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Chapter 15
Jerusalem Commonplaces in Danish Rural Churches: What Urban Architecture Remembers

The phrase *SALOMON ME FECIT MONASTERIU(m)* (Solomon made me, the church) is carved in majuscules on the inner northern jamb of a portal in the rural Hunseby Church on the small island of Lolland, Denmark (Fig. 15.1a).[1] It evokes the metaphor of the Christian church as Solomon's Temple, effectively establishing the rural church as a local Jerusalem.[2] Hunseby Church, built during the long twelfth century, is part of the massive wave of stone churches built all over medieval Denmark in this period. The art of building in stone came in the wake of the late Christianization of the Danes and was exclusively used to erect churches; churches built in the style of the so-called Romanesque. However, the visual articulation of the "novel" architectural expression was more than mere play with forms and formats; it was visual rhetoric. As such, the "style" of the early stone churches carried with it a plethora of Christian metaphors and allusions intended to translate Jerusalem and the Christian story-world onto Danish soil.

Architecture relates to a concept of recognisability – a point of reference. It remembers "something." The Hunseby inscription illustrates that the Medieval church building – no matter size, or status, or geographical location – remembers the Temple of Jerusalem, the House of the Lord. Its inscription rejects the modernist dichotomy between "subject" and "object," "interpreter" and "interpreted," by giving voice to the physical building itself. This "animation" of the building calls to mind the medieval mass expositions and rhetorical practices, especially as the facing inner jamb reads

1 My translation. For a very brief discussion of previous Danish translation, suggestions and interpretations see DK Maribo, 908 and ns 8–9.

2 Originally the portal was placed in the South wall of the nave, but was secondarily used as churchyard gate. Today placed as an entrance in the west wall of the tower DK Maribo: 907.

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Fig. 15.1: Portal jambs, Hunseby Church, Lolland. a. Inscription, inner northern jamb; b. Inscription, inner southern jamb.

INTROIBO IN DOMUM ("I will come into [thy] house," Ps 5:8) (Fig. 15.1b). Allegorical readings in the mass expositions appear as a plethora of interpretations all determined by the course of salvation history. They centre on ritual practices, vestments, and ecclesiastical architecture, as mental structures to build associations over.[3] A convention in these expositions is the interpretation of the physical church building as the New Jerusalem; an earthly glimpse of what is to come.[4] This alignment beautifully demonstrates how conceptions of Jerusalem informed the Christian imagination in the Middle Ages. Jerusalem framed all events in human history. It transcended and redirected all history. It was the longed-for goal of the medieval storyworld.[5] As such, Jerusalem brought with it a biblical and a historical past, while manifesting itself in the present.

The interconnection between architecture and meaning making that is expressed in these allegorical readings echoes the statements by Hunseby Church. Yet, in the medieval exegetical texts, the church building is not only a metaphor for the Temple in Jerusalem or a physical scene set for the ritual practices. In the expositions, the church building actively partakes in the process of meaning making. This chapter explores how conceptions of Jerusalem functioned as architectural cues in this process. By taking the large corpus rural stone churches from twelfth-century Denmark as an illuminating case study, I want to argue that *one* ubiquitous "stylistic" motif – monumental as well as ornamental – functioned as an especially salient architectural cue; albeit flexible in its implications.

The "Minimum Church Model"

The Danes were assimilated into Latin Christendom quite late. Tradition has it that it happened after the baptism of King Harald Bluetooth (d. 986) in late tenth century. As has been argued in the introduction to this volume, the Christianization process necessitated a Christian adaptation of the Nordic past in order to establish

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3 A large part of this article is inspired by the pioneering work of Mary Carruthers, especially Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

4 A case in point is from the synthetic work 'Rationale divinorum officiorum' by William Durandus from 1292/1296: "Ecclesia [. . .] materialis spiritualem designat", i.e. "the material church [. . .] represents the spiritual." Cited from William Durand of Mende, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. and trans. Timothy M. Thibodeau, The *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007). Cf. also Timothy M. Thibodeau, "Introduction," in *The Rationale divinorum offiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*, ed. and trans. Timothy M. Thibodeau (2007).

5 For a definition and applications of this concept see *Prelude*, 7–8 and Chapter 1 (Kristin B. Aavitsland), 12–41.

a future.[6] One strategy to consolidate Christianity from the late eleventh century and onwards into the twelfth was the massive wave of stone church building. This extraordinary effort is in itself a potent, visual rhetoric, and it becomes even more powerful when we take into account that there was no precedence or tradition for stone buildings in this area. In order to explore further the rhetorical aspects of the stone architecture, we need initially to get an idea of how the twelfth-century rural churches looked, and how they differed from the older tenth- and eleventh-century wooden churches. Only by appreciating the novelty of the stone churches' visual articulation we are able to explore them as a means to establish "tradition" and impart intend.

It is not known how many churches were erected in the immediate wake of Harald's acceptance of Christianity. Yet, the German chronicler Adam of Bremen (d. c.1085) tells us that around the year 1075, Scania had 300 churches, and Zealand 150 churches, while the island of Funen had but 100 churches.[7] The mainland of Jutland is not mentioned, but this region most likely held the largest number. Almost all of these early churches were built of wood, presumably looking something like the reconstruction of Hørning Church, Jutland (Fig. 15.2).[8] There are no written sources testifying to the building of the earliest stone churches that followed them, but we know from archaeological evidence and the many still extant stone churches that between c.1080 and c.1250 more than 3100 stone churches were built in medieval Denmark.[9] Of these approximately 1700 are still in use, albeit in a heavily restored and rebuilt state.

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6 The aspects of adjusting the local past has been explored before, cf., e.g., Birgit Sawyer and Peter Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800–1500* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Lars Boje Mortensen, "Introduction," in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c.1000–1300)*, ed. Lars Boje Mortensen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006); Kristin B. Aavitsland, "Defending Jerusalem: Visualizations of a Christian Identity in Medieval Scandinavia," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, *et al.* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

7 Adam of Bremen, *The History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, translated by Francis Joseph Tschan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

8 Thomas Bertelsen, "Kirker af træ, kirker af sten – arkitektur og dateringsproblemer på Svend Estridsens tid," in *Svend Estridsen*, ed. Lasse C.A. Sonne and Sarah Croix (Odsense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2016). It should be noted that the Danish stave churches differs from the Norwegian ones.

9 According to the Danish archaeologist Jakob Kieffer-Olsen has recently argued that five-digit number of churches (not necessarily stone-churches, however) were most likely built in Medieval Denmark prior to the Reformation. Most of these were deserted or torn and are by now unknown, Jakob Kieffer-Olsen, *Kirke og kirkestruktur i middelalderens Danmark*, University of Southern Denmark Studies in History and Social Sciences (Odense: Synddansk Universitetsforlag, 2018). The above given number of 3100 churches includes Scania, Halland, Blekinge (present-day Sweden), and South Schleswig (present-day Germany) and are all known churches. For a diffusion map see Jes Wienberg, *Den gotiske labyrint. Middelalderen og kirkerne i Danmark* (Stockholm: Almqvist, 1993), 76. Cf. also Henriette Rensbro, "Spor i kirkegulve. De

Fig. 15.2: Reconstruction of Hørning Church, *c.*1060, Moesgaard Museum, Aarhus.

