RURAL DANISH CHURCHES IN TRANSITION

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ABSTRACT

The departure of this paper is a PhD project regarding Danish medieval churches. The purpose of the study is to examine and define an acceptable work span between the architectural resources, the cultural values and the potentials of the church buildings as seen by the citizens. This paper regards the part of the PhD project, which includes an exploration of the significance of the church buildings from the perspective of the people who live in their presence. The exploration of this situation will be conducted primarily by qualitative interviews, and takes its departure in theories of space and place, and how humans relate to these concepts. The interviewees will be inhabitants in the rural parishes chosen by a parameter that guarantee a representation of a broad range of people: from people who would be defined as outsiders to the church, to people who consider themselves insiders by virtue of being a member and user, or even an employee of the church. The study has no ambition to find a final answer to the significances and value the church buildings represent to the individual. A part of the interview study seeks to explore the potential of reuse or combined use of the lesser used churches seen through the eyes of the inhabitants of the rural communities. The present paper outlines the background, theory and methodology of the qualitative interview exploration.

Keywords: medieval churches, church architecture, developing heritage buildings, affective spaces, qualitative research, research interview.

1 INTRODUCTION

What is the significance of the Danish church buildings? What are the future potentials for the buildings, if they lose their original function fully or partly? And who are the people relevant, to have an opinion about the significance and decisions being made? The Danish medieval churches are unique heritage buildings which have provided a framework for religious life and served as social and visual anchor points in the local communities for centuries (Fig. 1). But since the way of practicing faith is changing and remote areas are depopulated, the use of the churches in rural areas decreases. At this point many churches are only used very little, and at some point in the near future, there will be churches, that are no longer used at all. Throughout the last century, these buildings have been addressed with great anxiety – no one dares to alter or develop these magnificent buildings, though they have been altered, rebuild and added to through many centuries before.

A number of circumstances indicate that the Danish society is on the verge of a change in paradigms: In the last few years several initiatives have been made towards opening the churches to present and future needs and demands.

In 2013 the Cultural Minister, Marianne Jelved, decided to close and sell 6 city churches in Copenhagen which were transformed to other functional purposes. As a follow-up on this decision the Church Minister, Manu Sareen, made it clear that currently, there were around 200 parishes in Denmark with less than 200 citizens, which would be sensitive towards further decay and reduced use [1]. These 200 parishes are all rural parishes.

A report made by a workgroup in the Danish Ministry of Church and Gender Equality, 2013, addresses the legislative and economic situation for the Danish churches making the formal situation for medieval or later build churches clear [2]. The report was followed up by a legislative change in the Danish law, now allowing events of profane use to be organized





Figure 1: Haldum Church, Denmark. (Photo by Maj Dalsgaard.)

within the walls of the churches [3]. For several reasons though, the situation and the complexity of closing, selling and transforming a city church is much lower than the complexity when considering transforming a rural church:

Proximity: the city churches are so closely situated, that you can always go to another church nearby for religious purposes. In the rural areas, you will need to drive further to reach the next church.

Hierarchy: the city churches tend to blend more in with the surrounding houses and buildings in terms of scale, detailing and maintenance. In the rural areas, the churches mark themselves as outstanding buildings compared to the surrounding houses.

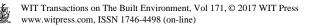
Function: In the cities, you have a great amount of adequate functions that obviously will be well visited. In the rural areas with few citizens, fewer functions seem realistic or relevant. Surroundings: in the rural areas you further have the obstruction, that the churches are surrounded by churchyards, which they are not in the cities.

Transforming a rural church is possible though. This was proved by a project performed on the island of Læsø in 2008: Based on the local tradition of salt making, Læsø Church (built 1950) was transformed into a luxury spa with great success, and was thereby the first Danish church transformed in present time (Læsø Church was transformed to a spa in 2008 by the architectural office Friis and Moltke). Though Læsø Church is not directly comparable with the medieval churches in regards to history or architecture, this must be considered a landmark. This example illustrates, how taking departure in the local resources when making a transformation, can strengthen the identity of a place.

The aim of this paper is to outline the development of the Danish medieval churches, and to elaborate on how and why the citizens could be important actors in discussing the significance and potentials of the church buildings.

