of this part of Skåne. It is situated on the opposite, western, side of the large bay of Skälderviken.

Skälderviken is very close to the dangerous and magically loaded rocks of *Kullen*. This is the most important sailing passage in the whole of the Kattegat, excepting the Skaw (Skagen) of Jutland. The oldest name of Kullen, later possibly to become taboo like Kullen in recent centuries, appears to have been *Skjold*, "the shield," now only preserved in the name of the bay *Skälderviken*.[329] It may be that sailors' beliefs about Kullen date from prehistory.

Fig. 53 Churches in Northern Norway in 1589, some of stone, but mostly of wood. The maritime connections to the settlements served are obvious. (From Bratrein 1970)

Other Small-Scale Examples

At Kullen the threat of shipwreck caused the name. A vague story reminded me again of this fact. During my field survey I was travelling on a boat route, outside *Fågelsundet* in North Uppland, Sweden. I was told about *Jungfruhällen*, Virgin's Rock, which is near there. This rock was associated with a shipwreck or drowning, and also with a chapel which was supposed to have been at *Kappalshamnen,* Chapel Harbour. There is in fact a curious foundation of a building there.

In Norway I return to the legend about the first church of *Sula* in the Frøya archipelago of Trøndelag. It was supposed to have its origin in distress at sea. The ship was Dutch. The daughter of the skipper or the ship owner promised the Lord to build a church at the spot where they came to land, if they only were saved. A votive ship similar to this Dutch vessel was found in the church until the time it was demolished.[330]

The virgins buried on Finnish *Storskär,* Malax, Österbotten have been identified with the daughters of the Finnish nobleman Arvid Kurck, who all perished in a storm while fleeing

across the Bothnian to Sweden in 1522. This may be a secondary product of *Lesefrüchte*.[331] A site with a place name indicating priests in Gräsö, Uppland, Sweden, has also been attached to a story that may allude to this foundering. A "Finnish priest" was supposed to have been buried here with a number of "nuns" after a total wreck in the Gräsö skerries.[332] In any case, I will discuss the site of Storskär in the following article on stone mazes.

There are several other Finnish stories of the same kind. *Kaptenskan*, "the wife of a sea captain," who founded a chapel at *Attu* in Pargas in the 17th century is another. She was supposed to have been saved by being able to land after a shipwreck. The same is true for *Vänö* in Kimito. *Jurmo* chapel was, according to tradition, a captain and his daughter founded *Jurmo* chapel as they had promised to do during a storm.[333] A similar story seems to have been told about Vänö.[334] The theme of one or several women floating to shore is even found in sculptures. The chapel picture of St. Anna with the Virgin and Child, the type known in Swedish as *Anna självtredje*, of Jurmo in Korpo was supposed to have come floating to the island from the sea.

Conclusion

In this article I report on the archipelago fishing chapels of Sweden, Finland and Norway, which I have studied for many years. Denmark I have used for comparison: since it has no archipelago, fishing has taken place mainly in the coastal cities. I have concentrated on the period of the Catholic Middle Ages, AD 1050–1550. I discuss the chapels that exist now, and the possibilities of discovering more. To accomplish this discovery one must research place names, and saints' names. It is also important to examine underwater harbour sites and listen attentively to legends. Formerly I was skeptical of legends, noting them only if they seemed clearly connected to actual remains. Now I believe that a persistent legend about a certain site could by itself indicate the former existence of a chapel. I began by researching fishing chapels, which obliged me to study the legends about them. Gradually a complex picture of the history of maritime culture in northern Europe has developed.

I describe various aspects of the maritime culture. Much of this is practical: details in the daily life of the fishermen and sailors in the harbours. Both the crown and the church, first Catholic, later Protestant, imposed laws or rituals and enhanced the networks of fishing rights and sea routes.

Then I detail the complex activities which took place at the island fishing chapels. The chapels had to be as close as possible to the water. An island chapel served as a place of devotion for sailors, a winter storage facility, a sea mark, an assembly room. An island was always considered as a place of asylum. A small island could be a consecrated burial area for strangers, whose ghosts, it was believed, could not cross water. Fishermen needed to salt their fish immediately at the shore. Sailors needed shelter from storms, and a haven to wait for a favourable wind. Sailors needed fishermen as pilots.

I discuss the spiritual, or cognitive aspect of this productive but dangerous life at the sea coast. A central preoccupation of the myths is the relationship of sea to land. The sea, thought of as a woman, brings both life, in the form of fish, and death, that is, shipwrecks and corpses. The solid land is imagined as male. The shore is a liminal, or transitional area, between water and land.

Christianity gave a special place to fishermen: the Gospels tell us that the first Apostles of Christ were fishermen. The cult of the Virgin Mary, encouraged by the Catholic Church, combined with earlier popular beliefs about the sea. Also in the thinking of the Catholic Church the land was threatened by the evil salt sea, which had to be controlled.

During the medieval period there were prominent women who donated monasteries, such as Queen Ulvhild, who aided the Cistercians at Lurö archipelago in Varnhem. In 1664 the countess Maria Sofia de la Gardie founded the chapel of Nötö in Southern Finland. This was to fulfil a promise made in distress at sea. Such actual events could have strengthened the pattern of several migratory myths such as that of St. Sunniva.

In the St. Sunniva legends a woman, usually from the west, is shipwrecked, but sometimes survives and builds a chapel in gratitude to God. Variants of this legend were widespread. In people's minds the sea is connected with a virgin, or with the Virgin Mary, or with the Mermaid, the mistress of the sea.

From the west also came the drive to establish monasteries. This originated in Ireland, an island in the west. In Irish cosmology the west was at once Tír na Óg, the Land of Death, and the Land of Eternal Youth. Irish hermits and monastic settlements spread to the island worlds of Scotland, Orkney and Shetland. In the 9th century there were Irish or Scottish hermits, in Norse called papar, in remote islands such as the Faroes and Iceland, although they fled from the Norse. Thus their life mode and their sentiments may have been familiar to Scandinavians. In the 15th century monasteries, such as those at Selja, Bergen and Nidaros, developed in Norway. As with the chapels, tales were told and retold by the monks. Many harbours were situated on both sides of a dangerous cape. The difficulties in passing them may have contributed to the tenacity of the myths surrounding them.

In this article I have discussed sea myths relating to virgins, and the Virgin. In the article which follows I will examine another aspect of the beliefs and magic of fishermen: the stone mazes. In Swedish Finland these were called *jungfrudanser*, "Virgin Dances!" This is a very different aspect of the beliefs about virgins.

Appendix: *Capelle non curate* in the diocese of Linköping in AD 1515 (Script. Rer. Suecic. III sectio posterior XXIX Capelle et monasteria diocesis Lincopensis. Sthlm 1876, pps 295–296)

Anne in scopulis (comment: S. Annas kapell in the archipelago of Hammarkind)
Antonii circa (Rhyz. Curie) (obviously in Östergötland; but not identified by the author)
Capella Stegaholm (comm.: castle)
Capella Stegaborg (comm.: castle)
Beati Johannis in Ramshäll (comm.: Berg in the town of Söderköping)
Reuaroos? (comm.: unknown by the author, the place name obviously to *os*, river mouth, and situated in the neighbourhood of Söderköping)
Laurencii Sudecopie (comm.: Söderköping, town)
Capella Hendelop (p) (comm.: Händelöp, truly maritime location but on the mainland, S. Västervik, E. Sweden.
Capella Norcopensis (comm.: town of Norrköping)
Jeorgii Lincopie (comm.: town of Linköping)
Ladingalunda (comm.: Lagerlunda, Kärna: *Kapellsån*, *Kapellet*, a farm)
Sancti spiritus Sudercopie (comm.: Söderköping)
Sancti spiritus Lincopie (comm.: Linköping)
Beate Birgitte circa Motala (comm.: at lakeVättern)
Jeorgii Skeningie (hospit.) (town of Skänninge)

