

Receiving, Importing, or Producing Culture?

Proposal for a CoE on Periphery and Centre in Medieval Europe

The CoE aims at tracing some fundamental features of the Europeanisation of Europe by looking at medieval Western Christendom from the periphery, i.e. Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. This will be done by studying cultural transmission and interaction by comparison between centre and periphery as well as within the latter. The overriding theoretical framework is determined by recent developments in the historical, literary, and social sciences where a tight linking of cultural and religious expressions with social behaviour is emphasised through analyses of discourse, power and social praxis. The programme will be divided into four major projects, dealing respectively with (1) The Arrival of Writing, (2) Religion between Unity and Variety, (3) State Formation and Political Culture, and (4) Construction of the Past.

Resources

- Five core members from four fields of research in medieval culture, all with interdisciplinary experience and networks esp. in Scandinavia, England, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Hungary.
- Strong Norwegian tradition of research on the Middle Ages.
- Promising young Norwegian scholars in most of the relevant fields.
- Good library resources at the University of Bergen.
- Sufficient office space, technical support, and other infrastructure at the Faculty of Humanities.

Organisation

- Located at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Bergen, managed by Prof. Sverre Bagge (history) with core members Else Mundal (Old Norse), Eldbjørg Haug (history), Lars Boje Mortensen (Medieval Latin), Torstein Jørgensen (theology).
- Dr. art. programme in each field conducted in an interdisciplinary framework.
- Frequent seminars attended by scholars in different fields to secure interdisciplinarity.
- Short term guest professorships in Bergen and short term research visits abroad for the CoE staff.
- Regular reporting on website and international fora, e.g. the Int. Medieval Congress in Leeds.
- Workshops within projects with invited scholars and annual conferences for the whole programme.
- Publications on three levels: (1) International scholarly articles and books, (2) Cultural history for the general reader in English and Norwegian, (3) Educational material in English and Norwegian.

Primary aims

- To enhance our understanding of Europe as a whole, in the Middle Ages as well as today, from a peripheral point of view. The present transformation of Europe calls for new emphases on the continent's past, not least the period of European origin, the Middle Ages, when the tension between unity and diversity came into being.
- To stimulate comparative research across traditional borders and give insight, not only in our common European past, but also in the study of cultural interaction and the relationship between social, political, literary, religious, and ideological aspects of European civilisation.
- To improve the present doctoral programmes in medieval studies, particularly by focusing on interdisciplinarity, and thus contribute to transmitting the skills and insights represented by our fields to a new generation.
- To raise the level of international knowledge about Norwegian cultural, political, and scholarly traditions by showing their relevance to the general problems posed by medievalists today.

- To ensure that the voice of the North and the East will be strong when new interpretations of the origins and identity of European history are to be developed in the coming decades.

The Europeanisation of Europe

‘The Europeanisation of Europe’ or ‘The Formation of Western Christendom’ would seem an appropriate headline for the period between the 9th and the 14th century. While in the beginning of the period, the northern and eastern borders of Western Christendom did not extend much further than the Roman Empire had done, by its end, the region included the whole of Scandinavia, both sides of the Baltic, and the Western Slav region which had now become the kingdoms of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. The process has often been described as a spread or a conquest, either in the literal or in the figurative sense. This is largely the perspective of Robert Bartlett’s influential book, *The Making of Europe* (1993), which shows how castles, heavy cavalry, and their concomitant institutions, i.e. manorialism and feudalisation, spread from the centre to the periphery. In a similar way, the cultural change of the period is often understood as the spread of Christian elite culture from the centre to the periphery.

The metaphor of cultural ‘conquest’ or ‘spread’, however, is not altogether satisfactory. It tends to overemphasise the similarities between the regions of the centre at the beginning of the process as well as those of the periphery at its end. Instead we find it helpful to view the development of the periphery by using an economic metaphor: Did the new regions of Europe receive wholesale ‘cultural packages’? Or did they import selected items? Or did they produce their own cultural goods on the basis of a vague and heavily mediated external influence? Questions such as these recognise the general direction of cultural expansion without being prejudiced against a more complex traffic of cultural exchange.

The international character of Western Christendom is striking. The learned elite all over Christendom could communicate through the Latin language, were educated in basically the same mode of thought, and familiar with the same authorities. Appeals, petitions, and legal conflicts reached Rome from all parts of Europe. On the other hand, the elite was numerically very small, and communication over great distances normally depended on prior acquaintance, as most of the means of communication taken for granted by modern intellectuals were lacking: printed books, periodicals, newspapers, etc. Hand-written books might be sent over large distances, while at the same time being unknown in the neighbouring town. Thus, although the intellectual ‘means of production’ made possible long-distance communication, this did not prevent most intellectual milieux from having mainly local significance. The ‘conquest’ of the periphery from the centre and the unity of the European elite culture should therefore not be exaggerated.