2 DANISH CHURCHES – HERITAGE AND ANCHORPOINTS

The medieval churches represent the best preserved historic building mass in Denmark. Throughout time the perception of the churches has changed. From being religious authoritative buildings, to a higher and higher degree of the church buildings being perceived as cultural heritage monuments. No matter the perception of the churches, there can be no doubt, that the buildings are very significant. Not only do they draw the landscape of Denmark by their location, and their towers. They are also the most important sources of knowledge about building techniques and lived life in Denmark in this early stage of time. And last but not least they are the direct link to our historic background.



2.1 The origin of Danish church architecture

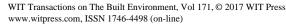
Danish church architecture goes far back in history. The buildings that today represent the Lutheran People's Church of Denmark origin in the catholic Christianity which emerged in Denmark throughout the 9th and the 10th century [4]. The Danish Vikings travelled around the world, and met Christianity on their way. They saw the advantages of the Christian societies and brought the faith back to Denmark [4]. One must presume that from an early time on, faith was practiced in places and spaces not necessarily built for this purpose, but from the 10th century smaller wooden churches were built in all of the country [4]. The christening of the Danish King, Harald Bluetooth, in the year of 965, was an important step towards Denmark being a Christian country and from this time on, the building of churches increased. Due to progress in the building technology and the impermanence of the wooden buildings, the wooden churches were continuously replaced with stone churches from around year 1000. Today the traces remaining from the first churches are only to be found under ground and in the foundations of the later stone churches. The earliest Danish church still existing is the cathedral in Lund, which was founded in the early 1100 (The Church in Lund is situated in the region of Skåne, which historically was Danish, but is now Swedish). Most of the still existing Danish churches were built from this time and the next couple of centuries, and about 1720 of the still existing 2.354 Danish churches were grounded in the 12th and 13th century.

2.2 The adapting church

As mentioned, most of the rural churches took their point of departure as smaller, stone building consisting of two building elements: the ship and the choir. But as the population in certain areas increased, building techniques developed and trends shifted, so did the expression of the buildings. In the roman period, many churches were expanded by longer ships or by the addition of an apse. In the gothic period, you would often see the addition of a tower and other smaller additions like weapon houses, chapels or a sacristy. Many of the churches, which had started out as rather humble buildings with flat wooden ceilings, were also rebuilt in the inside by replacement of the humble, wooden, flat ceilings with arched, plastered ceilings; which completely changed the spatial appearance.

The Romanesque way of building was characterised among other things by the Romanesque arches. But in the gothic period, many windows were enlarged and changed to the gothic pointed arches, and allowed more light into the churches. Not only were the churches changed in order to fit the current needs or ideals. If a church was outdated, or an area had been vacated, churches were torn down, and their materials reused elsewhere. All in all, the take on the management of the churches was quite practical and unsentimental.

In 1536 Denmark was reformed, and from this stage the state religion has been the Lutheran Protestantism. The transition to Protestantism had little effect on the very architecture of the churches, but did though have some effect on the perception of the building and its significance. In the catholic faith, the church room is considered sacred and the priest is considered as the link between God and congregation. Whereas, in the protestant perception the church is just a physical frame of gathering, and the priest is equal with the congregation. It did also have physical effects in the way of conducting the religious ceremony, and as a consequence of this, it affected the disposition of the church room as well [5].



2.3 From adaption to stagnation

The continuous adaption of the church buildings went on through many centuries. As Denmark was a relatively poor country, few churches were actually torn down, compared with our Nordic brother nations, but were rebuild and adapted instead. This is the reason why today, we still have this impressively large number of remaining mediaeval churches [5]. Around 1900 though, there was a change in this scenery: From this time on, the perception of the church building somehow changed, and the architectural changes of the churches have been minimal since.

The buildings are not listed, but are under the protection of the National Museum, when changes are suggested. In the potential situation that a medieval church (build before the reformation in 1536) is sold, the church will automatically become listed [2]. This sets up the quite interesting schism, that given the needed permission, you are freer to alter a church, which is still in use of a church, than a church that has been sold to be adapted to another purpose.