Domus sancti spiritus ibidem
Crucis in Granby (comm.: Aska/S:t Petri)
Sancti spiritus Vastenis (comm.: town of Vadstena)
Sancti Petri ibidem
Jeorgii ibidem
Gertrudis ibidem
Capella in Holawed (comm.: Uppgränna? *Sancte crucis* 1466?)
Beati Botolphi
Laurencii in Visinxö (comm.: island in Lake Vättern)
Jeorgii Jenecopie (town of Jönköping)
Sancti Spiritus ibidem
Beati Petri ibidem
Capella Valburgis
Crucis circa Husbyfyöll
Capella Pata (comm.: Pataholm)
Capella Strömssrum (comm.: manor of Strömserum near Pata)
Jeorgii Calmarnie (comm.: Kalmar)
Sikavarp in Ölandia (comm.: Långöre kapell, Bredasäter parish, *S:ta Britas kapell*)
Elaui Borcholm (comm.: Öland; *S:t Elof,* on an island, *Kapelludden* in Borgholm, now town)
Eremitorium Vastenis (comm.: town of Vadstena)
Sancti Olaui in Böda (comm.: Öland: Örehamn)
Sancti Ottonis in Hogaby (comm.: Högby, NE Öland)
Sancte Margarete in Ronsten (comm.: St. Margaret in Bjärby, parish of Runsten, Öland)
Sancti Kanuti in Algutzrum (comm..: Algutsrum parish; *S:t Knut*, at Borgsby outside the fort of Gråborg)
Beati Stephani Graesgård alias Barbare (comm.: Össby, Gräsgård, parish, Öland: i.e. a chapel devoted to St. Stephen and Sta. Barbara)
Beati Johannis in Kyrkiohaffn (comm.: Kyrkohamn, S. Öland)
Sancti Sigfridi in Hagaby in Möre (Hagby parish on the mainland, now ruined)
Capella in Kumblamad sancti Olaui (Ljungby kapell, Södermöre)
Capella Boskulla circa Krakarum sancti Botolffi (comm.: close to the manor of Kråkerum at Björnö stenhus, outside Mönsterås)
Sancti Gertrudis circa Cronabaek (comm.: close to the monastery of Kronobäck)
Sancti Jeorgii circa Stegeholm (comm.: castle, as above)

In total according to this list there are 46 chapels in this diocese, of which 6 are consecrated to S:t George (hospitals for lepers), 5 are houses of the Holy Spirit (hospitals), and at most a full dozen could be considered truly maritime, approx. 25%.

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Notes:

1 The notion that temples served the same function in a ritual landscape at the Indian Ocean has been pursued by Himanshu Prabha Ray (see Prabha Ray & Salles [eds.] 1996 and Prabha Ray 2003). For the templed promontories of the Mediterranean in Classical Antiquity see Semple 1927.
2 There may be several place names of interest at the same site, but they are counted together as one.
3 I am here indebted particularly to Dag Bertelsen, Trondheim, who generously offered to give a particular list of the maritime chapels and churches of Norway and those indications that he had registered up to 2004. See Bertelsen 2003.
4 Westerdahl 2003b.
5 Keyser & Munch, 1846: 312 (ch. 42). Hagland & Sandnes 1997: 66. See note p. 73 in Schück 1926.
6 Anderson 1932: 239ff.
7 The *Helgö* names in the North have been treated by Calissendorff similar meaning could, even in pagan times, have been conveyed by *Fredags* (friðhags-) *ö*/*holmen* (Hellberg 1979: 179f.). See note 241 on Torkö in Blekinge; see Andersson op. cit.
8 Generally in Haavio 1947, see Edsman 1996b, to some extent Hagberg 1937, on Saamis Manker 1961, Storå 1971, Svestad 2007, and some themes of *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (1–10; 1927–1942), see Dahlström 1940, af Klintberg 1973, Pentikäinen 1973.
9 Westerdahl 1997, 1998a, b, 2010a.
10 On medieval conditions in general and differences between Sweden-Finland and Denmark-Norway Hasslöf 1955, later Plænge-Jacobsen 1978.
11 Lundell 1988.
12 Gustavsson 1993: 174f.
13 Jansson 1964: 22ff. The rule is in any case reiterated in the regulations (*hamnordningar*) of 1669, 1726 and 1771.
14 "In 1557 were the remote-fishing privileges of the Gävle burghers along the southern coast of Norrland acknowledged by the same king for a fee of every *tenth* barrel. Quoting Nygren (ed.): 1932. No. 261: pp. 358-359." Item haffwe wij och giffwitt them frij for then humble tull, samelunde fisketull, som them att vtgöre aff theris handel och fiskerij i förn:e Geffle stad tilsagdt och opålagdt ähr, doch med sådane beskeed att the Geffle borgere, som fiskerij brwke wele vnder Helsingeland och Ångermanneland eller the öijer, som ligget til samme landz ender, skole ware förplichtige att giffwe oss hwer tijende tunne aff then fijsk, ehwad slag thet hälst ähr, som ther kommes kan" etc.
15 Westerdahl 2011: 81.
16 E.g. Westerdahl 1982b.
17 Both are known in place names. Steen 1942: 402f, Morcken 1978: 47ff. A list of possible important sites in Central Norway is provided by Brendalsmo 2006: 90, note 322, p. 91. A problem might be that *själ* in the Baltic also means *seal:* thus such place names could denote a constructed trap of some kind or a hiding place for a seal hunter, akin to a small building, even a place where seal blubber was boiled. In a maritime setting I have found the place names *Själahusviken* in Kåge, North Västerbotten and *Själstugan* in Nordmaling, North Ångermanland. There are also several *Själ(a)bod-* names in Västerbotten (Westerdahl, manuscript).
18 A list of possible important sites in Central Norway is provided by Brendalsmo 2006: 90, note 322 p. 91. Related questions on distances between stage points are discussed in Westerdahl 1990. But most of the evidence, if not all, stems from Post-Reformation times. In Norway the stage points were often connected with inns at trading posts. Some later examples are given systematically by Brekke 1993, Munksgaard (with Brekke) 1973, 1975 and 1980.
19 See Westerdahl 2008, on fish and ships.
20 Holmqvist 1999: 21. Ancient fishing camps are marked in hundreds on 35 special maps in Westerdahl 1987, from Tornio/Torneå in Finland in the north down to Norrälje north of Stockholm in the south. On Finland and Sweden a survey in Atlas 1957: map 2.
21 A representative sample of recent fishing milieux in the Northern Baltic, Malax, Österbotten, Finland, is given by the ethnologists Lönnqvist & Nordlund 1974.
22 KLNM: Kapel.
23 Anglert 1984: 14f, the references here with some subsidiary comments by the author.
24 Since these chapels did not in contrast to parish churches possess any economic support by land owned by them they were less liable to be found in medieval registers.
25 In reality they are, as pointed out, the same as a *capella non curata*. Brendalsmo 2006, referring to Dietrichson 1888: 108.
26 Telhammer 1992: 86.
27 Westerdahl 2011: 111ff. Illustrations e.g. in Underrättelser... 1842, 1852.
28 Hartelius 1983, Holmqvist 1999. This place may have a long tradition as a place for services, possibly also as a market site. The most important occasions were the saintly days of James (Jakob), 25th July, and Bartholomew

(Bartolomeus), 24th August. These dates were adapted to the periods of fishing. The place name could probably be interpreted as *Barsmässviken*, i.e. 'the bay of the mass of Bartholomew,' at least it may have been understood as such. The priestly festival in (*Yttre* = outer) Bergön during the later date was celebrated and known as *Barsmäs (s)*, according to Granlund 1980: 83. The name form *Barsviken* is inconsistent with the earliest recorded forms, *Balckuikenn 1565*, *Baggewiken 1580* and *Balswiken* from 1578 to the end of the 19th century, but this contradiction may be illusory. There could have existed parallel names. Another problem is that the sounds of "l" and "r" in the Ångermanland dialect easily could change place. Another name for the mass in question is *bartelsmäss*. The *barsmäss* would signify the date of one of the most important meetings. A parallel use of names is that of *Korsmäss*, 3rd of May, in the important market *Korsmässmarknaden* in medieval Härnön, the next harbour to the north from Barsviken, before the town Härnösand was founded there in 1583; Nordlander 1933.