On a very general level, most of the rural churches were based on the same "minimum model" when it comes to architectural layout, furnishings, and, at least to some extent, decoration (Fig. 15.3).[10] The rural stone churches[11] were small two-cell buildings with corresponding door[12] and window openings in the northern and southern walls of the nave (Fig. 15.4). The chancel area usually had between one and three windows and did often include an apse to the east.[13] The thick walls were limed and often decorated with recesses or carved granite sculpture. Inside, the high altar stood in the chancel to the east, placed with enough space for the priest to pass around it. A narrow chancel arch provided access between chancel and nave. In the nave,

sidste 50 års arkæologiske undersøgelser i kirkegulve som kilde til sognekirkernes indretning og brug i middelalder og renæssance" (PhD Thesis, Aarhus Universitet, 2007), 16.

10 There are, of course, variations in layout, size, and building materials, not to mention regional differences in details. Nevertheless, the overarching visual expression seems to have been somewhat "homogenous" in the first generation of stone churches.

11 According to the Danish historian Mourtiz Mackeprang, roughly 75% of the extant rural churches are built of granite: ashlar (48%) or boulders (27,1%). The former is by far the most common in the mainland of Jutland while not used at all on island of Zealand, on which the latter is more frequent. Only the islands of Lolland-Falster brick is most common, Mouritz Mackeprang, *Vore Landsbykirker. En Oversigt*, second ed. (Copenhagen: Høst, 1944), 26–27.

12 It was not customary to have a west entrance. The two-door system seems to have been part of contemporary European trend, see Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art Across the Danish Reformation: Changing Interiors of Village Churches, 1450–1600*, Artes et Ritus (RITUS) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018). Especially the churches ashlar built churches in Jutland have portals with elaborate granite carvings, see Mouritz Mackeprang, *Jydske Granitportaler*, 2nd ed. (Højbjerg: Hikuin, 2007 [1948]).

13 Jürgensen 2018, *Ritual and Art*: 32–36. Some churches also had a tower to the west of the nave, see e.g. Henriette Rensbro and Mogens Vedsø, "Kirke Hyllinge and Snesere. Romanesque Twin Towers Recently Excavated," *MIRATOR* 16, no. 2 (2015).

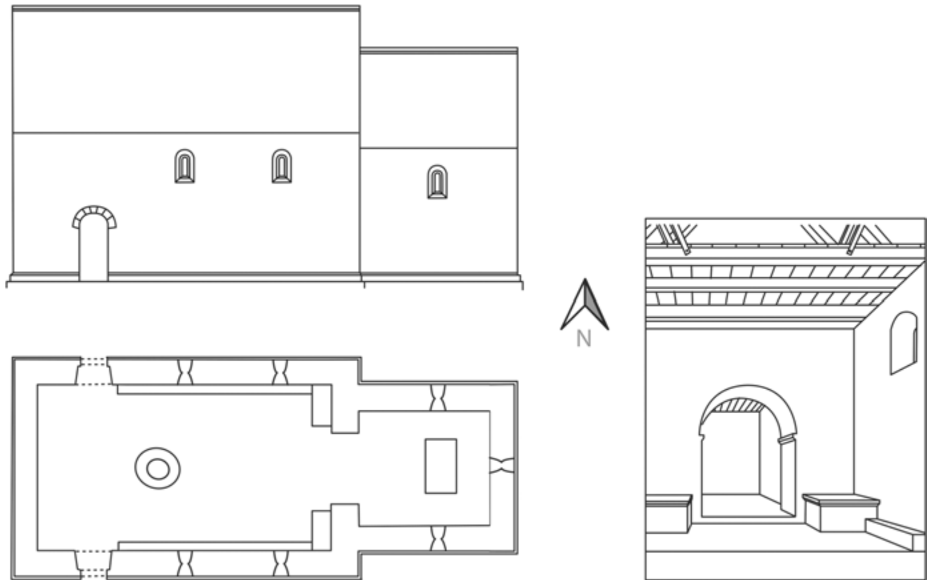

Fig. 15.3: The "minimum church model:" plan, elevation, and cross-section facing East. Based on schematic drawings from *Danmarks Kirker*. Altered by the author and digitized by Kim Bonde, 2019.

side altars flanked the chancel arch (Fig. 15.3),[14] and along the walls were low stone benches. The baptismal font[15] was situated on an elevated podium almost at the centre of the nave. The interior walls were most likely covered with colourful wall paintings, and the granite carvings and baptismal fonts were polychrome.[16]

14 Olaf Olsen, "Rumindretningen i romanske landsbykirker," in *Kirkehistoriske samlinger. Syvende række* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gads Forlag, 1967), 250ff.; Birgit Als Hansen, "Arkæologiske spor efter døbefontens placering i kirkerummet gennem middelalderen," *Hikuin* 22 (1995): 78.

15 The vast majority of the more than 1500 extant medieval (i.e. pre-Reformation) baptismal fonts are carved from granite, seemingly by local workshops before 1300. Of these, however, approx. 150 fonts are imported from Scania, the island of Gotland, and from the Mosan area. These are primarily hewed of sandstone and limestone. Practically all Danish rural parish churches still use their original baptismal font today. Mouritz Mackeprang, *Danmarks middelalderlige Døbefonte*, second ed. (Højbjerg: Hikuin, 2003 [1941]), for a diffusion map see Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art*, plate 13.

16 Due to the many changes over the centuries, we do not know exactly how common wall paintings were. The extant traces, however, indicate that especially the chancel area and the eastern wall of the nave were popular places for elaborate painting programs. See, e.g., Mouritz Mackeprang, "Udvendig malet Dekoration på middelalderlige Kirker og Renæssancebygninger," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1914); Erland Lagerlöf, "Målade fasader. Någor om färgspår på Gotlandska kyrkoexteriörer," in *Nordisk Medeltid. Konsthistoriska studier tillägnade Armin Tuulse*, ed. Sten Karling, *et al.* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksel, 1967); Karin Kryger, "Middelalderens bemalede stenskulptur i Danmark," *Hikuin* 3 (1977).

As this brief and very schematic description testifies to, the early stone churches have by no means been neglected in previous scholarship. However, almost from the very beginning of scholarly inquiry into these churches, they have been described as "Romanesque" – a term that is by now endemic.[17] The focus has primarily been on the formal aspects of the churches; how did they originally look inside and outside? What variations are seen? How and when were they altered and/ or rebuilt? Furthermore, single pieces of furnishings such as the baptismal fonts or wall paintings have been subjects to individual stylistic and iconographic studies.[18] Only recently have questions of usage and function started to emerge.[19] Thus, the archaeological and art historical categorizations and classifications of previous scholars have abetted a longstanding tradition of isolating objects from their original context: that of architecture. As such, the church building with its attire has seldom been considered as a whole; and motifs are rarely, if ever, explored *across* these conventional groupings. Traditional disciplinary approaches seem to have created a blind spot for further inquiry in to the potential of meaning making of the most common Romanesque shape; namely, the semi-circular structure, usually termed arch or arcade. To me this is quite curious, as it is my firm conviction that such an insisting and homogenous, architectural articulation, repeatedly applied, cannot but be understood as a means of visual rhetoric. The rest of the chapter will thus explore how the arcade motif functioned rhetorically in the early, Danish stone churches, how it evokes Jerusalem and thus may be interpreted as manifestations of the Jerusalem code.