The same applies to the political and administrative aspect. Admittedly, there is clear evidence of the superiority of the centre in the technological and institutional field. Western military technology was imported largely because of practical experience, as a result of defeats in wars against Western armies. The introduction of bureaucracy, taxation, and written records was necessary to meet competition from Western kingdoms. The countries bordering the German Empire were from the 10th century onwards faced with the alternatives: adapt or perish. Nevertheless, the difference between centre and periphery can hardly be understood in analogy to the later difference between the European colonists and the native countries. First, we have to do with a Europeanisation of the centre as well as the periphery. Western Europe around 1300 was very different from what it had been 300 years earlier, politically as well as culturally. Both the development of a relatively homogenous elite culture and the political centralisation and military specialisation took place at about the same time as the extension of Western Christendom. Second, the contacts between centre and periphery go far back in history, and we have to do with ‘selective adaptation’ in the political-administrative as well as in the cultural field. Third, the influence did not always go from the centre to the periphery, but also in the opposite direction. European culture is not only formed by the Mediterranean tradition from Antiquity, but also by the encounter with the Germanic and Slav peoples who were integrated in Western Christendom from the 9th century onwards. Similarly, the Europeanised elite in the periphery made important contributions to the common European culture, notably in the Later Middle Ages, when universities were established all over the area, starting with Prague in 1347/48. In the 16th century, the first decisive steps towards the modern model of the cosmos were taken by a Pole, Kopernik (Copernicus), a Dane, Tycho Brahe, and a German working in Prague, Johannes Kepler.

In addition to Europeanisation in the sense of export from the centre to the periphery, we intend to focus particularly on the process of adaptation and on the specific contributions from the periphery. In this way we hope to avoid both extremes, the nationalistic attitude on the one hand and the idea that everything of importance came from abroad on the other. However, we not only aim at throwing light on the periphery by comparing it to the centre, but also the other way round. What does the centre look like when seen from the periphery? What is actually the relationship between the international, high culture of the Middle Ages and local and regional traditions? In other words, we want to challenge the more or less implicit assumption of most medievalists that medieval Europe for most purposes was confined to the area south of Jutland and west of the Oder.

Four Projects

The size and complexity of the CoE's programme necessitate a careful selection of more manageable themes that can throw light on the main problems with which we want to deal. These can be roughly grouped into four main areas of research, in the following referred to as projects, which address the main challenges in the field, i.e. the tensions between the common Latin culture and indigenous traditions, between political diversity and cultural homogeneity, and between religious and secular thought. We have given them the following headings: (1) The arrival of writing, (2) Religion between unity and variety, (3) State formation and political culture, and (4) The construction of the past (see Enclosure 1). As appears from our CVs and the lists of our publications and partners, we have done extensive research within the fields covered by one or more of these projects, and the group as a whole is well qualified to deal with them.

(1) The first project deals with a phenomenon that is not specifically European, but common to all great civilisations, i.e. *the arrival of writing*. Here we are dealing with perhaps the most important technology imported from the centre, without which the rest of the cultural import would have been impossible. Although some of the pioneers in the study of orality and literacy may have exaggerated, there can be little doubt about the importance of the introduction of writing to the European periphery from the 11th century onwards. Writing was not a 'neutral' technology; it was accompanied by a religion, a culture, and a language, all regarded as superior.

We shall focus on five aspects, four empirical and one theoretical. The *first* aspect is the relationship between oral and written. Here Scandinavia assumes a particular importance because of the strong marks the oral tradition has left on the extant Old Norse literature. The *second* aspect is the relationship between Latin and the vernacular, in particular the importance of the former as the main literary and administrative language of the periphery and its influence on the latter. The *third* aspect is the symbolic and practical communication made possible by the handwritten book as a medium. A study of this is closely related to the institutionalisation of religion (cf. Project 2 below) and to the general question of cultural encounter, intellectual debate and the gradual rise of an elitist public sphere. The *fourth aspect* is the administrative use of writing, which will be studied in close connection with royal and ecclesiastical government (Projects 2 and 3). And *fifth*, we want to contribute to the further development of theory on the relationship between oral and literate culture.