29 See Granlund 1956.
30 For a discussion on monumentology see Gren 1989 on parish churches and Gren 1994 generally.
31 Presumably they would be rotting at that time…
32 This term, *främlingars hamn*, was first used, fittingly, in Swedish, by Per Lundström (1983).
33 *oc Þa menn er rekner ero at siofuar strandu oc hafua harskurði norœna*. Keyser, R. & P.A. Munch 1846. 1. Ældre Borgarthings-Christenret, ch. 13, p. 368.
34 Haavio 1947. See Dahlström 1940, af Klintberg 1973, Pentikäinen 1973.
35 *En Þa menn er nu talda oc. scal grava i flœðar male. Þar sem særr mœtesc oc grœn torva*. Keyser, R. & P. A. Munch 1846: Den ældre Gulatings-Lov, ch. 23, p. 13.
36 We will return to the Saami islands of the dead in the following article on stone mazes (e.g. Manker 1961, Storå 1971: 59, Edsman 1996b, Svestad 2007: 53–55). The notion seems to be prehistoric as well, as can be inferred by the wide range of religious ideas in Haavio 1947. A well-known example of an island with a large number of burials, c. 500, from the second half of the seventh millennium BC is Oleneostrovskij Mogilnik in Lake Onega, northwest Russia (e.g. Mithen 2003: 168–177).
37 But there are other possible interpretations of sites named *Dödman*/dead man; see Westerdahl 2010b: 313 & Wennstedt 1988: 15f.
38 A precursor, though, is Westerdahl 2006.
39 Dating by linguistic means: Modéer 1937.
40 A huge potential exists, see Bertelsen 2003, who has 800 oral traditions on church or chapel sites in Norway, elsewhere unrecorded, see in Finland e.g. Laakso 2001 (and other works by this author), in Norway e.g. Nyberg 2004, Brendalsmo and Stylegar 2005, Stylegar 2001, Stylegar & Egner 2001, and on the reasons for deserted churches in parts of western Norway Buckholm 1998. See also the material on tales concerning the first site of the churches in Strömbäck 1970a.
41 To some extent found in Norman 1993, 1995. At Porkala in Southern Finland are two so-called pest churchyards, where are supposed to have been buried drowned sailors from Estonia at the end of the 17th or the beginnings of the 18th century. In fact a south-Baltic dress clasp from there was found from this period (oral comm., Henrik Jansson, Archaeology, University of Helsinki).
42 Westerdahl 1989b: 181.
43 Could possibly be corrupted into something similar in form but distinctly with another meaning, such as *Kapitel-* ("Chapter" in the ecclesiastical meaning).
44 In Finland Ahlbäck 1936, in Sweden Westerdahl 1989b: 108f.
45 Local dialectal form may be illuminating: *Kappalgrunnä* is the vernacular form of *Kapargrundet* of the official maps at Bjuröklubb, Västerbotten, North Sweden. This bank is situated outside the entrance to the Jungfruhamn chapel site (Peter Gustafsson, then head of the museum of Skellefteå).
46 *Prästhushamn* is a fishing harbour on the island Hemsön, where a chapel seems to have existed. See Svanberg 1988. In Central Norway, Brendalsmo, 2006, points to *Presthusvika* in Selnes, Snillfjord (p. 424) and to *Presthus* at Husby in Skaun (p. 519f).
47 Edgren & Hiekkanen 1993: 158.
48 E.g. Westerdahl 1989b: 181.
49 Westerdahl 1989b:181.
50 Westerdahl 2011: 82, see 120ff.
51 See Danbolt 1989, Birkeli 1973.
52 After Brendalsmo 2006: 411.
53 Stylegar & Vågen 2001: 53.
54 Sandnes 1981 (1964): 324. See Namdalens beskrivelse 1597.
55 Brendalsmo 2006: Kirkholmen, Åfjord (p. 400,) and Kolvereid (p. 705).
56 Brendalsmo 2006: 702, supported by a quotation from 1835.
57 See appendix. But more prestigious chapels could of course be implied. As an example the church devoted to the Cross of Lade at Trondheim; Brendalsmo 2006: 521f.

58 See Kilström, B.I.: Stationer in KLNM 17: 51f, with a possible Calvary in Bergen, Norway, Nordlander 1926, who tries to identify such a site along the main road along the Norrland coast, Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie: 489ff, Lexikon des Mittelalters: Andachtsbild, Hildebrand 1979–1999, part 2: 415 on the Calvary in Stockholm; Baedeker 1898: 6.
59 Brendalsmo 2006, Westerdahl 2003a: 58, 71.
60 Ringbom & Remmer 1995: 22.
61 Ringbom & Remmer 1995: 168.
62 Westerdahl 2003a: 43, 58, 70, 71, with three sites called *Böss(e)hamn* in the vicinity of important harbours, Ullersund register no. H 57–58, formerly with St. Catharinae kapell, Bärösund (H 180) and Lurö (H 189; below). The chapel of St. Catherine has been excavated and dated to the 12th century, but a burial at the churchyard dates from the preceding century; Nyqvist Thorsson, Nitenberg et al 2010.
63 Westerdahl 2003a: 53ff, 66.
64 The (Holy) Bible, King James Version.
65 Wachsmann 1990, 1995.
66 But also the context of biblical fishers underplayed, with a smoking woman on board, see fig. 51.
67 E.g. Cooper 1982 (1978), Dahlby 1967 (1963), Klintberg 2001.
68 See Edsman 1996a: 19f.
69 "Den førestillinga har vori utbreidd mellom fiskarane at havet og dermed fisken i havet var noko som høyrde Jomfru Maria til, havet var stabburet hennar" (Solheim 1940: 177). As an example of the cult of Mary from the Mediterranean see Gambin 2003.
70 I have surveyed the *S:t Olof* place names in Norrland (Westerdahl 1986, fig. 12, p. 197; 1989b, p. 184, fig. 105; here fig. 26). They incorporate two medieval harbours, both called *S:t Olofs hamn*, one at Drakön, Hälsingland, with a chapel (ruined) at a churchyard and dated settlement remains c. 1200–1400 (figs. 22–25), another further north at Selånger, Sundsvall, Medelpad, with a parish church. The third *S:t Olofs hamn*, on Fårö, north of Gotland, is also called Gamla hamn ('the old harbour') contains medieval ballast and other dated remains and a ruined chapel, *S.t Äulas kirka*, dial. 'St. Olof's church,' with a round churchyard (figs. 34–36).
71 Parker 2001: 35f. An early effort to survey ship symbolism in churches is found in Westerdahl 1996b.
72 General works consulted are Farmer 1988, Ferguson 1961.
73 de Voragine, German translation 1955, with later editions.
74 Churches in Trøndelag, Central Norway, in Brendalsmo 2006: Nes in Bjugn (p. 404), Vinje in Hemne (p. 422f), Convent of Rein (p. 444f), Melhus (p. 492f) and Haug in Verdal (p. 601f).
75 Kleinschmidt 1931: 396f, Lange 1933.
76 Severin 1978.
77 Selmer 1946, Schreiber 1953.
78 In preserved Norwegian iconographic church movables he was represented in 9 cases of altogether 10 by churches and chapels at the sea (Brendalsmo 2006: 427).
79 Rosenfeld 1937, Szövérffy 1943, Lambert 1952.
80 But it seems that the vague *St. Colban* of the church at Dolm on the island of Hitra in Central Norway is a slightly corrupted form of his name. There was just another of his *patrocinia* at Bergen; Brendalsmo 2006: 413. On the other hand, the form may rather point to *St. Columbanus*, b. in Leinster, Ireland, in AD 545, the missionary founder of the important French monasteries of Annegrey, Luxeuil and Fontaine. There could also be an influence from *St. Colman*, which name could denote 300 different Irish saints (Farmer 1988: 94)!
81 Fredegari… Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scr. Rer. Merov. 2: 458f.
82 Trotzig 1987.
83 Haastrup in Haastrup & Egevang (eds) 1985: part 3. Gotik (1375–1475): Chapter 36.
84 Friel 1995: 39 with ill.
85 This parish comprises a coastal stretch of Lake Vänern, where maritime associations may have been found in the attribute of the ship; Westerdahl 2003a: 59.
86 Franz 1909, Meisen 1931.
87 See Lidén 1999.
88 See Ernvik, above all 1955, but also 1974.
89 Haastrup in Haastrup & Egevang (eds) 1985, part 3 Gotik (1375–1485): Chapter 6.
90 The prestigious stone churches in the Trøndelag countryside at Alstahaug and Sakshaug and also the minor one, now completely lost at Flå in Rennesbu were devoted to him. Brendalsmo 2006: 587f, 622, 461f.
91 Friel 1995: 39 with ill.
92 E.g. at Schleswig see Westerdahl 2010b: 327.
93 Haastrup in Haastrup & Egevang (eds) 1986: part 1 Romansk tid: 110f.