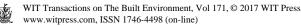
2.4 A church in change

In the 21st century the Danish churches face new challenges. The way of practicing faith is changing in Denmark, which reflects in different ways. For example, by the fact that more people choose to opt out of church, and fewer babies are christened. 1 January 2017, 75.9% of the Danish population were a registered member of a church. This is a decrease of 7% in ten years. And a decrease of 14% compared with the number of members in 1990 [6]. As urbanization increase, many villages suffer from decay, and this leads to decline of public, commercial and social functions, like schools, grocery stores and associations, in the rural areas. This seems to create a negative spiral in the villages since shutting down these functions, make the villages less attractive, which leads to further decay. In many of these small societies, the church is one of the last remaining common functions. And the thought of this project is to consider the church not as an economical burden, but as a spatial, aesthetic and functional resource in the communities. For this to resonate and be successful, I find it necessary to draw in the people, who know these villages: the people, who live there. The citizens are obviously the ones to know, what is missing in their specific community to make the community attractive for them, and for potential new citizens. Asking the people will make the opportunity of a cocreational process, which could be positive to both the church, the community and to society in general.

The change in the view on the church is reflected in other situations as well. Though less people are members, and less people recognize themselves as active Christians, the church is still considered an important cultural institution or symbol. This schism has been examined by Jes Heise Rasmussen and Margit Warburg, and published in the article *Cultural heritage and closing churches* [7]. This perspective is represented in the term of being a 'cultural Christian', which means, you don't consider yourself as a believer in God, but your life is still framed by the Christian church and its rituals, from birth to death, by both christening and funeral. Not as a religious ceremony, but as an important cultural tradition.

3 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SPACE AND PLACE

The aim of my research is to explore the significance of the physical structures, which we know as 'church'. Often when decisions regarding cultural heritage are being made, they are made by politicians. If lucky the priorities are made under the counselling of professionals, like heritage architects, archaeologists and historians. But when considering what very



special places the churches represent, it seems relevant to ask the people using them and living side by side with them.

Having 2354 churches in Denmark, we have in average a church pr. 20 km2. Denmark being a flat country, this means often you will be able to literally look from church tower to church tower. Plotting in all Danish churches on a blank piece of paper will make you the very shape of Denmark (Fig. 2). This means, that almost wherever you are in Denmark, you will always be able to see the next church tower. Especially in the villages, the churches have a certain hierarchic position. Whereas most the houses are quite low and maybe even humble in their making, the churches appear as stately buildings. They are often situated at the highest point of the village. The surrounding settlement keeps a respectful distance. The tower marks the building as especially important, and the materials are almost always solid and of high quality. Even if the rest of the houses in the village are neglected and dilapidated, the church is always taken care of and in good condition. Besides the visual prominent role, the church occupies an even larger territory of the village by its sound. The church bell, which has rung for decades to mark the beginning and the end of day, and furthermore announced service, funerals, death or incoming threads, still rings over the villages, insistently marking its importance and special role in society.

3.1 Theories on space and place

Like the perception of the churches, the perception of the concepts of space and place and the way people relate to them, has developed through time. For a long time the concept of place was perceived as a mere physical construction. But from the 1970s and forth the human geography put focus to other aspects of the concept of place, and the definition expanded the specific delimited location, to a concept that emerges in relation to the person experiencing it (the human geography was developed in the 1970s by several geographers as a critique of the positivistic geography. It was first known under the terms of 'critical geography' or 'behavioural geography'). In my explorations of the significance of the churches to the local citizens, I will primarily make use of the theories of the geographers Edward Relph and Yi-Fu Tuan.

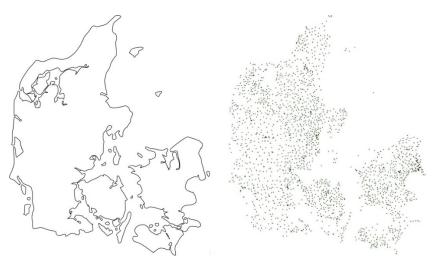
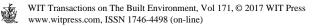


Figure 2: Denmark as an outline, and Denmark 'drawn' by the geographical position of the existing 2354 churches. (*Maps made by Maj Dalsgaard based on GIS.*)