(2) *The Christian religion* is the main expression of the common European culture in the period. We intend to examine the Christianisation of the periphery in a broad comparative perspective and in close connection with the problem of state formation. *Second*, we shall deal with religious thought and practice, learned as well as popular, during the following period, e.g. religious literature, the cult of the saints, new forms of devotion, and the relationship between local traditions and the new religion imported from the centre. And *third*, we shall do a comparative study of the ecclesiastical organisation in the various parts of the periphery, with particular emphasis on the relationship to the papacy, on which important new material has recently become available and is being edited by one member of our group (Jørgensen).

(3) *State formation* represents a different approach to the relationship between unity and diversity than does Christianisation. On the one hand, the inclusion of the periphery into Western Christendom deepened its political division, on the other, the state itself and its institutions were largely part of the common European culture. We intend to look at the process from a comparative perspective, taking into account the research on state formation within the social sciences as well as recent research on medieval history. *First*, we shall study the establishment of kingdoms and principalities within the northern and eastern periphery from the

9th and 10th centuries onwards in a comparative perspective, rather than as a stage in the formation of each national state. *Second*, we shall examine the further development of these entities, from a political, social, and cultural point of view, notably the transition from personal lordship to bureaucratic kingship and the relationship between two, apparently opposite impulses from the centre: bureaucratisation and feudalisation. *Third*, we shall deal with the interstate unions in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe in the Later Middle Ages and the importance of dynastic and constitutional elements in this process.

(4) One cultural activity will receive particular attention, i.e. ***the representation and construction of the past***, which was expressed through a variety of cultural and literary forms. We shall pay particular attention to historiography, because of its importance for the study of ecclesiastical culture and state formation, as well as its potential of focalising some of the main tensions within the culture of Western Christendom, i.e. between the classical heritage and Christianity and between universal and national traditions. Further, a large number of texts have been preserved from all over the periphery, which have only to a limited degree been the subject of scholarly studies.

First, we shall focus on how the various peoples of the periphery treated their distant past, notably how they tried to relate it to the mainstream of universal history, i.e. biblical and classical, particularly Roman history. *Second*, we shall deal with the linguistic and literary aspects of the texts, their use of Latin or the vernacular, their narrative patterns and rhetorical techniques, and the extent to which they use classical models. Such analyses will draw both on recent trends in manuscript studies and library history as well as discourse theory developed in connection with modern historiography. The importance of this aspect has to be considered in relationship to the *third* one, which is closely connected to our research on state formation, and deals with how politics, society, and human actions are represented in these texts. To what extent can historical writings be understood as the expression of the contemporary understanding of politics and society, and to what extent are they determined by ecclesiastical ideology or influence from the Bible or classical historiography and rhetoric? Our *fourth* subject of study is the relationship between secular and Christian culture, for which historiography forms an important source. Medieval historiography deals with the history as salvation as well as with war heroes and struggle for honour and material gain. A study of these different approaches will help us to understand the tension between religious and secular culture within Western Christendom and the differences and similarities in this respect between centre and periphery.

Main Directions and Problems in the CoE's Programme

The four projects will in various ways throw light on the main theme of the relationship between centre and periphery and the cultural exchange mechanisms at work between the two. Writing, Christianity, new ideas of politics as well as new techniques of government and administration, and the construction of the local past were all received, imported or produced on a pattern set by the central core of Western Christendom from the 9th and 10th centuries onwards: However, they were not introduced in a cultural or social vacuum. They were adopted selectively and mixed with local traditions. Nor were they to be found fully developed in the central core, but contributed to cultural and social transformations there as well as in the periphery. By studying these processes, we therefore hope to contribute to the understanding of the relationship between local traditions and external influence, as well as between cultural expressions on the one hand and political and social praxis on the other. The four projects are sufficiently different to throw light on various aspects of the main problem and sufficiently interrelated for the scholars working within each of them to cooperate and draw comparisons between their respective fields. The introduction of writing is fundamental to all the other projects. The study of Church and religion and of state formation traces main lines of influence from the centre to the periphery and how the periphery reacted to this influence. The construction of the past serves as a further illustration of the importance of writing and the relationship between oral and written and between secular and clerical culture. It also contributes to the understanding of the political culture of the period, which, in turn, is closely related both to the development of the Church and Christianity and to the use of writing for administrative purposes. A CoE with this focus will help to reap the rich crops grown by literacy studies by way of linking them to the entire array of social practices in the northern region of Medieval Europe.