Taking Stock of the Romanesque

The examples provided alongside the description of the "minimum model" are from rural churches all over present-day Denmark and Southern Schleswig (present-day Germany) (Figs 15.3 and 15.4). As already stated, they all show variations over the

17 Beginning with Niels Laurits Høyen (d. 1870), see J.L. Ussing, ed. *Niels Laurits Høyens Skrifter*, vol. II (Copenhagen: Den Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1874).

18 Cf. e.g. Ulla Haastrup, "Stifterbilleder og deres ikonografi i danske 1100-tals fresker. Kong Niels og Dronning Margrete Fredkulla malet i Vä Kirke (1121–1122) og elleve andre kirker med stifter figurer," *ICO Iconographisk Post* 4 (2015); Søren Kaspersen, "Døbefonte og 'statsdannelse': Reflesioner over de jyske dobbeltløvefonte," in *Ecce Leones! Om djur och odjur i bildkonsten: Föredrag vid det 22. Nordiska Ikonografiska Symposiet, Åland 26–29 augusti 2010*, ed. Lars Berggren and Annette Landen (Lund: Artiflex Press, 2018).

19 J. Exner and T. Christiansen, eds., *Kirkebygning og Teologi* (Copenhagen: G.E.C Gads Forlag, 1965) is a somewhat solitary example of a study that aims at covering the entirety of the church building and its function. Only recently has the extremely thorough study by Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen been published, see Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art*. The conventional, symbolic potential of the early stone-churches has been explored in Hugo Johannsen and Claus M. Smidt, *Kirkens huse*, Danmarks arkitektur (Viborg: Gyldendal, 1981), 94–109.

Fig. 15.4: Characteristic samples a. Door opening, Branderup Church, Southern Jutland; b. Window opening, Klim Church, Northern Jutland; c. Apse, Munke Bjergby Church, Zealand; d. Wall recesses, Hammelev Church, Eastern Jutland; e. Chancel arch, Hassing Church, North-western Jutland; f. Baptismal font, Godsted Church, Island of Falster; g. Wall painting, apse, Sæby Church, Zealand.

most common motif found in the rural churches: the round arch. These semicircular arches and arcades are all different in their physiognomy and, more importantly for the purposes of this chapter; some are monumental, constructive arches while others are purely decorative elements. The obvious question is, then: why is this exact motif ubiquitous?

In the history of art, it is an established convention to distinguish between Romanesque and Gothic architectural style, whose main characteristic is respectively the rounded and the pointed arch.[20] As such, the theory goes; the round arch develops into the pointed arch. Romanesque architecture, literally meaning "in the Roman manner," is usually understood as a token of Roman linage and as such implies that "something" Roman is imitated. However, architecture within boundaries of medieval Denmark can, at best, be displaced imitations, as this territory is far off the old Roman limes. Nevertheless, Romanesque architecture, Danish as well as German, French, or English for that matter, is traditionally understood as having the same point of reference: namely, the urban, architectural structures of the Roman Empire. What does that mean with regards to, for instance, the exterior recesses of the rural Hammelev Church in Jutland (Fig. 15.4 d), or the arcaded baptismal font in the remote Godsted Church, on the small island of Falster (Fig. 15.4 f)? That is, how is style and rhetoric connected? More pressingly, what do these architectural, yet non-monumental forms, tell us about the adaptation of the Jerusalem code in medieval Denmark? In order to approach these questions, we have to take a brief historiographical detour.

Romanesque is, of course, a conventional stylistic denominator applied to a variety of architectural expressions from all over Europe and within a loosely defined period spanning from the sixth or eighth century to the twelfth or thirteenth century.[21] In the Danish context, Romanesque usually covers the period between *c.*1100 and 1250. The construct of the Romanesque as a stylistic denominator came along with the establishment of the academic disciplines within the humanities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[22] As such, the history of style is

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20 For a thorough discussion of the term and its historiography see Tina Waldeier Bizazarro, *Romanesque Architectural Criticism: A Prehistory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). For the interrelated discussion of "Gothic" see e.g. Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960) or Norbert Nussbaum, *Deutsche Kirchenbaukunst der Gotik. Entwicklung und Bauformen* (Cologne: DuMont, 1985).

21 This span, of course, depends on whether or not proto-Romanesque and transitional style is included. Cf., e.g., Eric Fernie, "The Concept of the Romanesque," in *Romanesque and the Past: Restrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, ed. John McNeill and Richard Plant (Wakefield: BBA/ Manley Publishing, 2013); Willibald Sauerländer, "Romanesque Art 2000: A Worn Out Notion?," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honour of Walter Cahn*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University, 2003).

22 See the author's contribution to *Tracing the Jerusalem Code*, vol. 3, 246–64.

conceived in the post-Kantian era, when religion and aesthetics had been split. The overarching influence of this dichotomy is therefore very apparent in the ornament discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which essentially left architectural ornament in disrepute.[23] The late nineteenth-century formalist dismissal of architectural ornament as superfluous and devoid of meaning became prevalent in the twentieth century. Moreover, the dismissal came to permeate not only modern architectural theory but also studies of historical buildings, while seeping over into the minor arts as well. Only in the last part of the twentieth century did scholars of various disciplines start to question the dismissal of ornaments in general, especially ornaments on historical buildings and objects.[24] Historians of art and architecture have been surprisingly reluctant to engage with the arch and the arcade as motifs per se – presumably, due to their ubiquity. This may also be explained by the fact they appear to fall somewhere in between the two main groups of “ornament” and “micro-architecture,” and as such cause methodological problems: are these architectural structures and elements, for instance, to be regarded as figural or non-figural, as representational or non-representational? Are they autonomous, or, are they part of a larger structural layout? Whatever the reason, non-monumental arches and arcades are often completely ignored or marginalized as framing devices and purely aestheticizing features.[25] The scholarship on the early Danish stone churches has largely adopted the formalist position and understood the semi-circular arch – monumental as well as non-monumental – as a stylistic denominator of the Romanesque and as such more or less devoid of meaning.

23 This discourse took off when the so-called “Semperians” (last quarter of the nineteenth century) claimed that architectural style equals form, and that form is conditioned by function that, in turn, is based on available materials; hence configuration must be something external to the subject. From this follows, it was argued, that when form is caused by function and materials, then form is coincidental and therefore devoid of meaning. For a walkthrough of the development of this discourse in the twentieth century, see e.g. Michael Camille, “‘How New York Stole the Idea of Romanesque Art’: Medieval, Modern and Postmodern in Meyer Schapiro,” *Oxford Art Journal* 17, no. 1 (1994).