94 Trotzig 1987. The probable year of his martyrdom has reasonably been put further back by Trotzig, given the known context of history. In his later *vita*, found in Scriptores rerum suecicarum II: 1: 377ff, the year is specified as c. AD 1120, due to a conflation of his death and the erection of his church (the wooden version) in AD 1129. The stone church was consecrated in AD 1176.
95 Szövérffy 1957: 102.
96 Cabantous 1990: 141; the chapter *A quel saint se vouer?*
97 See appendix.
98 In fact the other saint with a similar name, the Irish *St. Brigida of Kildare,* (c. AD 455–c. AD 523) must have been well known in Sweden in Catholic times. A well had already in the 13th century been called after *St. Brita* in Husaby, Västergötland, where Olof Eriksson Skötkonung, the first officially Christian Swedish King was baptised according to the royal list in the Older Västgöta law (Äldre Västgötalagen 2011 part II: pp. 196–197). The Sikavarp chapel was originally dedicated to her in the 13th century, but later transferred to the Swedish saint; Boström 2004. But in Gotland this process failed (Pernler 1997). In Wright 2009 is treated the archaeology of chapels dedicated to her throughout the British Isles.
99 Haastrup in Haastrup & Egevang (eds) 1986. Part 1. Romansk tid 1080–1175: 66ff.
100 Boström 2008. For the Knut guilds Wallin 1975, 2008 & on countryside guilds e.g. Strauchmann 2008.
101 Liebgott in Haastrup & Egevang (eds) 1985. Part 3. Gotik 1375–1475: Chapter 56.
102 In Trøndelag, Norway she held the *patrocinium* for Hemne, Veie in Levanger, Hemne and for the prominent stone churches in Mære in Sparbu and Værnes in Stjørdal (Brendalsmo 2006: 404, 579f, 634f, 548f).
103 Haastrup in Haastrup & Egevang (eds) 1985. Part 3. Gotik: Chapter 9.
104 Strömbäck 1970b.
105 Pernler et al. 2007.
106 Several others have been invoked. As an example in Central Norway, Brendalsmo 2006 has pointed to the Archangel, St. Michael, St. Edmund, St. Edwin, St. Gorgonius, St. Egidius, St. Quinius, St. Hubertus, St. Mary Magdalene and the Scottish St. Maury at the island church of Nærøy. Some of them are rather surprising in this context, but none denotes a genuine archipelago chapel.
107 Especially interesting in view of some early Anglo-Saxon missionary activities in the North and of the role the legend of Sta. Sunniva plays in this text.
108 Flatman 2011: 314f.
109 Gallén 1989, 1993.
110 Westerdahl 1989b.
111 Hiekkanen 1995 for Finland, Wallerström 1995 II: 43f for Sweden.
112 Lundholm 1991: 111f.
113 Hülphers 1789: 226f.
114 Lundholm 1991: 103.
115 For both also Beskow 1958.
116 Noted in 1789 by Hülphers; see Berggren 1995: 224f.
117 E.g. Westerdahl 2010b: 285f.
118 Beskow 1952: 84f, Lundholm 1991: 110.
119 Berggren 1995: 224f. The Piteå burghers deserted this camp c. 1850 and the chapel was probably torn down, but it is still marked on a map from 1857 by Gustaf Ljunggren of the domain of the town of Piteå, but not on another from 1878–80.
120 Nyström 1931. Bureus & his kin took their name from Bureå and knew the local traditions well.
121 Sander 1993.
122 See Gallén 1989, 1993. It is mentioned at the middle of the 15th century, and belonged to the Franciscans in Stockholm: "waetetorpe" close to the church of Vätö, first recorded in AD 1337; Wilcke Lindqvist 1940: 196. But no details are given, neither a specified function.
123 Gustavsson 1993: 183.
124 Lovén 201, see Cederlund 1990. On "kloster" see Lagerholm 1951 on Kronobäck in Småland.
125 Written communication, Jan Brendalsmo, NIKU, Oslo.
126 Tales on Kökar FSF II: 1216ff, other tales on monasteries FSH II: 1166, 1178, 1179, 1186, 1187, 1193, 1199, 1200, 1212, 1222, 1227, 1246, 1247.
127 The present building was built in 1863–64 but a chapel was mentioned already in 1731.
128 Berggren 1995: 228.
129 This chapel was mentioned and depicted as a sea mark still in 1852 (Berggren 1995: 228).
130 Huggert 2004. Oral statements by Åke Sandström, Umeå.
131 Noel Broadbent, oral comm. But hut foundations in the neighbourhood are much older according to radio-carbon datings, 630–880 and 987–1155. Broadbent 1989: 23.
132 Westerdahl 1982a with a map. See Edlund 1988: 138.

133 Huggert 1978, Grundberg 1989, 1991, 2002.
134 Grundberg 2006: 90.
135 A fragment of an incensory was excavated at the foundation.
136 For chapels along the entire eastern coast of Sweden see Granlund 1980.
137 Those of Stockholm concern the immediate vicinity of the town; letter dated 1st March 1436; Herlitz 1927: 79, those of Trosa contain rights to fish in the regal common waters like anyone else, "the måge fiska i konungs allmänningz wattnen som andre," letter dated 29th January 1454; Herlitz op. cit.: 124.
138 Hellbom 1972: 103f, Lundell 1988: 30, Sörenson 2006: 39f.
139 Westerdahl 1989a: p. 37, fig. 20.
140 See Bergön, below. The chapel of Gävle was built in that block which is still called *Kapellbacken.*
141 Lundell 1988.
142 Svanberg 1988.
143 Telhammer 1991: 86, 96.
144 Telhammer op. cit.: 86. Cf. Svanberg 1988, above.
145 Other sources say 1683 or 1730, but this may mean new building or repair. This is a critical remark valid for several others.
146 Latest treatment in Telhammer 1991.
147 See Telhammer op. cit.
148 A recent discussion on this chapel and its context, and some of the others is found in Hovanta 2010.
149 Telhammer 1991: 96.
150 Telhammer 1991: 87, referring to Hülphers 1771.
151 Hellbom 1972.
152 Perhaps identical to the *Stenfi* (presumably *Stenfinn)* also named *Symon,* a missionary bishop mentioned in Hälsingland and among the Scritefingos, literally the Saamis, Lapps, Helsingia is more or less erroneously associated with them as their "capital," by Adam of Bremen in the 1080s and in his scholiae (Adam III: 77, IV: 24, 1978: pp. 428, 468, 1984: pp. 201, 221).
153 Nordin 1932, and see Nordin-Grip 1938.
154 Westerdahl 1986: 197, 1989a: 184 etc.
155 Huggert 1978. Lundström 1981 emphasizes fishing as the main activity. A possible function in supporting royal mansions or possibly garrisons, such as that of the Vitalians of the castle Faxeholm in Söderhamn, is proposed by Mogren 2000: 213ff.
156 Enström 1984. Picture in Westerdahl 2011: 108.
157 Westerdahl 1986: 194.
158 See Granlund 1980, Hartelius 1983.
159 In central Österbotten the maritime cultural landscape is exceedingly rich in most respects; see *Maritimt arv i Österbotten* (Maritime Heritage) 2001.
160 Malax; see Ehnholm 1944: 26. Storskär, Malax, inventory by B. Bonns & A. Sander in 1983, a slightly different version in Harjula & Hellman 1999, thanks to M. Miettinen, Museiverket, Helsinki. FSH II: 1412. See the sections on legends and on stone mazes.
161 Sjöberg 1925: 26.
162 FSH II: 1229.
163 FSH II: 1227.
164 E.g. several other notes in FSH II.
165 Personal communication, Kurt Gullberg, Sideby. A cairn was destroyed in 1958, and later fragments of human skeletons were found. The maps referred to are those of Claes Claesson in 1650 and Petter Gedda in 1695.
166 Koivisto 2010: 45. Older unpublished report by Jouko Räty 1995.
167 Koivisto op. cit.: 43f.
168 Diarium Gyllenianum (1962).
169 Nikula 1973: 193f.
170 Nikula 1973: 83.
171 *Kapelludden,* close to Pargas port. Johansson (red.) 2003: 52.
172 Ringbom & Remmer 1995: 168ff. See FSH II: 1223.
173 See tales in FSH II: 1213.
174 Gustavsson 1993, 1994, 1997; see tales in FSH II: 1216ff.
175 Modéer 1937.
176 Westerdahl 1990a. References to chapels in Finland have generally been found in Edgren & Hiekkanen 1993 and Klackenberg 1992, some also from Johansson (ed.) 2003. Medieval and earlier habitation are now being studied in earnest in the coastal area by several projects (Merellinen perintömme, "Our Maritime Heritage,"