Comparison between cultures and the study of cultural interaction raise fundamental questions about the character and definition of cultures. Cultural studies have gained increasing importance in recent years, in the social sciences as well as in the humanities, and the need for an interdisciplinary approach has become widely recognised. Further, there has been an increasing awareness of the complex relationship between culture, society, and material environment, a development that has brought history and the social sciences on the one hand and philological, aesthetic, and literary studies on the other, more closely together. It has also, however, led to widely different attitudes among scholars in the field, varying from economic and technological determinism to cultural constructivism. These are central problems throughout our programme, e.g. in the relationship between the technology of writing, social change, and new ideas and mental attitudes in explaining the Europeanisation of the periphery; in the relationship between social, economic, and cultural factors affecting Christianisation, the growth of the ecclesiastical organisation, and state formation; and in the relationship between the historiographical texts as the expression of mentality and society on the one hand, and genre and linguistic structures on the other. The mentality tradition within the French Annales School has made valuable contributions to the understanding of collective attitudes. The heritage from structuralism, in its novel and widely different forms in scholars like Mary Douglas (1973), Clifford Geertz (1973), and Michel Foucault (1966, 1975), has increased our awareness of the constraints inherent in language and social practice. Both, however, may be criticised for underestimating the importance of individual choice and systematic thought and of tension and diversity between groups within a culture. Here the microhistorical orientation (Ginzburg 1976, Geary 1994), Berger's 'plausibility structures' (Berger 1969), and Bourdieu's concepts of social praxis and social fields present valuable new perspectives which we intend to pursue (Bourdieu 1980, 1991, cf. also Mann 1986, Wuthnow 1989). In a similar way, we seek a middle road between radical cultural constructivism (Foucault, Ariès, and the deconstructivists) and the economic and technological determination in Marxism and related traditions.

The Research Potential and General Importance of the CoE

As for our contribution to medieval studies in a global context, Norway and Scandinavia in general have no doubt been at a certain distance from the main centres. On the other hand, this distance also gives some new perspectives. It is striking how strong national traditions have been in the great centres of medieval studies in Britain, France, Germany, and, to a lesser extent, in the United States. As a group, we are fairly familiar with all these countries, and through our programme, we shall also add the Eastern European perspective. Nor do we take for granted the same phenomena as do our colleagues in other parts of Europe. We shall therefore be able to discover problems and make comparisons which they are likely to overlook.

In addition to its general importance in a European context, the CoE will contribute significantly to the internationalisation of Norwegian research in the humanities. A considerable literature, mostly in the vernacular, was produced within the Old Norse culture (Norway and Iceland) in the Middle Ages. This literature is already the subject of international interest. Old Norse studies are represented in a number of universities all over the world and form the subject of regular international conferences. However, other aspects of our medieval past and the study of it are less well known. Medieval Norway presents an interesting example of state formation, and was a country with close cultural and economic links with the centres of medieval Europe, despite its distance from them and its relative poverty. Norway also has a long and distinguished scholarly tradition in medieval studies which is too little known in the rest of Europe, largely because Norwegian scholars have mostly written in Norwegian. A comparative programme of this kind, with extensive publications in English, will make our sources, our past, and our earlier as well as recent scholarship better known to the rest of the world. Our group is also well qualified for carrying out such a programme, as we have experience from research on Norwegian and Nordic as well as general European history and culture and have good contacts with the international scholarship in the field.

The relationship between periphery and centre as well as between unity and diversity within Europe has received new actuality through the present Europeanisation of Europe, a process that calls for a redirection of historical and cultural studies as well as a re-evaluation of our common heritage. In this context, the Middle Ages emerge as a particularly formative period, the period when the Christian and Greco-Roman culture of Late Antiquity met the Germanic and Slav traditions of the periphery, and when an international elite culture was developed within a

system of independent states. Thus, both the unity and diversity of Europe came into being during this period, and insight into both is necessary in order to understand what happens today and in order to preserve and present our European heritage within a modern cultural and educational framework. A Norwegian CoE on the periphery and centre of medieval Europe can make sure that the voice of the North and the East will be strong when new interpretations of the origins and identity of European history are to be developed in the coming decades. We shall therefore give high priority to transmitting the results of our research to a wider audience, not only in the form of popularised versions of our scholarly works, but also as part of a systematic effort to exploit our insight in order to create the kind of books, exhibitions, radio and television programmes etc., which can demonstrate the general relevance of our studies of medieval Europe and show the connections between the past, the present, and the future.

The University of Bergen Commitment

A Center of Excellence in Medieval European Studies will constitute a **major strategic asset** for the University of Bergen (UoB), around which the University of Bergen will develop a range of national and international research activities, as well as PhD education.