24 Albeit primarily from universalist perspective, see, espec., Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (New York: Phaidon, 1979), or Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, Bollingen Series (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

25 Some art historians have, of course, touched on aspects related to these questions, see, e.g., Kristin B. Aavitsland, “Ornament and Iconography: Visual Orders in the Golden Altar from Lisbjerg,” in *Ornament and Order: Essays on vikling and Northern Medieval Art for Signe Horn Fuglesang*, ed. Kristin B. Aavitland and Margrethe C. Stang (Oslo: tapir akademisk forlag, 2008); Cynthia Hahn, “Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant’Ambrogio in Milan: Presentation and Reception,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999).

This leads us, however, back to the question of the implications of the Roman heritage, the *romanitas*, of the Romanesque.[26] Contrary to what is the case in large parts of Europe and England, it is significant that in Denmark the Romanesque coincides with the consolidation of the Church.[27] As such, it is the first visual articulation that clearly distinguishes between local (domestic) and international (official). Thus, not just the semi-circular motifs, but also the whole structure of the church itself would, at least for a while, have been novel and unique in the setting of twelfth- century rural Denmark. The older local churches as well as all domestic buildings and farms were wooden, half-timber work, or, built from a mixture of turf and soil and with very limited wall openings.[28] Yet, as more and more churches were erected, the novelty and uniqueness would eventually wear off and be replaced by a sense of recognisability and recollection. Whatever form this recognisability might take would be determined by memory, which in turn would be intertwined with individual perceptions. So, how are we to understand the ubiquity of the imported urban architectural style to rural Denmark? Are the Romanesque arches and arcades merely a stylistic anachronism, or could we rethink the term Romanesque and ask what these forms and formats might intend? As already stated, it seems reasonable to assume that such an insisting expression can in fact be regarded as a visual rhetoric. It also seems justifiable to propose that the common and repeated semi-circular motif was indeed intended to function as a memory-based framework of related stories activated by ritual practices unfolding around and within the church building; much as indicated by the mass expositions. The main question is, in other words, whether the semi-circular motif carries the same connotations and thus has the same function across the different, and traditionally well-defined, categories of decoration and monumental architecture. Does the blind arcade moulding on the exterior of Lyngby Church function rhetorically in the same way as its interior chancel arch? How can the arches and arcades be understood as visual rhetoric?

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26 Etymologically, Romanesque was a derivative of the vernacular Romance-speaking Southern regions of Western Europe. Yet, the physical setting of the Romanesque is primarily Germanic Europe. Cf. Wayne R. Dynes, “Art, Language, and Romanesque,” *Gesta* 28, no. 1 (1989).

27 For the consolidation of the church in Denmark and the rest of Scandinavia, see, Chapter 1 (Kristin B. Aavitsland), 34–9.

28 In the early Middle Ages, the poorest domestic buildings were made from turf and dirt, while the richer farms were built of timber (*bulhus* (da.) ~ *bole house*). These types of buildings did not have any openings aside from the door opening and an opening in the roof construction. During the Middle Ages half-timber work houses with mudbuilt walls became regular. See KLNM, s.v. “Husbygge.”

The Commonplace Theory and Its Semi-Circular Connotations

Exactly because the semi-circular arch is commonplace in the rural churches, I propose using this exact term and labelling the semi-circular motif a "commonplace motif." Commonplace, however, is not to be understood as a platitude. By contrast, I suggest using this notion as it derives from the Classical Latin *locus communis*,[29] designating "*general arguments*, which do not grow out of the particular facts of a case, but are applicable to any class of cases."[30] The point is thus that this motif by its very nature is in flux, and as such, it constitutes a dynamic interplay between the conventional static categories of ornament, iconography, microarchitecture, and monumental architecture. From this follows, I claim, that the same exact motif must be flexible in its rhetorical implications, essentially encompassing a scale from "explicit representation" to "trite stylistic denominator" depending on recipient and setting. Yet, even the "empty characteristic" of a style still embeds its parental origin; be it actively acknowledged or just chosen on purely aesthetic grounds.[31]

Let us, then, return to the examples of commonplace motifs presented above. First, we can ascertain that use of arches and arcades is not conditioned by structural function. Neither are arches and arcades tied to a specific medium. However, they vary greatly in configuration and physiognomy. Some arches are proper architectural structures, as is the case of the north portal in Sinding (Fig. 15.5). Others are stylized, completely lacking capitals, bases, and even columns (Fig. 15.4 a, b, f). Moreover, while some arches and arcades frame figures or iconographic scenes (e.g. the tympanum of Sinding with its three crosses), others appear empty and as mere ornaments (Fig. 15.4 c, d). But, looking at Godsted Church's arcaded baptismal font, we should keep in mind that it was originally polychrome (Fig. 15.4 f). It is thus tempting to speculate that the arches and arcades carved in low relief actually framed painted images, which might – at least as a hypothesis – also have been the case with a lot of the now empty arcades found everywhere in the rural churches.[32] Whatever the case, multiple questions arise about the "framing aspect" of the commonplace motif: why you would frame something? Why would you frame it with an urban, architectural

29 Rendering Greek "koinos topos" ~ general theme.

30 *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. William Freund, *et al.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

31 Note that aesthetic in Greek *aistethesis* can be defined as "routine ways in which things are bodily and mentally sensed and perceived and to the pleasant and unpleasant ways in which these sensations and perceptions affect the respective bodies and minds;" definition cited from Andreas Reckwitz, "Affective Spaces: A Praxeological Outlook," *Rethinking History* 16, no. 2 (2012). I will return to the subject of "affective spaces" below.

32 We even have one surviving example of a completely smooth font with its original polychromy testifying to a painted arcade, namely, the Dalum font, Funen.

Fig. 15.5: North portal, Sinding Church, Central Jutland.

structure? What does framing even mean in the context of a twelfth-century rural church? In our modern way of viewing art, a frame is marginal: "an ornament for what is already present (which is the artwork)."[33] The frame's function is to accentuate that which is being framed. That does not explain, however, the choice of the arch or the arcade as a framing device. Moreover, the modern notion of a frame fails to explain the instances of arches as motifs in their own right. We could point to the bases of the blind arcades encircling the apse of Grønbæk Church, Jutland, as an illustrative example of this (Fig. 15.6). Neither does the modern definition explain the function of arcades in narrative friezes. In such friezes, the singular scenes may appear framed by a sequence of arcades, or one single scene may be divided by two or more arches, as in for instance the wall paintings on the south wall of the nave in Soderup Church, Zealand (Fig. 15.7). In Soderup, the arcades appear not to be intermedial borders or boundaries, while in other instances, such as on the baptismal

33 Paul Duro, "Introduction," in *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundaries of the Artwork*, ed. Paul Duro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 103.