lately the SEAS, Settlement and Economies Around the Sea) launched by the University of Helsinki; e.g. an early stage in Jansson 2006.
177 Edgren & Hiekkanen 1993.
178 Nikula 1973: 64f, Johansson (red.) 2003: 44.
179 Diarium Gyllenianum 1651: 35, 63.
180 Edgren 1995: 51.
181 Edgren op. cit.
182 Jungfrusund had an inn after AD 1614. There are several rock carvings and remains of military activities. Numerous finds have been made underwater, including wrecks with pottery, some obviously medieval in dating; Kallberg 1990.
183 Oral statements by Henrik Jansson, University of Helsinki.
184 Nikula 1973: 70f, Johansson (red.) 2003:42.
185 FSH II: 1198.
186 Oral statements by Georg Haggrén of the University of Helsinki.
187 FSF II: 1188.
188 See FSH II: the tale 1181.
189 As derelict the chapel was mentioned in 1696. New chapels were built in 1728, 1850, and 1905, the last one in our own time; Johansson 2003: 38.
190 "Kapellandet;" Bohrn & Tuulse 1955: 622.
191 Vennberg & Bohrn 1950: 673.
192 Norman 1993, map fig. 50, p. 81.
193 The site at least 16th century, a chapel mentioned as new in 1678; Brandel, Johansson & Roosval (et al.) 1949: 565.
194 Between the two the chapel has been moved from Ålandsskär to Lökskär.
195 As in the fishing camp of Horsten; Granlund 1980: 74.
196 Brandel, Johansson & Roosval (et al.) 1949.
197 Hedenstierna 1949: 267, quoting the Letters of the Swedish Realm (RR 7/6 1616), where a farmer of Sollenkroka, Värmdö, was rewarded by exemption from taxes for his discovery of this new sailing route.
198 Oral comm. Johan Rönnby, Univ. College of Södertörn. On Askö see Olsson 1996 on a laid-up wreck found here, close to the burial site: in a metaphoric sense it could be said that burial means the same for men as for ships. The ship seems to be thought of as having an *animus*, being a living thing or even a creature of its own in ethnographic material, and maybe also in prehistory; see recently Van de Noort 2011. This thought has not been pursued here, but is motivated partly in Westerdahl 2008c.
199 Scriptores rerum Suecicarum II: 1: 377ff, in particular p. 380. Trotzig 1987.
200 A cross consisting of stones has been laid out in the ground; this spot may be old. At least a map of AD 1699 marks a cross precisely here. On the cognitive landscape of Rågö see Olsson 1997.
201 Norman 1993.
202 Oral comm. Peter Norman, Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm. Norman 2008: 136f.
203 Månsson 1925–28: 47.
204 Cnattingius 1971. Klackenberg 1992; 236. This chapel was mentioned as *non curate* in 1515. See appendix.
205 As can be seen the place name *Barösund* echoes an interesting name in Finland with relevant sites (above, Kyrkudden, Orslandet; *horinsarae)*. Both are found along the itinerary of c. AD 1300 from Utlängan in Blekinge to Reval in Estonia.
206 Eriksson 1995, Norman 1995b: 73. See Gallén 1989, 1993, Lovén 2001.
207 Granlund 1980: 74.
208 Cederlund 1990, see Lovén 2001.
209 Klackenberg 1992: 253 with the result of a minor excavation.
210 According to Svenska Kyrkor: Småland and the project DMS/Det Medeltida Sverige. Appendix.
211 Blomkvist 1979a: 70ff, 1979b: 195f, see Hagberg 1979, 1980.
212 Munthe 1942. Edle 1935a.
213 Henry of Livonia: Heinrich con Lettland: Chronicon Livoniae… VII, 1, edition of 1975: 24f, Henry of Livonia 2003: 94f. Mentioned by Westerdahl 1985a: 21. On the chapel site at Hau Gröno: Cederlund 1980: 179 with a map of the area. The site was also surveyed by the author in 1970. On the other hand an ancient chapel site had been noted in 1800 at "Hau Storäng" not far from the farm Hau further inland, with the place names *Kyrkebacke* and *Kyrkgårdsbacke;* Lithberg 1935.
214 Westerdahl 1977. 1989b: 108f.
215 Edle 1935b.
216 Fröberg 1975: 49, author's translation.

217 Edle 1935c. In 1246 the offerings given here were transferred to the nuns of the convent of Solberga at Visby. The traditions of the expedition of Olav in AD 1029 are found in Strelow 1633 (1978): 132.
218 Mentioned in the list of 1515, and broken down in 1782–83. Borg 1975: 137, Boström 1978: 119, and the same 1982: 57. The name *Rosenkind* is that of a girl in a local love story retold in some length in Borg 1975: 138. There is a cultural layer dating to the 11th and 12th centuries with Vendic (Baltic) pottery shards.
219 Westerdahl 2011: 111f.
220 E.g. in 1612 from the Danish siege of Kalmar (Borg 1975).
221 Boström 1967: 166–170, Blomkvist 1979a: 70.
222 See appendix.
223 The church is also dedicated to St. Olof; Blomkvist 1979a: 72, Boström 1969.
224 Boström 1982: 59.
225 Boström loc. cit.
226 Boström op. cit.: 58.
227 Boström op. cit.: 18, 56f. *Borg* chapel, actually a small parish church at Borgholm, was built in the late 12th or in the beginning of the 13th century and mentioned in 1346. The chapel of *S:t Elof(Elav)* at *Borgehaffn* was on an islet at the harbour. The other was also dedicated to St. Elof and possibly of 14th century dating (mentioned 1516; appendix). They were either "fishing guild or travellers chapels;" Schück 1959: 183, Broström 1966: 166ff, 1982: 18, 56f. Above has also been mentioned *Sankt Knuts kapell*, also in connection with the guilds carrying his name, at Gråborg: Boström 2008, Wallin 2008. But this chapel cannot be considered maritime in location, although it clearly must have had a background in trading.
228 A chapel not mentioned in the list of AD 1515 was situated at *Äpplerum* in the parish of Räpplinge; Swartling in KLNM: Kapel. Probably it had no direct maritime connotation.
229 Here, the west gable collapsed only in 1914; Boström 1966: 34, ill. fig. 18.
230 Lindblom 1955.
231 Fernholm 1986, see Boström 1982: 54ff, 2004.
232 Blomkvist 1979a: 72, Westerdahl 1985a: 20, 1990b: 84ff. But Ragnhild Boström did indeed find remains of a possibly medieval construction on Kåreholm in 1962; Boström 1978: 120.
233 Archaeological excavations did take place at the spot in the 1930s.
234 Anglert 1986.
235 See also Wideen 1944 on Torekov.
236 Sjöstedt 1951: 100.
237 Riddersporre 1983, also see 1995.
238 Atterman 1977: 56.
239 *Sta. Gertrud*, torn down in 1878.
240 See Lovén 2001: 256.
241 Anderson 1932: 239f. According to this text a sanctuary was donated by the (Danish) king to the monastery situated on an island nearby, *Helgö*, 'the holy island', "so holy that even the most serious criminals could not be arrested there" (author's translation).
242 Cederlund 1990, Lovén 2001.
243 Thanks to Jes Wienberg, Inst. of Archaeology, University of Lund.
244 E.g. *St. Albert* on Ærø; Skaarup 1997.
245 Skaarup 1997. Albert is German *Adalbert*, Polish *Wojciech*.
246 To this parish belonged up to the end of Danish times (1645) the island Anholt in the Kattegat. Although the parish church was on the mainland, a local chapel must reasonably have existed on Anholt. In Morup here is a natural sea mark, a boulder called *Glomsten*, known from AD 1226. At the small bay *Korshamn* is found a *Kar*-name. This normally denotes a kind of simple caisson used at a medieval harbour pier.
247 There is a most unusual condensation of ship-type names for several localities here, and in the dried-out harbour basin two wrecks have been excavated and dated to c. 1200. Perhaps they are connected to contemporary transport of iron in the parish, where production facilities were owned by a Danish monastery (Olsson [ed.] 1995, 1999). On the near-by hill the north, called *Gamla Köpstad* ('the old market "town"') have 11th–13th century cultural layers been brought to light fairly recently.
248 An extensive text including the chapel, the burial sites and the mazes is found in the history of Styrsö written by Danbratt & Odenvik 1966: 21–23, 32–41, 75–88.
249 Pettersson 1953, 1995 etc.
250 Pettersson 1953: 22ff.
251 Bohusläns museum, Uddevalla, prel. report (2010). Note in Kalm 1746 (1960: 109), who interprets the remains as those of a burial place for sailors, with a size of "a small cottage;" Pettersson 1953: 27ff.
252 Kalm 1960 (1746): 132.
253 This harbour basin is marked by interesting rock carvings indicating the Danish (town) origin of sailors,