3.1.1 Edward Relph

The geographer Edward Relph, was one of the first to emphasize the importance of space and place to people in general, and how individuals relate to space in an individual and affective way. "A place is not just the 'where' of something; it is the location plus everything that occupies that location seen as an integrated and meaningful phenomenon." (Relph [8]). Relph introduces the possibility of exploring places by dividing them into different elements: the physical surroundings, the activities and the significance. But he underlines the fact that these elements are interwoven and cannot be separated, when experiencing place (Relph [8]). Relph enhances the importance of places, as identity makers, which is highly relevant when discussing the significance of churches: "It is utterly a part of our nature to want roots, for a sense of belonging, for some place that is recognised as mine, as yours, as ours." [8]. I expect this to be a crucial – but possibly unconscious – aspect of the significance of the church buildings to the citizens.

3.1.2 Yi-Fu Tuan

The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan is also occupied by the importance of the subjective relation to space, and moreover introduces some interesting concepts in relation to churches: "fields of care" and "public symbols" (Tuan [7]). This indicates a possible difference between the significance of the local church building as a field of care, and of the church buildings in general as public symbols. This doesn't necessarily mean, that the local church is more important to people, but that the importance is emerges from different perspectives. Yi-Fu Tuan explicates the perception, that spaces and places are defined by a combination of both history and significance applied by the people perceiving them [9]. This substantiates the historic and timely aspects as important identity makers, and thereby, I assume, as important aspects in how people relate to the buildings affectively.

4 EXPLORING PERSPECTIVES

As affective an issue the Danish churches represent, the perception of the significance and potential differs from person to person depending, among other things, by their relation to the church. "To the incumbent the church is a workshop; to the antiquary it is a relic. To the parish it is a utility; to the outsider a luxury. How to unite these incompatibles?" (Hardy [9]). Though this quote by the poet Thomas Hardy was written more than one hundred years ago, it still sums up the situation quite well: It seems every person has their own quite distinct opinion about the significance of our churches. The perceptions I have met so far varies from openness towards complete functional transformation of the churches, over the opinion that churches that are not used frequently should be locked and overlie as a museological objects, and to the opinion, that a church that isn't used anymore should rather be torn down, than be used for any other purpose at any time.

In between these polarised positions, I expect to unravel a greatly nuanced field of perceptions.

4.1 The perspective of the architect

To the architect the church represent a great resource, an aesthetic, spatial experience. But there is no doubt, the resource is very unique, and therefore requires to be approached with great sensitivity that goes beyond material and proportion in order to respect and preserve its unique characteristics. As late Professor Johannes Exner, who spend a lifetime working on churches, both old and new, puts it: "To the architect it's a question on specific elements, floors, walls, ceiling, heat, light, materials etc., but a great church room is characterized as



well by something ineffable, transcendent, divine, something beyond the specific – a strange synchronicity of both possible and impossible, a combination of the earthly and the divine – a phenomena which the ineffability of a space may contribute to carry" (Exner [10]).

4.2 The perspective of the citizens

To gain a broad view on the local citizen's perspectives on churches, I will be making use of multiple research methods. Due to the nature of the topic, which concerns these unique affective spaces, and how people relate to them, my explorations will take departure in the qualitative methods. Qualitative methods are distinguished by exploring emotion, experience and affection, as opposed to quantitative method which focuses on facts and numbers. With the knowledge gained through the qualitative methods in a local scale, I will then seek to quantify or certain key themes by a quantitative national survey.

4.3 Qualitative interviews

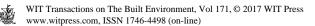
The qualitative studies will be conducted as semi structured interviews. Using the semi structured interviews will allow conversations, where I, as a researcher, have the freedom and possibility of letting the interview develop throughout the conversation and explore the themes that emerges and are recognised as important to the research along the way. The qualitative semi structured interview is suitable for exploring phenomena as they are experienced by people themselves. It does not seek to generalize or find 'the truth' of a phenomenon, but rather to uncover the broadness and variety of perceptions of it [11].

The interviews will be conducted in three rural parishes.

4.4 Insiders, outsiders and the people in between

In addition to exploring the span of perceptions and perspectives, I will be interested in exploring whether coherences between the perception and the connection to the church will uncover during the analysis of the interviews.