Fig. 15.6: Grønbæk Church, Central Jutland. a. Blind arcades, apse, exterior; b. Detail of column base from the blind arcade of the apse.

font of Husby Church, Jutland, the arcades clearly serve to separate one motif from another (Fig. 15.8). Yet another shortcoming of the modern understanding of the frame is that it is media-specific. It only relates to the modern concept of the artwork. As such, it makes no sense when trying to understand a monumental commonplace motif, such as the Sinding portal (Fig. 15.5). Yet, the small double arches from Grønbæk (Fig. 15.6 b) appear at first glance to be simply decorative. Their size indicates that they most likely never framed anything. It is, therefore, easy to argue along with the formalists that the commonplace motif – monumental or non-monumental – is nothing but an architectural ornament, a whim of fashion, and as such devoid of meaning. Admittedly, the choice to enhance the churches with the many arches and arcades may indeed be motivated by trend impulses and by the beautifying qualities of the arches themselves. Yet, and as already stated, they nevertheless still embed a rhetorical function; be it actively recognized or not.

In order to explain what I mean by the "intend" of the commonplace motif we have to try to get an understanding of the medieval cognition or way of constructing meaning.

Fig. 15.7: Wall painting in Soderup Church, Zealand, southern wall of the nave.

The American historian of medieval literature and rhetoric Mary Carruthers has through her comprehensive studies of medieval memory and cognition convincingly argued that throughout the Middle Ages, certain architectural structures were preferred as devices for mental activity – *memory work*, in Carruthers' wording.[34] The arcade is of special interest in this context. In memory practices of medieval monastic culture, arcades were used as storage spaces. Memory, Carruthers argues, was accessed through architectural metaphors, which means, broadly speaking, that architectural structures were the foundations on which to build associations over. The point is thus that the arcade, by its very nature, functions as a visual, rhetorical cue. From this follows, however, that in order for a *specific* motif to generate an *intended* meaning in an onlooker or recipient, both the motif and the onlooker must be part of the same cultural sphere. Yet, intend [*intentio auctoris*] is a rhetorical concept in itself. As Carruthers notes, it was

> also a quality possessed by an artefact, a context in which the concept retained its fundamental directional model [. . .] the artefact considered as an agent, motivator, and guide through

34 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, second ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*.

Fig. 15.8: Baptismal font, Husby Church, Southern Jutland.

> those stylistic and formal means that, because they draw on conventions and shared traditions, have considerable agency separate from the human, historical author.[35]

Juxtaposing Carruthers' definition of medieval cognition with the commonplace-theory given above, we can now turn to the Romanesque style and take a closer look at its claim to Roman parentage. The proliferation of Romanesque architecture across Europe were at least a century ahead of its utilization in Denmark. And, even though its inception into Danish territory could be understood as a logical "development," or a natural spread of stylistic impulses, I would argue that a large part of the sudden interest in this specific architectural articulation is, in fact, due to its expressive potential. However, multiple questions soon arise as to whether this interest was prompted by the Roman connotations of the style, by the Christian connotations, or by both. One might initially wonder just how important Rome was to the Danes of the twelfth century. Did the arches and arcades intend urban Rome? Did they evoke Charlemagne, Aachen, and the Holy Roman Empire? Did they hint at Byzantium and the glory of the New Rome, Constantinople? Did they connote to the lost Temple in Jerusalem, most canonical of all sacred buildings, whose authority had been transferred to Rome according to the claims of the Roman Church?[36] The arches and arcades in the Danish rural churches probably intended all of these at once, making up a complex of references recognized by the few. As this is not the place to delve further into the merging and competing conceptions of Rome in medieval culture,[37] it should suffice here to remind about the fact that Rome was introduced in Denmark in the last half of the twelfth century not

35 Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty*, 53. See also Mary Carruthers, "The Concept of *ductus*, Or Journaying Through a Work of Art," in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

36 Cf. Chapter 3 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 49–55.

37 My forthcoming PhD-thesis will include a thorough discussion of merging conceptions of Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople, and the Holy Roman Empire.

only through architectural motifs but also in the form of literary and rhetorical models. The indigenous twelfth- and early thirteenth-century literature about the history of the Danes was shaped on the fundament of Roman rhetoric.[38] Hence, the production of texts modelled on Roman ideals largely coincides with the erection of stone churches somehow connoting to Roman architecture. Conceptually, Denmark underwent a kind of "Romanization" in this period:

> I should like it to be known that Danes of an older age, filled with a desire to echo the glory when notable braveries had been performed, alluded in the Roman manner to the splendour of their nobly wrought achievements with choice compositions of a poetical nature.[39]

This is but one example of how the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (*c*.1160–*c*.1220) aligns the "Deeds of the Danes" with the deeds of imperial Rome in his celebrated work *Gesta Danorum* (composed sometime shortly after 1208). The obvious purpose of this alignment is to inscribe the pagan past of the Danes in the categories of universal history, as part of God's providential plan. However, only twice is imperial Rome and its medieval continuation explicitly mentioned; first, when Saxo aligns the peaceful reign of King Frothi with *Pax Augustana* and connects it to the birth of Christ (v.15.3); and second, when he construes Charlemagne's Christianization of the Saxons as an inclusion of Saxony in the Roman realm (viii.16.5).[40] Saxo's primary concern in these cases is to insist upon a predestined past to be relieved by the Christian present.

Saxo was a representative of the Christian and classical intellectual movement that shaped the learned elites of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Western Europe. The reception and further development of Roman rhetoric within this learned tradition is the scope of much of Carruthers' research. The heritage she refers to is the precepts of the classical rhetoric as found in the works of Cicero and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.[41] In the intellectual milieus of the twelfth century, "ornaments of style," for instance allegory as a figure or a trope, were essential parts of

38 Mortensen, "Sactified Beginnings".
39 "Nec ignotum uolo Danorum antiquiores conspicuis fortitudinis operibus editis glorie emulatione suffusos Romaniu stili imitatione non solum rerum a se magnifice gestarum titulus exquisite contextus genere uelti poetico quodam opera perstrinxisse," Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum: The History of the Danes*, 2 vols, ed. and trans. Karsten Friis-Jensen and Peter Fisher, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2015).
40 Karsten Friis-Jensen, "Saxo Grammaticus's Study of the Roman Histoiographers and His Vision of History," in *Saxo Grammaticus: Tra storiografia e letteratura, Bevagna, 27–29 settembre 1990*, ed. C. Santini, I convegni di classiconorroena (Rome: Editricie Il Calamo, 1987); Karsten Friis-Jensen, "Introduction," in *Saxo Grammaticus: Gesta Danorum / The History of the Danes*, ed. Karsten Friis-Jensen and Peter Fisher (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2015), xxxvii–xxxix.
41 *Rhetorica ad herennium*, ed. H. Caplan and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). For Cicero, see, e.g., Cicero, *De Inventione, De Optimo Genere Oratorum, Topica*, ed. H.M. Hubbel (London: Heinemann, 1976).

grammar, taught at collegiate and cathedral schools everywhere.[42] Allegories[43] were part of the recollective cogitation and a thus prerequisites for meaning making and a guiding principle for biblical exegesis, cf. the fourfold interpretation of Scripture.[44] Allegorical explanation informed and structured the all-encompassing storyworld of the Christian Middle Ages, as seen, for example in the Mass expositions of the twelfth and thirteenth century, mentioned in the opening of this chapter.[45] Both the learned application of classical rhetoric in texts and the architectural application of the commonplace-motif in church buildings are, in a certain sense, Roman heritage adapted to Danish soil.