presumably on their way to Norway. A preliminary excavation of the cultural layers underwater has been made in 1980. Lisberg-Jensen 1980, 1981.

254 Friis 1881: 279. On Dynge/Dingle: "derudenfore ligger Nordervedholm, er en god Hafn under, oc er en Kirckegaard eller Begrafuelsested paa denne Øe for Fiskere og Skibsfolck, lige saa oc er paa Sudervedholm."

255 Wikander 1985: 48.

256 See Dahlström 1940.

257 Oral statements to the author, recorded from 1970s and onward.

258 Perhaps ten years later transferred to inland Lugnås and finally to Varnhem, according to the chronicle, *(Narratiuncula) de fundatione monasterii Vitæscholæ*, of Vidtskøl monastery of Jutland, Denmark. Geertz 1918–20 II: 134ff.

259 Westerdahl 2003a: 58f. There were other chapels at the harbours of the huge lake, which presumably were used as such*: St. Mariae*, which is still standing, and *St. Catarinae* at Ullersundet (also below), both on the large island of Kållandsö, notwithstanding some parish churches in the same area.

260 Nyqvist Thorsson/Niitenberg 2010. The harbour site close to the chapel is called *Bösse hamn*, 'the harbour of the alms box' (Westerdahl 2003a: 58, register no. H 58).

261 Hundstad 2004.

262 Hundstad op. cit.

263 Andreassen 1991b, Westerdahl 2011: 84f.

264 On similar *Helg-* (holy) names Calissendorff 1964.

265 Bø 1955. St. Olav is thus a classical *dominant of tradition*, but not only in Norway as we can see. This association of harbours with St. Olav is apparent not only in his native Norway, but also e.g. on Gotland and along the Norrland coast of Sweden, see above.

266 On the other hand, Ny-Hellesund can be connected historically to the passage of king Sverre in 1197; Sverres saga, ch. 139, Norges Kongesagaer 1979 III: 201; the same year with the fleet left there, op. cit., ch. 142, p. 202, and the fleet of the rebel group, *bagler*, in 1207; Sagaen om baglere og birkebeiner, ch. 28, op. cit., p. 317.

267 Nævestad 1999: 188ff.

268 Andreassen 1991a, Andreassen & Langfeldt 2001. An important precursor in the search was Wikander 1985.

269 A parallel to this is found at Nötö, Nagu, Finland, above.

270 Westerdahl 2004.

271 The "winter of Seløy" in the saga of St. Olav, ch. 174, Norges kongesagaer 1979 II: 65.

272 Haraldsønnenes saga, ch. 30, Norges Kongesagaer 1979 II: 307, The saga of bagler and birkebeiner, ch. 27, 28, Norges Kongesagaer 1979 II: 316, 317, "the Seløy autumn" with birkebeiner, king Inge and Håkon jarl Galen, ch. 34, op. cit. p. 326.

273 E.g. Westerdahl 2004: note 7 (AD 1313).

274 Bjørnbo & Petersen 1904.

275 Westerdahl 1989b: 169, 2011: 120f, 123f. Horstmann 1971.

276 Westerdahl 2011: 120ff.

277 Nævestad 1999: 192ff.

278 Swedish sites: Jungfruhamn, Bjuröklubb, Västerbotten, S:t Olofs hamn, Drakön, Hälsingland, Gamle hamn or S:t Olofs hamn on Fårö at Gotland. Finnish sites: Signhildsskär, Åland and Räfsö in Kyrkslätt. Gásir in Iceland: after Ellmers 1972, fig. 167, p. 233, after Bruun 1928, see Horsley 2004, picture p. 345. On circular fences generally Brendalsmo & Stylegar 2003.