Relph addresses the importance of a person's relation to specific places: 'To be inside a place is to belong to it and identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is this identity with the place' (Relph [8]). He further on defines the following seven steps of insideness and outsideness: Existential outsideness, objective outsideness, incidental outsideness, vicarious insideness, behavioural insideness, empathetic insideness and existential insideness [8]. These categories are an interesting way of comprehending the interviewees in relation to the church. Obviously it will be interesting to investigate and compare the extremes, but not least the categories in between would be interesting to look further into. Preferably it will be possible to represent all of the seven categories to by the chosen interviewees. I find it possible, though, that the same interviewee can take position of different categories at the same time, since the interviews will be dealing with both the significance of the local church building ('fields of care') and the significance of church buildings in general ('public symbols'). Since the Lutheran perception of the church implies, that the church is just a physical frame of the religious ceremony, the association with the local church could very well be stronger than the association with churches in general. You could for example imagine a person being defined as an existential insider by being a member and frequent user of the local church – maybe even a member of the congregation council – and thereby experiencing a strong affective affinity with the church as a 'field of care'. But at the same time this person could be an objective outsider in relation to the significance of church buildings in general. Opposite, you could imagine a



person with no relation to the local church, feeling strongly about the churches as a historic narrative, a cultural manifest or a visual landmark – a public symbol.

4.5 Conducting the interviews

The interviews will, as mentioned before, be conducted as semi structured interviews, allowing to wander of and to go in depth with specifically affective themes that shows up during conversation. The interview guide will be organized on the basis of the space and place theories of Edward Relph and Yi-Fu Tuan, and will thereby draw on the concepts and divisions laid out by them (Fig. 3).

4.5.1 Setting the frame - the activities

I will start the interviews in peoples own home to establish a positive and comfortable atmosphere. Here, I will start by the formal introduction to the research project, and by asking more general and factual questions about the interviewee and their relation to church.

To set the frame of the interview, I will start by asking about the experiences (Relph: activities) the interviewee has had in or in relation to the church. This could be christenings, weddings, funerals or other religious ceremonies, but it could as well be mundane experiences, which link to the church building in any way. For example, childhood memories of playing hide and seek on the churchyard.

RESEARCH QUESTION	PLACE	THEORY	INTERVIEW QUESTION
CONTEXTUALIZATION / WHICH EXPERIENCES MAKE THE BASIS OF THE CITIZENS ASSESSMENT OF THE CHURCH BUILDING?	At the home of the interviewee	Relph: Activities	 What is your first memory of the church? Can you describe the experience? In which other occasions have you been in touch with the church? How would you describe the importance of the local church to you?
How does the citizens experience the church in the village or in the landscape?	Walking from home to church	Tuan: Public Symbols / Fields of care Relph: Physical surroundings	 When are you aware of your church / other churches? (walking/driving/on the way home from different places) Are there any other situations? (eg.: by the sound of the church bell) How would you describe the exterior of the church? How would you describe the difference between the church and the surrounding buildings in the village?
How do the citizens experience the church interior? What do they point out as significant?	Inside the church	Relph: Physical surroundings / Significance Tuan: Significance of history/time Lise Bek: how physical space influences on action.	 How does being in the church room make you feel? How would you describe the room(s)? (light / acoustics / smell / other) How do you think the room differs from other rooms, you find yourself in? How does it make you feel to know that someone build this building with their hands almost a thousand years ago? And that people has been using it ever since? How is your behaviour affected by being in the church?

Figure 3: Excerpt of my interview guide for the qualitative interviews.



4.5.2 The big picture – the physical surroundings

After the initial questions the interview will proceed as a walk-and-talk from the home to the church. This enables a situation where the conversation can flow, while being in the environment, we are discussing (Relph: the physical surroundings). During the walk, I will be asking the interviewees about their perception of the church building in daily life. Are they aware of the church? In which situations are they aware of the church? The answers could for example be: when the bell rings, or when they drive home from work, and orient themselves towards the tower as being a landmark for the village. In this context, I will be aware of them mentioning any parts of the church as more significant to them, than other parts. For example: the tower, the sound, the churchyard-wall or maybe the entity of the building-complex.

The purpose of this part of the interview is to gain an understanding of the importance of the church as a building in the local environment – and maybe as an element in the landscape (Yi-Fu Tuan: public symbols).