If we accept that Saxo's adaptation of the local past within a Roman scheme on the one hand and the building of stone churches on the other may be interpreted as initiatives prompted by a similar urge to be included in the history of salvation, it then follows that the Romanesque style (in architecture as well as in literature) does indeed embed a notion of something Roman. However, this notion should not be reduced to formalism and understood as coarse imitations of imported architectural structures or grammatical compositions. The literary and architectural references to Rome seem to suggest a mythical Rome, inherited through the Carolingians as the allegorical translation of Jerusalem to Rome, the Universal Church, *ecclesia Romana*. In this way, past and present Rome – city and Church – can be understood as the New Jerusalem, just as the local church building, *pars pro toto*, manifested the Roman Church.[46] Only recently has the visual Christianization of the old city of Rome itself, which came to be of utmost importance for the visual language of the Roman Church throughout the Middle Ages, been explored as an actual response to the stature of the "original" centre of Christendom, the physical city of Jerusalem. At an early stage in the collective Christian memory, the conception of Jerusalem, earthly and heavenly, merged with the conceptions of Rome, which then continuously transformed during the Middle Ages.

42 Cf., e.g., Laura Cleaver, *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture: Images of Learning in Europe, c.1100–1220* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016).

43 For a discussion of the two types of *allegoria*, see Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 125f.

44 Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, "The Definition of Allegory in Western Rhetorical and Grammatical Tradition," in *The Definition of Allegory in Western Rhetorical and Grammatical Tradition* (2006).

45 See, *Prelude*, 5–6, for a description of Jerusalem as the paradigmatic example of *quadriga*, the fourfold interpretative model in medieval exegesis.

46 For the concept *translatio imperii et studii*, see Aleida Assmann, *Zeit und Tradition: Kulturelle Strategien der Dauer* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1999); Eivor Andersen Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant: Housing the Holy Relics of Jerusalem with an edition and translation of the Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae (BAV Reg. Lat. 712)* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019). See also Chapter 3 in this volume (Eivor A. Oftestad), 49–55. The Israeli art historian Galit Noga-Banai argues that during the fifth century "the concept and presence of Jerusalem in the East stimulated and affected the creation of these images [i.e. the visual Christianization] and consequently helped to shape the collective memory of early Christian Rome." Galit Noga-Banai, *Sacred Stimulus: Jerusalem in the Visual Christianization of Rome*, Oxford Studies of Late Antiquity (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 3.

Against this background it is reasonable to maintain that the architectural articulation of the commonplace-motif itself intends something; it remembers in its own right and as such actively partakes in the meaning making.

The Rhetorical Function of the Chancel Arch

Let me try to illuminate my claim posed above by discussing one conspicuous example of the commonplace-motif found in most if not all Romanesque churches: the chancel arch. This structural component physically and visually marks the division, or threshold, between the two main parts of the church building (Fig. 15.3). In the early stone churches the division was underscored by the elevated floor level of the chancel area, connected to the nave by a step immediately in front of the chancel arch. The architectural articulation of the chancel arch has largely been neglected in previous research, as scholars have primarily concerned themselves with roods, wall paintings, side altars, and/ or screens. Hence, focus has been on the *concealment* of chancel arch – or rather the prevention of direct view into the chancel. However, in the first generation of the early stone churches, the chancel arch was in fact not "disturbed" by fittings.[47] On the contrary, the architectural structure of the chancel arch seems to be regarded as an "image" or a rhetorical figure in its own right, taking part in the larger rhetorical articulation of the eastern wall of the nave.[48] As we shall see below, this is an important feature in the process of the church building's meaning-making.

In scholarship on Danish church architecture, the existence of a side altar placed in front of the chancel arch, variously called *layman's altar*, *Holy Cross altar*, *Corpus Christi altar*, or *rood altar*, has been vividly discussed. The discussion is tied to the die-hard idea that the high altar in the chancel was reserved for the clergy and hence an altar in front of the chancel arch was needed in order to service the laity.[49] However, as has recently been argued convincingly, nothing suggests that the high altar did not service lay churchgoers, and as good as no archaeological evidence tells of an altar placed immediately in front of the chancel arch in the small rural churches.[50] A similar argument applies to rood altars and holy cross altars. Thus, the monumental crucifixes or roods in the aperture of chancel arches seem to have only entered the small rural churches after 1200, just as lofts and

47 A thorough discussion can be found in my forthcoming PhD Thesis.
48 By "rhetorical figure" I allude to the interrelation of the rhetorical terms *pictura*, *descriptio*, *imago*, and *figura*, the point being that they all has the capacity to refer to verbal ekphrasis and/ or graphic image. See Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty*, 140 n14.
49 For a walk through of previous research and references, see Jürgensen 2018, *Ritual and Art*: 91–5.
50 Jürgensen 2018, *Ritual and Art*: 94.

screens also seem to be later and to that a comparatively short-lived phenomena.[51] All of these shielding features seem clearly to belong to the period after 1200, and allow us to assume that in general, there were no obstacles in front of or fitted into the chancel arches in the twelfth century. Having exhausted the physical remnants of the church buildings themselves, we may return to the question of the rhetorical function of the commonplace-motif.

Admittedly, there are no written, contemporary sources testifying to how the chancel arch in a rural church was perceived by churchgoers attending Holy Mass. There are, however, as we recall from the beginning of this chapter, medieval mass expositions [*messuskýringar*] preserved in the vernacular, both from Iceland and Norway, dating between 1150 and 1500, and describing the church interior and its relation to the liturgy.[52] The Norse expositions generally follow Continental European descriptions and interpretations of liturgical practise.[53] Although it is hard to apply the these readings directly onto the actual architectural and liturgical situation in any random medieval church building,[54] they do provide a textual basis for an

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51 In the catalogue of church excavations by the Danish archaeologist Henriette Rensbro only three instances of side altars in front of the chancel arch are recorded, Rensbro, Spor i kirkegulve, 234, 43, 90. For a discussion of roods and monumental crucifixes see e.g., Ebbe Nyborg, "Kreuz ubd Kreutzaltarretabel in dänischen Pfarrkirchen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts: Zur Genese der Ring- und Arkadenkreuze," in *Enstehung und Frühgeschichte des Flügelaltarschreins*, ed. Hartmut Krohm, *et al.* (Berlin: Staatlische Museen zu Berlin, 2001); Ebbe Nyborg, "Korbue, krucifiks og bueretabel. Om de ældste vestjyske triumfkrucifikser, deres udformning og anbringelse," *Hikuin* 14 (1988). For a comparison with the Pan-European material, see Justin Kroesen and Regnerus Steensma, *The Interior of the Medieval Village Church / Het Middeleeuwse Dorpskerinterieur* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2005). There seems to be some confusion within traditional scholarship as how to group and thus where to place the crucifixes in the nave. In general, it has been claimed that the monumental crucifixes were roods and thus placed upon a rood beam suspended in the aperture of the chancel arch and connected to a Holy Cross altar immediately beneath it. However, as has since been pointed out by several scholars, a monumental crucifix was not necessarily placed in the aperture of the chancel arch, but could and often would be positioned anywhere in the nave, just was the case with the side altars. The German church historian Joseph Braun argues that the placement of the crucifix in the nave was prior to an erection of an altar, Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung: Arten, Bestandteile, Altargrab, Weihe, Symbolik*, vol. I (Munich: Alte Meister Guenther Koch & Co., 1924), 405. For a discussion of lectoriums, lofts and screens, see Jürgensen 2018, *Ritual and Art*: 114–20; Elna Møller, "Om danske lektorier," *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* (1950).