279 Wikander 1985.

280 Låg 1996: 391, transl. the author; but see Hundstad 2004, who is more positive.

281 Stylegar & Egner 2001, see Fuglevik in Johannessen (ed.) 1995: 32f; Stylegar 2001, Brendalsmo & Stylegar 2005.

282 See Walvig 1929.

283 Wikander 1985: 46.

284 Widéen 1944.

285 Hvaler has, however, an early 12th century parish church.

286 Bergens Kalvskinn (1843 and later modern facsimile) 56b.

287 H. Christie in KLNM: Kapel.

288 For northern Norway see Bratrein 1970.

289 See Brendalsmo 2006: 86ff, Bertelsen 2003.

290 Brendalmo 2006: 407f, 409f.

291 Brendalmso op. cit.: 416f, 418f.

292 Brendalsmo op. cit.: 696, 697f, 698f, 699,

293 Brendalsmo op. cit.: 694f.

294 Sandnes 1981: 320; see Namdalens beskrivelse.
295 Westerdahl 2010b: 291, passim.
296 Cederlund & Lövstrand 1970.
297 Westerdahl 2006b: 17. In 1755 an author (Hans Strøm) mentions that the boat people "in particular during the winter … usually choose the land road across Eidene, of which there are three."
298 Stylegar 2004, Westerdahl 2004. See Hultqvist 2001: 190 on a small harbour in Lake Vänern, where myths and stories seem to have been proliferated (below).
299 Stylegar op. cit. On Bodane in Lake Vänern; Hultqvist 2001 loc. cit.: "Was the milieu of the harbour with a lot of sea people assembled waiting for wind or for the handling of cargoes a favourable place for supernatural notions, genuine or simulated?" (author's transl.). The cognitive landscape of the important site at Spårö (sund), Östergötland, is treated in the same way by von Arbin 1999.
300 The story is known by Adam of Bremen: scholion 145 (141) c. AD 1080. In my case I have used the Swed. transl. by Svenberg, Adam av Bremen, etc. 1984: 254.
301 Young 1933.
302 Generally in the popular account Djupedal 1966 and e.g. Young 1933.
303 She was invoked at the late Cistercian abbey of Munkeby, Trøndelag; Brendalsmo 2006: 593f. She was also known in Iceland. There is an entry in KLNM on her, St. Brictiua by Lilly Gjerløw.
304 Schmid 1932. KLNM: *seljumannamessa*.
305 See Ekdahl 1827a & b.
306 A French princess is another version: Peter Gustafsson, Skellefteå, from interviews, letter to the author 19/2 2004.
307 From my own interviews with local people.
308 Broadbent 2010: 62.
309 Broadbent 1988, 2010: 66f.
310 On circular churchyards see Brendalsmo & Stylegar 2003.
311 Broadbent 2010: 60f.
312 He makes the same illustration (in Historia 1555, Book 2, ch. 23) of a crowned rock of the magic island *Blå Jungfrun, Blue Virgin, Swedish Virgin* or *Schwedische Jungfrau* in Kalmarsund. In this curious way there must be some connection in his mind with Bjuröklubb (Westerdahl 2007b). This myth of Blå Jungfrun refers to another Virgin, to whom offerings were made by skippers into the sea. She clearly represents the Mermaid. The name of the island is a noa name, since the other name *Blåkulla*, was taboo. Blåkulla is the legendary site for the gatherings of the witches in the North. Several other sites are known for this gathering, Lyderhorn and Siggjo at Bergen, and notably islands, like in Lake Vänern (Lurö Bratt), but this is paramount, somewhat like the German inland site of Blocksberg in the Harz mountains (Westerdahl 2002a & b etc.).
313 Lindström & Olofsson 1993.
314 Broadbent 1988a, 1989b.
315 Westerlund 1963, Westerdahl 1980.
316 Wennstedt 1988, on Bonden: Fries 1989, Falck-Kjällqvist 2006, Westerdahl 2002a, 2002b, 2003a etc. It is interesting that Olaus Magnus illustrates both these sites, Blå Jungfrun and Bjuröklubb with a crown on top. In his mind there must have been some connection between these two (Westerdahl 2007b).
317 The historical sources for *Jungfru Mariae hampn*, not located to date, but in the vicinity of Stockholm as it seems, see Schück 1958 with several cases where important documents were signed during meetings. Among them is the letter to the cities of Sweden from a large number of dignitaries of the realm dated 28th May–4th June 1489; in Herlitz (ed.) 1927: 197. Even here there may be an illustration of the meeting on this or other islands by Olaus Magnus Historia 1555: Book 11, ch. 44.
318 Corresponding Nordic forms are *mö, mey* and *mar* (Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007: *møy*, p. 771f). Possibly it could even be found in the name of the large Danish island *Møn* or *Møen* (AD 1135, 1231). In that case the magic loading would be motivated by the impressive but dangerous white cretaceous cliffs to the east, *Møns klint*. However, this is doubtful from a linguistic point of view, where this meaning is not even mentioned, see Hald 1965: 210f, Jørgensen 1981: 84.
319 See Westerdahl 1986: 194ff.
320 On the harbour, mentioned for the first time in 1490 see Kallberg 1990.
321 Ringbom & Remmer 1995: 168f.
322 FSF II 1223: 261.
323 Except on a male ghost with dripping clothes soaking wet visiting the parson of Vamlingbo, obviously after a wrecking in AD 1715. Tingström 1973, mainly on the later coin finds found in the waters of the skerry.
324 "Generally parallels use to be drawn with a similar Norwegian legend about the Irish princess Sunniva" (Ringbom & Remmer 1995: 168, author's translation).

325 KLNM: *seljumennamessa*.
326 Henningsen 1950:22.
327 Pernler et al 2007: 127.
328 Anglert 1986: 125, no 6. Very doubtfully already in 1170, but anyway in 1344 *Thore virginis in thorechowe* (DD 3:2, no 47). In Rannsakningar from 1667 (1992: 272): "a holy Norwegian virgin, called Thora, who was found dead here (with us) at the shore. She (her body) had come to land – after she had died on a ship from Norway to Denmark and was thrown into the sea" (author's translation). Cf. also Fritzell 1974, 1980.
329 Ljunggren 1943.
330 Brendalsmo 2006: 409, referring to Fugelsøy 1958: 96.
331 It is further referred to in the following article on stone mazes.
332 Westerdahl 1987: pp. 110, 115, C 303, C 446 (Gräsö). See Peder Swart (1870, originally 1530): 54. See also the chronicle of the bishops of Finland by bishop Paul Juusten of Åbo (c. 1516–76); translated from Latin by Schmidt 1942, p. 65.
333 Johansson (red.) 2003: 42.
334 Connected to the site called *Kappalsudden;* Johansson (red.) 2003: 46.

Die rituelle Küstenlandschaft in früher Zeit: Inselkapellen, Begräbnisstätten und steinerne Labyrinthe – Ein Beispiel aus Skandinavien. Teil 1: Kapellen und Friedhöfe

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Beitrag berichte ich über die Fischerkapellen der schwedischen, finnischen und norwegischen Inselgruppen, die ich seit vielen Jahren untersuche. Zum Vergleich habe ich Dänemark herangezogen: Da Letzteres keine Inselgruppen besitzt, wurde und wird die Fischerei in den Küstenstädten betrieben. Mein zeitlicher Schwerpunkt bei dieser Betrachtung liegt auf der Epoche des katholischen Mittelalters von 1050–1550 n. Chr. Den Kapellen, die heute noch bestehen, und der Möglichkeit, weitere zu entdecken, gilt mein besonderes Interesse. Eine solche Entdeckung bedarf der Erforschung von Orts- und Heiligennamen. Wichtig sind auch die Betrachtung von Unterwasser-Hafenlagen und ein aufmerksames Hineinhören in die Legenden. Früher begegnete ich Legenden eher mit Skepsis und notierte sie nur dann, wenn sie scheinbar einen klaren Bezug zu bestehenden Überresten aufwiesen. Inzwischen glaube ich, dass allein schon eine beharrliche Legendenbildung, einen bestimmten Ort betreffend, auf die frühere Existenz einer Kapelle hinweist. Zunächst erforschte ich Fischerkapellen – ein Studium, das verlangte, auch die damit verbundenen Legenden in Betracht zu ziehen. Allmählich entwickelte sich ein vielschichtiges Bild der Geschichte der nordeuropäischen maritimen Kultur.

Diverse Aspekte der maritimen Kultur werden beschrieben. Viele davon sind praktischer Natur: Details zum Alltagsleben der Fischer und Seefahrer in den Häfen. Die Krone wie

auch die Kirche – zunächst katholisch, später protestantisch – schrieben Gesetze bzw. Rituale vor und erweiterten das Geflecht sowohl der Fangrechte als auch der Seewege.

Die komplexen Aktivitäten, die in den Fischerkapellen der Inseln abgehalten wurden, sind Gegenstand detaillierter Betrachtung. Die Kapellen mussten möglichst nah am Wasser gebaut sein. Eine Inselkapelle diente als Ort der Andacht für Seefahrer, als winterliche Lagerstätte, als Seezeichen und als Versammlungsraum. Eine Insel galt stets als Zufluchtsort. Eine kleine Insel konnte eine geweihte Grabstätte für Fremde sein, deren Geister – so glaubte man – kein Wasser überqueren konnten. Fischer mussten ihren Fang sofort am Ufer salzen. Seefahrer benötigten Schutz vor Stürmen und einen sicheren Ort, an dem sie günstige Winde abwarten konnten. Und Seefahrer brauchten Fischer als Lotsen.

Auch der spirituelle bzw. kognitive Aspekt dieses produktiven, aber gefährlichen Lebens an der Küste wird erörtert. Die Mythen drehen sich viel um die Beziehung zwischen See und Land. Als weibliches Wesen betrachtet, bringt die See sowohl das Leben, in Form von Fischen, als auch den Tod, d.h. Schiffsunglücke und Leichen. Festes Land hingegen gilt als männlich. Das Ufer stellt eine Schwellen- oder Übergangszone zwischen Wasser und Land dar.

Das Christentum wies den Fischern eine besondere Rolle zu: Aus den Evangelien erfahren wir, dass die ersten Apostel Christi Fischer waren. Der von der katholischen Kirche geförderte Marienkult vermengte sich mit dem früheren Volksglauben bezüglich der See. Auch in der Denkweise der katholischen Kirche war das Land von der bösen Salzsee bedroht, die es zu beherrschen galt.

Im Mittelalter wurden Klöster von berühmten Frauen gestiftet, unter anderem von Königin Ulvhild, die die Zisterzienser in Varnhem, im Lurö-Archipel, unterstützte. 1664 gründete Gräfin Maria Sofia de la Gardie die Nötökapelle in Südfinnland, um ein in Seenot verkündetes Versprechen einzulösen. Solche tatsächlichen Vorfälle verstärkten möglicherweise das Muster der Migrationsmythen wie beispielsweise der Legende der Heiligen Sunniva.