In order to facilitate the development of CoEs, the UoB has implemented a policy rewarding groups (a) for getting on the shortlist, and (b) for being designated CoE. In accordance with the policy UoB will ensure that successful CoEs will be supported by measures such as:

- **investment in buildings, to enable co-location**, and optimum premises for research
- paying for **investment in internationalisation** - such as giving the CoE financial support in order to attract international conferences in their fields, and support in developing EU applications
- continued **investment in research infrastructure**, such as computing facilities, scientific databases, library resources, etc.
- providing **additional funding** so as to enable the doctoral and postdoctoral researchers in the CoE to attend international conferences, and visit world leading edge research groups
- **paying for replacement staff** to teach at the university, so as to enable the CoE to reduce its teaching load, and to concentrate on the development of their research and its internationalisation (in addition to applicant funding of the CoE)

Organisation

The CoE shall have strong leadership and will enjoy a high degree of autonomy in relation to its host institution, the UoB, professionally, financially as well as organisationally. An Executive Board for the CoE will be appointed by the UoB Senate. The Board will have both UoB and external - national and international - members. The external board members will also serve as scientific advisors to the CoE.

The leader of the CoE will be Professor Sverre Bagge (History, UoB, leader of Project 3). The other core members are Professors Else Mundal (Old Norse, UoB, leader of project 1), Lars Boje Mortensen (Medieval Latin, UoB, leader of Project 4), Torstein Jørgensen (Church History, Misjonshøgskolen i Stavanger/School of Mission and Theology, Stavanger, leader of Project 2), and Associate Professor Eldbjørg Haug (History, UoB, leader of Project 2). So far, the group also includes three junior scholars, without permanent university positions, Leidulf Melve (Projects 1, 4) historian, and Liliane Reynaud (Project 4) and Eldar Haide (Project 2), philologists.

The core group is thus fairly small. In the initial phase, we regard it as an advantage that we know each other well from previous cooperation and that the distance between our fields is not too great. After some time, when the CoE has been well established and the programme is well under way (see Enclosure 4), we shall consider extending the group. The junior scholars will probably reach a more senior position, some of our international partners may want a more long-term affiliation, and we may want to extend the number of disciplines included. In particular, we shall probably need a historian of religion and an archaeologist. As for the former, Professor Gro Steinsland at the medieval centre in Oslo will collaborate with us on Christianisation and the relationship between the pagan and the Christian religion, and may want a more long-term attachment later on. As for archaeology, there are several possible candidates. We may also include an art historian. Further, we have good contacts with other Norwegian medievalists and intend to include them in relevant parts of our programme. In particular, we shall encourage those who are interested to spend a sabbatical at the CoE.

National Resources and Networks

Medieval studies are strong in Norway, the number of scholars within the field is considerable, and interdisciplinarity is well developed. The strongest disciplines are history, archaeology, and Old Norse philology. Other disciplines, such as legal history, Church history, philosophy, theology, and vernacular languages and literature other than Old Norse, are less well represented. Most of the research has so far been focused on Norwegian and Nordic culture and history. Medieval studies are organised as centres in Oslo and Trondheim. Both are mainly concerned with Norwegian studies, and neither of them have any large-scale research programme. The centre in Trondheim specialises in local Church history and Gregorian chant, while the main emphasis in Oslo is on the Norwegian Viking Age and Early Middle Ages. The centre in Oslo has a taught programme at under- and postgraduate level, and has attracted a number of students from other countries. We have good contacts with both centres and intend to cooperate with them in research as well as in teaching.

The main national specialities within medieval studies, history, archaeology, and Old Norse philology, are well represented at the University of Bergen, as is also art history. In addition, the professorship of medieval Latin in Bergen is the only one in the country. Interdisciplinarity is well developed, and there are extensive international contacts. A number of students and younger scholars from abroad study at our departments. Bergen is actually the main centre in Norway for research on medieval Europe. Most of the research within this field in the country has been carried out by members of our group (Bagge, Mortensen, Melve). We all have research experience from cultural studies, within somewhat different fields which supplement one another, thus contributing to a stimulating milieu for the designated CoE. Further, we have cooperated in teaching, research, and organising conferences and courses. The framework for much of this cooperation has been the *Forum of Medieval Studies*, an informal and low-budget interdisciplinary organisation.

However, a research and taught programme on the scale we are now planning can only be carried out by a formal organisation, independent of the ordinary department structure. Such a programme represents an entirely novel endeavour within medieval studies in Norway. It will serve to mobilise a major part of the resources in the country within the field. It will create stronger links between Norwegian medievalists and the world of international scholarship, while at the same time being a source of inspiration for medievalists and other scholarly milieux in Bergen and the rest of Norway.