52 This Norse collection was first published by the Norwegian church historian Oluf Kolsrud in 1952, albeit in a non-normalized edition, *Messuskýringar. Liturgisk symbolik frå den norsk-islandske kyrka i millomalderen*, ed. Oluf Kolsrud (Oslo: Kjeldeskiftfondet, 1952). For a synthetic, annotated, and translated edition, see *Messuskýringar*, trans. Elise Kleivane, ed. Sigurd Hareide, *et al.* (Oslo: St. Olav forlag, 2014). The following is based on Kleivane's translation to modern Norwegian.

53 Cf., e.g. William Durandus of Mende, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*.

54 The criticisms voiced in this regard has primarily been directed at symbolic interpretations of church architecture, such as Joseph Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1902); Gunter Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as a Bearer of Meaning*, trans. Kendall Wallis (New York:

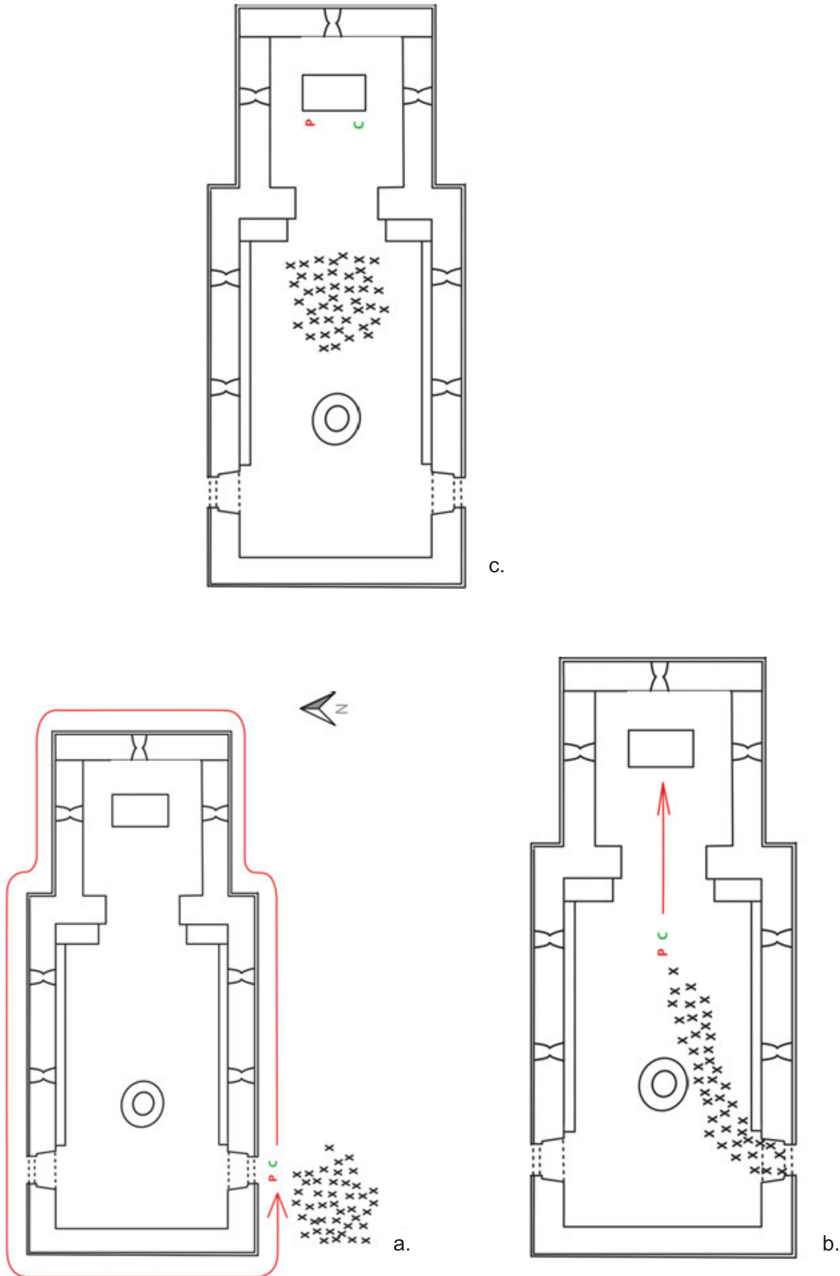

Fig. 15.9: Largescale movements of an idealized celebration of Holy Mass. a. *Asperges me / vidi aquam*; b. *Introitus*; c. *Introitus*, *Kyrie* etc. Drawn by the author and digitized by Kim Bonde, 2019.

understanding of the largescale movements within a given church during the celebration of Mass. With all methodological reservations, the expositions help us "remember" along with the architecture.

Before addressing the ritual, however, let us as a corrective ask if and what the Norse texts have to say about a possible shielding of the chancel arch. It would appear from the texts that the chancel area was only concealed from direct view during Lent. Moreover, and especially interesting in this context, it is explicitly stated that "in the wall between the chancel and the nave is a door opening. It is there so that one may see all that is happening in the chancel."[55] This statement goes well along with the architectural evidence: there were no concealments. We can thus, albeit cautiously, assume that the entire architectural structure of the chancel arch would have been very much visible from the nave.

Having established this, we can turn to rhetorical function of the arch. As previously stated, the mass expositions suggest that the architecture and its furnishings took part in liturgical meaning making. From this follows that the architecture is, in fact, *activated* by ritual practice. Liturgical details lay beyond the scope of this chapter, yet I wish to emphasize that the celebration of Mass seems to have been centred on the threshold of the chancel arch.[56] In Fig. 15.9 a–c I have tried to illustrate the large-scale movements described in the expositions: 1) the outside procession before entering the church and, 2) the subsequent actual celebration with the priest and clerk performing the ritual inside the chancel area, while the worshippers partake from the nave. Only twice during the celebration did either priest or clerk leave the chancel area. According to the texts, Gradual was "often song below the 'stair case';"[57] which can only be understood as on the floor level of the nave in front of the chancel arch, as there was in general only one step leading up to the chancel in the rural, Danish churches (cf. Fig. 15.3 c). During the Eucharist, the climactic part of Mass, a book should be presented to perform "the sign of peace" and, as it is stated, "the holy kiss moves among all present."[58] How and to what extent this happened is, of course, impossible say, and in the continental sources it is usually a so-called *Pax* tablet rather than a book that is offered. Whatever the case, an object to be kissed should ideally be presented from the chancel area, cross the threshold of the

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Columbia University Press, 2010 [1951]). Cf., also Timothy M. Thibodeau, "Enigmata Figurarum: Biblical Exegesis and Liturgical Exposition in Durand's 'Rationale'," *The Harvard Theological Review* 86, no. 1 (1993); Marie-Dominique Chenu, "The Symbolist Mentality," in *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, ed. M.D. Chenu (Chicago: University of Chircago Press, 1979).