In den Sunniva-Legenden verunglückt eine meist aus dem Westen kommende Frau auf See; sie überlebt jedoch und dankt Gott dafür mit dem Bau einer Kapelle. Verschiedene Lesarten dieser Geschichte waren weit verbreitet. Traditionell galt die See als mit einer Jungfrau, mit der Heiligen Jungfrau oder mit der Meeresjungfrau, Herrin der See, verbunden.

Auch aus dem Westen kam der Impuls, Klöster zu errichten – eine in Irland entstandene Tradition. Der irischen Kosmologie zufolge war der Westen gleichzeitig Tír na Óg, das Land des Todes und der ewigen Jugend. Irische Einsiedeleien und Mönchskolonien dehnten sich über die Inselwelten von Schottland, der Orkneys und Shetlands aus. Im 9. Jahrhundert lebten irische oder schottische Eremiten – *papar* in der nordischen Sprache – auf fernen, abgelegenen Inseln, wie etwa den Färöern und Island, obwohl sie vor den Nordmännern auf der Flucht waren. Ihre Lebens- und Denkweise war den Skandinaviern also vermutlich bekannt. Im 15. Jahrhundert entstanden erste namhafte Mönchsklöster, wie jene in Selja, Bergen und Nidaros. Wie im Falle der Kapellen wurden Geschichten von den Bewohnern der Klöster tradiert. Sie waren vielfach mit Häfen verbunden, die sich auf beiden Seiten eines gefährlichen Kaps befanden. Die Schwierigkeit, diese Häfen einfach zu passieren anstatt sie anzulaufen, mag zur Zähigkeit der damit verbundenen Mythen beigetragen haben.

In diesem Artikel betrachte ich seefahrtsbezogene Mythen, die mit Jungfrauen und mit der Heiligen Jungfrau verbunden sind. Im zweiten Teil in der folgenden Ausgabe des vorliegenden Jahrbuchs gehe ich auf einen anderen Aspekt der Glaubensvorstellungen und der Magie der Fischer ein: steinerne Labyrinthe. Im schwedischen Finnland nannte man sie *jungfrudanser* – Jungfrauentänze! Die Steinlabyrinthe stellen einen gänzlich anderen Aspekt der Glaubensvorstellungen im Hinblick auf Jungfrauen dar.

Le paysage côtier rituel autrefois : chapelles insulaires, sites funéraires et labyrinthes en pierre. Un exemple scandinave. 1re partie : chapelles et cimetières

Résumé

Dans cet article, j'évoque des chapelles de pêcheurs des groupes d'îles suédoises, finnoises et norvégiennes, que j'étudie depuis plusieurs années. Pour établir une comparaison, j'ai choisi le Danemark : comme ce dernier ne possède pas de groupes d'îles, la pêche était et est pratiquée dans les villes côtières. La période pour laquelle j'ai opté est celle du Moyen Âge catholique de 1050–1550 ap. J.-C. Les chapelles qui existent encore, et la possibilité d'en découvrir d'autres, ont suscité mon intérêt. Afin de faire une telle découverte, il est nécessaire d'étudier la toponymie et l'hagionymie. Il s'avère également important d'observer des installations portuaires sous-marines, et de prêter une oreille particulièrement attentive aux légendes. Auparavant, j'abordais les légendes plutôt avec scepticisme et je ne les notais que si elles témoignaient d'un rapport net avec des vestiges existants. Entre-temps, je crois qu'il suffit d'une légende tenace sur un lieu déterminé pour indiquer l'existence d'une chapelle dans le passé. J'ai tout d'abord étudié les chapelles de pêcheurs, une étude qui a aussi requis de tenir compte des légendes qui y avaient trait. Peu à peu s'est dessinée une image diversifiée de la culture maritime au nord de l'Europe.

Divers aspects de la culture maritime seront décrits. Bon nombre sont de nature pratique : des détails sur la vie quotidienne des pêcheurs et des marins dans les ports. La couronne, tout comme l'église – catholique d'abord, puis protestante –, imposait des lois ou des rituels, et étendait le réseau aussi bien des droits de capture que des routes maritimes.

Les activités complexes qui se déroulaient dans les chapelles de pêcheurs des îles font l'objet d'une observation détaillée. Les chapelles devaient être bâties le plus près possible de l'eau. Une chapelle insulaire servait de lieu de recueillement pour les marins, d'entrepôt hivernal, d'amer et de salle de réunions. Une île était toujours considérée comme un refuge. Une petite île pouvait se révéler être une sépulture bénie pour des étrangers, dont les esprits – comme on le croyait alors – ne pouvaient traverser aucune étendue d'eau. Les pêcheurs devaient saler immédiatement leur capture sur la rive. Les marins avaient besoin de protection contre les tempêtes et d'un abri dans lequel ils pouvaient attendre des vents propices. Et les marins avaient besoin des pêcheurs comme pilotes.

L'aspect spirituel ou cognitif de cette vie productive, mais aussi dangereuse, sera également évoqué. Les mythes tournent énormément autour de la relation entre mer et terre. Considérée comme une femme, la mer donne la vie, sous forme de poisson, mais aussi la mort, c'est-à-dire des naufrages et des cadavres. La terre ferme passe pour être masculine. La rive représente un seuil ou une zone de transition entre eau et terre.

Le christianisme assigna aux pêcheurs un rôle particulier : les Évangiles nous apprennent que les premiers apôtres du Christ étaient des pêcheurs. Le culte marial, encouragé par l'église catholique, se mêlait à l'ancienne croyance populaire concernant la mer. Dans la pensée de l'église catholique aussi, la terre était menacée par la mauvaise mer salée, qu'il fallait maîtriser.

Au Moyen Âge, des monastères furent fondés par des femmes célèbres, parmi lesquelles la reine Ulvhild, qui soutenait les cisterciens à Varnhem, dans l'archipel de Lurö. En 1664, la comtesse Maria Sofia de la Gardie fonda la chapelle de Nötö au sud de la Finlande, afin de tenir un serment fait au cours d'une situation de détresse en mer. De tels événements réels renforçaient probablement le modèle des migrations comme, par exemple, la légende de sainte Sunniva.

Dans les légendes de Sunniva, une femme, provenant la plupart du temps de l'Ouest, fait naufrage ; elle survit toutefois et remercie Dieu en érigeant une chapelle. Différentes versions de cette histoire étaient largement répandues. Traditionnellement, la mer était considérée comme étant associée à une vierge, à la Sainte Vierge, ou à la sirène, maîtresse de la mer.

C'est également de l'Ouest que vint l'élan de construire des monastères. Cette tradition avait vu le jour en Irlande, une île située à l'Ouest. Selon la cosmologie irlandaise, l'Ouest était en même temps *Tír na Óg*, le pays de la mort et de la jouvence éternelle. Des ermites irlandais et des colonies de moines se déployèrent sur l'univers des îles écossaises, d'Orkney et de Shetland. Au IX^e^ siècle, ce sont des ermites irlandais ou écossais – *papar* en norois – sur des îles éloignées comme, par exemple, les Féroé et l'Islande, bien qu'ils aient été en fuite devant les Normands. Leur style de vie et leur façon de penser étaient donc probablement connus des Scandinaves. Au XV^e^ siècle, des monastères virent le jour, comme ceux de Selja, Bergen et Nidaros. Comme dans le cas des chapelles, des histoires courant sur les habitants des monastères ont été colportées. Elles étaient associées sous de nombreux aspects à des ports se trouvant des deux côtés d'un cap dangereux. La difficulté de passer devant ces ports a probablement contribué à établir la ténacité des mythes qui s'y rapportent.

Dans cet article, je passe à la loupe les mythes marins qui sont en relation avec des vierges ou la Sainte Vierge. Pour finir, j'aborde un autre aspect des idées de croyances et de la magie des pêcheurs : les labyrinthes de pierre. En Finlande suédoise, ils étaient appelés *jungfrudanser* – danses de vierges ! Les labyrinthes de pierre représentent un tout autre aspect des croyances touchant aux vierges.