Further, the University has strong departments in history, classics, literature, languages, archaeology, art history, political science, and social anthropology, which will form a wider background for the CoE, with exchange of ideas and cooperation about the doctoral programme.

Finally, the University Library of Bergen contains most of the literature needed for studies of Scandinavian history and culture and also has a fairly good collection on medieval Europe, in particular collections of sources. Nevertheless, the CoE will need more, notably recent literature and books on Eastern Europe. The project Menota, which is now being launched, will also be an important asset for our research, making a large number of Old Norse texts and Latin texts from Scandinavia available in computerised form.

International Partners and Networks (see Enclosure 3)

The research programme of the CoE has an international character and can only be carried out in an international context.

A first step in this direction is a project on state formation and Christianisation of the European periphery c. 900-1200, led by Dr Nora Berend (Cambridge) and Bagge and including specialists on Scandinavia or Eastern Europe. The project has received funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Board of the UK, £ 35000 for one year, with the possibility of five more years, and has been adopted by the new Cambridge Centre for Arts and Humanities. The participants are specialists on Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. In addition a group of well-known experts on Western European history will participate in the meetings in order to provide a broader comparative perspective. This project will play a central part in our programme, notably regarding the early phase of the development dealt with in projects 2 and 3.

Other partners include: **1)** An international group of scholars doing research in medieval historiography. **2)** A Danish group establishing a network for research in European periphery and led by Dr Harbsmeier (Roskilde) and Dr Kurt Villads Jensen (Odense) and including

experts on Eastern Europe. **3)** The 'Institut zur Interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters' in Paderborn led by i.a. Professor Jörg Jarnut. **4)** The Centre for Comparative European Studies at the Alexander von Humboldt Universität, Berlin, led by Professor Michael Borgolte. **5)** 'Reykholtsprosjektet', a Nordic group working on Icelandic culture and society in the Later Middle Ages, in which Mundal takes part. **6)** An interdisciplinary group in Münster, led by Prof. Gerd Althoff, working on symbolic communication in the Middle Ages. **7)** The international group 'Local Churches and the Papacy in Northern Europe in the Later Middle Ages' in which Haug takes part. **8)** Scholars working on the Vatican archives (L. Schmugge and an Italian group). **9)** A number of individual scholars specified in Enclosure 3. **10)** Old Norse studies, admittedly focused on Iceland rather than Norway, is a well established international discipline, represented in many parts of the world: most countries of Western Europe, USA, Russia, Japan, and Australia. We have good contacts with this milieu, through the Saga Conferences, where Bagge and Mundal are regular participants, and in other ways.

Seminars, Workshops, and Conferences

We intend to have regular workshops for our international participants plus larger conferences, and to gather the core group of the CoE for work-in-progress seminars at least once a month. We want to invite at least one guest professor or visiting scholar every year and to give the Norwegian members of the project, including the younger scholars, ample opportunities for doing research abroad. Finally, we shall present the temporary or permanent results of our work on our web-site and at the annual International Medieval Conference in Leeds, the most important forum for medieval scholars in Europe, which also attracts many participants from the United States. Another important milieu, within the field of historiography, is the organisation *The Medieval Chronicle* which meets every three years, until now in Utrecht, The Netherlands. The next meeting will be in July 2002. Further, we shall also make use of the International Saga Conferences, which also convene every three years, the next time in Bonn in August 2003.

The Doctoral Programme

The situation in Norway is fairly promising for recruiting younger scholars within our field. Greek and Latin studies have had some revival recently, owing partly to the NRC programme devoted to this field, and two candidates are ready for dr. art. studies and two for postdoctoral studies, all in the field of medieval and renaissance learning. The situation for Old Norse philology has also improved, due to the introduction of a separate 'hovedfag' (Masters study) in this field. There will be a sufficient number of qualified candidates for competing for dr. art. scholarships in fields relevant to the programme. As for history, around ten younger scholars, all over the country, are working on their doctorate, and there is a sufficient number of well-qualified recruits with a cand. philol. (Masters) degree to create considerable competition for dr. art. scholarships. We intend to attract the best of these younger scholars through doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships. Potential candidates will be encouraged to formulate their own topics, within the general framework laid down by us. We shall invite international application for at least some of these scholarships. In particular, we want to encourage interdisciplinary work, comparative studies, and studies addressing the problem of cultural contacts or influence between centre and periphery or between the two parts of the latter. We shall pay particular attention to fields relevant to our programme that are in need of new recruits, such as legal history, Church history, canon law, and Medieval Latin. We also regard it as essential to educate younger scholars who know both the Scandinavian and one or more of the Eastern European languages and thus are able to do comparative research on the basis of full knowledge of the sources and literature from both areas. We shall therefore invite promising younger scholars from Eastern Europe to longer stays in Norway and encourage Norwegians to do the same in Eastern European countries.