4.5.3 The church – the significance

The interview ends in the church building itself. Here the interview will concentrate on the spatial experience of the church. Are any rooms or spaces more or less important to the interviewee? How does the interviewee describe the atmosphere? Which elements does the interviewee enhance? For example: the light, the sacredness, the acoustics, the organisation of the room, the sensation of historical unity or other elements.

During the interview, which I will be recording, I will be making field notes. I find it highly interesting and relevant to observe, whether the interviewee change conduct as we leave the home – as we approach the church – and not least, as we enter the church building.

Danish art historian, Lise Bek, writes: "The room with its pattern of functions is a carrier of physical expression." (Bek [12]). Do people change their physical expression when entering the room? Do they lower their tone of voice due to the acoustics? Do they change their movements? Or do I observe any other kinds of change? These notes of unconscious, behavioral changes could be equally as interesting as the conscious answers to the questions being asked.

4.5.4 The future potential

The last part of the interviews regards the future potentials of the church. The interviewees will be asked openly about the lack of different facilities or functions in their community, and to reflect on whether any of these facilities would be suitable to adapt into or in addition to their local church, or to churches in general (examples of these questions are not included in the excerpt of the interview guide Fig. 3).

4.6 The analysis

I will be conducting a phenomenological analysis of both interview and notes by use of the method of categorizing and coding. The coding will be organized by categories taking departure in the concepts and theories defined by Edward Relph and Yi-Fu Tuan.

4.7 Survey

With the interview and analysis done, I will be using the results as a basis for a national survey. Whereas the interviews can only be made and analysed with a relatively small amount of persons, a survey will be able to generate information from a larger number of persons.



By using the codes, categories and information about future potential revealed by the interviews, it will therefore be possible to gain a more solidly grounded material by complementing the interviews with a survey.

5 FROM STAGNATION AND BACK TO ADAPTION?

In the before mentioned report from the Danish Church Ministry it is stressed, that the Danish midlevel churches from both an architectural and cultural historical point of view are so unique, that demolition will never be an option [2]. Therefore, it says in the rapport, the transformation to alternative use is an architectural challenge, which requires a high quality in the given projects [2]. These statements underline the importance of the churches, but still clearly indicate a political receptiveness towards the possibility that the churches can be transformed in the future. The position taken seems to solely address a situation where the lesser used, or unused, churches are sold and fully transformed, but there could be other possibilities.

In the publication '*The Relevant People's Church*' [13], anthropologist Steen Marquardsen suggests, that the church could renew its relevance by approaching more segments of the population. The concept of a double church addresses the fact that some churches are solely making arrangements targeted to the local congregation, whereas others arrange activities targeted to a wider geographic area. I could suggest to expand the concept to a 'Tripple People's Church', including secular activities, that the local communities will benefit from in other connections as well, by contributing to the creation of a more active and attractive community.

6 CONCLUSION

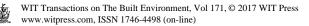
The Danish medieval churches are very important heritage buildings not only from a religious perspective, but from a cultural and architectural point of view as well.

They have developed throughout almost a thousand years, and have been changed and adapted to the current needs and ideals through most of the time. The recent century, there has been a restraint towards changing the churches. But due to changes in society and the Danish way of believing, a number of churches will only be very little used in the future. An openness towards full or partial transformation of the churches is emerging politically.

Furthermore, the buildings represent a great resource in revitalising vacated, rural areas. When trying to release this potential, an important source of knowledge, could be the people living their everyday life side by side with the churches, in the communities lacking social, commercial or cultural functions. But how important are the churches to the citizens living side by side with them? And what are the possibilities of transforming them?

By conducting architectural analyses of the churches, and combining my findings with the results of the qualitative investigation of the significances and potentials seen by the eyes of the population, I seek to define a work-span in which alterations or transformations of the lesser used churches can be made to meet both the respect of the buildings and their values, and the actual needs in the small societies.

The possibilities of reusing the churches are varied, but it is extremely important to make decisions, that respect the unique buildings. If these needs are met, the transformation of churches has the potential of making a large, historic building stock relevant again, at the same time as strengthening and revitalising vacated areas.



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