55 My paraphrasing of text A. (AM. 237 a fol. (1150)): "A þeſſo brıóst þ | -ıle ero mıkıl dýrr. ſva at ſía ma aóll/ tı | -þende í ſaónghúſ ýr kırkıo." *Messuskýringar*: 1952, 93.

56 That is, after entering the church. Cf. Chapter 17 (Margrete Syrstad Andås), 340–70.

57 My paraphrase of text A. (AM. 619 4to (1200–1225): "at á pollom er ſunget ıðola." *Messuskýringar* 1952, 16. Cf. *Messuskýringar* 2014, 74.

58 My paraphrase of text A. (AM. 619 4to (1200–1225): "oc ſıðan fer frıðar koſſ allra manna á mıðlı tıl þeırrar." *Messuskýringar* 1952, 23. Cf. *Messuskýringar* 2014, 75.

chancel arch, and retrieve back into the chancel through the chancel arch. In this way, the architectural commonplace-motif of the chancel arch becomes very much alive. It is actively taking part in the performance of the ritual.

As such, the visual framing and limited physical accessibility to the most holy performed by the chancel arch had both a rhetorical and mnemonic function. This claim seems supported also by the common choice of iconography for the wall paintings surrounding the chancel arch. Usually, the upper part of the east wall of the nave had elaborate wall paintings, as had the chancel arches' soffits and inner jambs, indicating that they were, in fact, meant to be seen in their entirety. The 19 preserved chancel arches with paintings dated between 1080 and 1175 all follow the same scheme: all but one has a roundel centrally placed on the soffit, and are framed by ornamental boarders. The roundels show the Virgin Mary, the Lamb of God, or Christ in Glory. The iconographical themes are either the vices and virtues, or the story of Cain and Abel. In one church, the biblical kings David and Solomon are depicted, otherwise rows of unidentified saints. 13 of the 19 churches with painted soffits have additionally wall paintings preserved on the eastern wall of nave. From what can be identified of these remnants it seems that scenes from the Passion of Christ and not least the tableau of the Final Judgement are typical subjects. The standard iconography clearly remembers the historical foundation for the celebration of the Eucharist (Christ's Passion) as well as the promised eschatological future (salvation and eternal life after the Last Judgement).

According to the mass expositions, the eastern wall of the nave symbolizes the Holy Spirit. The symbolism is explained by analogy: "just as the believer's entry into Christendom is through Christ's sacrifice, so too is the believer's entry into Heaven through the mercy-door of the Holy Spirit."[59] The description of the chancel arch as "the mercy-door of the Holy Spirit" resonate well with the preferred iconography of the Passion and Last Judgement on the eastern wall of the nave, as well as with the function of the commonplace-motif as an architectural cue. This is furthermore substantiated by the explanation of the purpose of that very same "door:"

> it is there, so that everyone that may meet the mercy of the Holy Spirit may see a lot of heavenly things with the eye of the mind.[60]

59 See text A. (AM. 237 a fol. (1150)): "Brıóst þıle þat. eſ a mıþle | eſ ſaónghúſſ oc kırkıo. Merker helgan an | -da. Þuı at ſva ſem vér gaongom ınn fýr tr | -ú / crıſtcs. í crıſtnena. ſva gaongom vér oc ın | -n í hımna dýrþ / fýr mıſcunnar dýrr h | -eılagſ anda " *Messuskýringar* 1952: 93–94. Cf. *Messuskýringar* 2014: 143.

60 See text A. (AM. 237 a fol. (1150)): "A þeſſo brıóst þ | -ıle ero mıkıl dýrr. ſva at ſía ma aóll/ tı | -þende í ſaónghúſ ýr kırkıo. Því at hv | -err eſ fıþr mıſ- / cunnar dýrr heılagſ an | -da ma líta hug ſcotcs augom marga / hımnes | -ca hlute." *Messuskýringar* 1952: 93. Cf. *Messuskýringar* 2014, 143 and note 55.

Conclusion: Importing and Manifesting the Past, Present, and Future

Let me conclude by gathering the bits and pieces. The temporal flow of the commonplace-motif intends past, present, and future, as conditioned by the storyworld. Its stylistic connotations intend the cluster of biblical metaphors embedded in the Jerusalem code, which makes its rhetorical implications so powerful in the process of meaning making. Not only does the glory of Solomon's past temple manifest itself in the present. It actively translates and transforms the Old covenant into the New by inviting the worshipper to enter into Christ through the door opening, as such effectively instituting the promise of fulfilment. This is, as we recall, explicitly voiced by the Hunseby-portal itself (Fig. 15.1).

Inside the church, salvation history unfolds in time, as ritual, architecture, and practitioners interact. Meaning making can thus only arise in this dynamic interplay. As we saw to be the case of the monumental chancel arches, the unobstructed view would have allowed for a restricted access into the most holy, the promise of the future, essentially with the commonplace-motif mediating the ritual unfolding inside chancel area. The direct view through the chancel arch, however, was only effectuated, situated and thus semantically charged during the celebrations. As such, the ritual practice in interplay with the situating commonplace-motif and the worshipper create an affective space; a space in which the meaning making transpires. The architectural structure of the chancel arch thus seems to have been actively participating in this process of meaning making – its visual rhetoric is essentially materialized understanding – a structure on which to build associations over.

Ecclesia Romana and the heavenly metropolis were extraordinary present, in the present, during the liturgy – physically as well as conceptually. This interpretation, in my opinion, has implications for the many empty Romanesque arches and arcades found everywhere outside and inside the rural stone-churches. A lot of these arches and arcades are, in fact, constructed as actual cityscapes or triumphal arches; an example par excellence being the arch situating the Virgin in the heavenly Jerusalem om the Lisbjerg altar from c.1135, commented on in the introduction (Fig. 1.3).[61] All in all, this allows me to suggest at least one possible association that could be spurred in the mind of the medieval worshipper; namely that of entering triumphantly into the Heavenly Jerusalem. This argument seems substantiated by Carruthers' discussion of the widespread use of puns as a mnemonic device:

> The . . . syllable, *arc*-: *arc-a*, "ark" or "chest," both of Noah and of the Covenant, where God's *arc-ana*, "secrets," are hidden away; *arc-es*, "citadels," the walled cities of Ezekiel's and

61 Chapter 1 (Kristin B. Aavitsland), 35–6.

> John's visions; and also *arc-us*, "arches," the shape of each of the triple triumphal doorways in the walls [of the Heavenly Jerusalem].[62]

As such the arcade – textual and visual – has the potential to *write* a "cluster of metaphorical" pictures in the mind. It remembers the Heavenly Jerusalem through these different stored biblical references.

62 Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 150.