Research education in Norway starts at 'hovedfag' level (two years of full time postgraduate study), and systematic recruiting must begin here. We shall encourage students within the various departments covering our field by suggesting topics for their theses – within the framework of our programme - and establish interdisciplinary seminars where their work can be discussed. Norwegian doctoral programmes in the humanities focus very strongly on the thesis and the supervision and contain little formal teaching. Most taught courses therefore take place at 'hovedfag' level. Here a CoE devoted to medieval studies offers new opportunities. Medieval studies are technically difficult, demanding knowledge of languages such as Latin, Old Norse

and Old French, palaeography, diplomatics, etc. Many able and interested students at ‘hovedfag’ and doctoral level have insufficient background in these disciplines and need to learn more. On the other hand, the technical demands have often overshadowed the need for new approaches, based on modern social and literary theory. We therefore intend to offer both kinds of education and to cooperate, not only with other medievalists but also with linguists, literary scholars and social scientists.

We shall both arrange regular seminars and intensive courses over one or two weeks on specific topics. As for regular, weekly seminars, we shall start with two, one on work in progress, in which students at ‘hovedfag’ and doctoral level present their work, and one on selected texts which will also serve as an introduction to the various subdisciplines medievalists need to master. Each meeting of this latter seminar will be devoted to one text in the original language, for instance Old Norse or Latin, and will be discussed in an interdisciplinary way, including questions of language, genre, historical relevance, textual transmission, etc. By varying the genres (charters, laws, historical writings, hagiography, devotional texts, courtly literature, etc.), we hope to cover most of the necessary subdisciplines.

This seminar will be attended by all regular members of the CoE and should thus help to develop a base for true interdisciplinarity. Nor will we focus exclusively on texts, but also include non-written sources like art and material remains. Depending on the students’ projects, we may in addition arrange special courses on palaeography, diplomatics, and medieval Latin, but also on recent literature and new trends within the field.

In particular, we want to transmit to our students the theoretical approaches to cultural interchange and the relationship between culture and society that form the foundation of our research programme. In this way we hope to achieve a better training of medievalists and educate a new generation in a greater degree of interdisciplinarity than the old one. On the other hand, we have rejected the idea of a special ‘hovedfag’ in medieval studies, as we believe that interdisciplinarity should start from a thorough training in one particular discipline. The CoE does not wish to abolish the differences between the disciplines, but to enable the students to see their own disciplines within a wider context.

Finally, there will be intensive courses with Norwegian and international participation. We have previous experience with such arrangements, as the *Forum of Medieval Studies* have arranged three courses for doctoral students, the last in 2000. The contents of the courses will largely have to be decided by the needs of potential participants, but some possibilities can be suggested. In addition to the subdisciplines, much of what we intend to do in our research programme can be used in this context, e.g. comparative method and theories of cultural transmission and adaptation, or problems about Christianisation and state formation.

These courses will be arranged in close cooperation with our partners in Norway and abroad. We shall cooperate with our colleagues at the medieval centre in Oslo and make use of their experience. A Scandinavian group, mainly based in Denmark and Finland, has arranged two courses in Rome for doctoral students, with participation from Norway (Bagge and several doctoral students) and intends to continue with such arrangements. A group in Uppsala, led by Stefan Brink, with which we have good contacts, plans an ambitious project, including many doctoral students, on the Europeanisation of Sweden, which will be interesting for Norwegian doctoral students as well. Finally, several of our partners outside Scandinavia have strong doctoral programmes, notably the group in Münster. By joining together these milieux and adding our own contacts and experience we intend to extend and improve the education of new scholars in medieval studies.

Outline of Activities during the first Years of the CoE (See Enclosure 4, The Cambridge-Bergen Project)

- Project on Christianisation and State Formation 2002-2008, including conferences in Cambridge 2002 and 2003.
- Research on orality and literacy within Old Norse culture and in Germany and formation of network including Eastern Europe 2002-2004. Major comparative project launched from 2004/2005.
- Conference on the new material from the Vatican Archives late in 2002 or early in 2003 and development of comparative project on the relationship between the papacy and the northern and eastern periphery, as well as local ecclesiastical organisation, notably the archbishop’s role.

- Conference on international models for medieval historiographical in 2003, further research and conferences on Roman models, the representation of politics, human character and the understanding of the distant past in the historical writings from the periphery.
- Regular seminars for all CoE members and for 'hovedfag' and dr. art. students from late in 2002 and early in 2003, Scandinavian research courses in 2004 (Scandinavian) and 2005 (international).

Budget (in thousand NOK)

- 75 pr member pr. year to cover travels, workshops, books etc. (NRC). This includes expenses for regular visits to Bergen by Torstein Jørgensen and Nora Berend.
- 300 as initial investment in books, computers and other equipment (NRC).
- 200 as initial investment in reorganisation of the premises (UoB).
- 200 each year for conferences and publications (NRC).
- The core staff will be paid by UoB, except Torstein Jørgensen who is partly financed (50%) by the School of Mission and Theology in Stavanger (active partner), partly reimbursed by NRC (50%).
- Guest professorships are calculated to the equivalent of one senior scientist pr. year (NRC).
- Throughout the programme there will at any one time be appr. 7 Ph.D. students: 2 will be covered by UoB, 4 by NRC, and 1 is in place now by other funding.
- Throughout the programme there will at any one time be appr. 5 Post-doc fellowships: 1 will be covered by UoB, 3 by NRC, and 1 is in place now by other funding.
- UoB provides computer system maintenance (0.2, technical staff + 100 from 2004 in costs). 1 administrative leader as well as 0.5 assistant will also be financed by UoB.
- We shall apply for additional funding from NOS-H, the Arts and Humanities Research Board (UK, see p. 8), and EU's Sixth Framework Programme.

ENCLOSURE 1. THE FOUR PROJECTS

Project 1. The Arrival of Writing

The first project deals with a phenomenon that is not specifically European, but common to all great civilisations, i.e. *the arrival of writing*. Here we are dealing with the most important technology imported from the centre, without which the rest of the cultural import would have been impossible. The project aims at making a vital contribution, empirically as well as theoretically, to the growing research in literacy studies. Although this line of research had predecessors in the 19th and early in the 20th century, the main theoretical and empirical systematisation was pioneered 40 years ago by e.g. Marshall McLuhan, Ernst Havelock and Jack Goody (McLuhan 1962; Havelock 1963; Goody & Watt 1968). They presented writing as a technology able to instigate fundamental cognitive, social, and institutional changes; the written word was responsible for the development of the specifically modern and rational way of thinking, including a critical historical consciousness. As for the social consequences of the technology, the emergence of ethnic identity and nationalism has frequently been pointed out, as well as the establishment of the state with its concomitant administrative use of writing. Stimulating as these radical hypotheses may be, later research has presented a more balanced picture of the consequences of the introduction of the written word (Melve 2001b). Although the empirical side of *the arrival of writing* has been dealt with concerning the early medieval period (McKitterick 1989, 1990; Richter 1994), the ‘breakthrough’ of a literate culture in the 11th and 12th century has not received due attention. Our project attempts to remedy a gap in our knowledge of the extent (i.e. ability to read and write), as well as the consequences, of the arrival of writing to the northern and eastern periphery in the High Middle Ages. As such, we want to direct our main focus towards five aspects - four empirical and one theoretical - all interrelated and also linked in various ways to the three other projects.

The first aspect is the relationship between oral and written. There are great communicative differences within the Scandinavian territory; differences to which our project will pay close attention, as they are important for reaching an adequate understanding of the cultural complexity of the area. The Saami culture continued to be totally oral even after Christianisation. Like other vernacular literatures, the literature in Old Norse developing in the following period was strongly influenced by older oral traditions, despite the fact that an indigenous script, runes, had been in use all over Scandinavia for about 800 years before Christianisation and continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages, mainly for shorter messages. The interrelationship between one oral and two literary cultures (Latin and Old Norse) and between two alphabets, as well as the consequent modification of communicative patterns, show the importance of the technology for understanding cultural history and exchange. A number of interesting questions can be posed, such as the relationship between the ‘democratic’ oral culture and the more elitist literary culture and the extent to which the latter influenced the social and cultural standing of different social groups and the position of women (Mundal 1983, 1990, 1998c). In this context, our project will draw on recent theoretical approaches, as well as an older discussion, the so-called freeprose/bookprose-discussion about the origin and character of the Icelandic sagas (Mundal 1977).

The second aspect is the relationship between Latin and the vernacular. While the latter has been thoroughly studied for each nation or language, scholars have only recently subjected the many levels of influence from the common Medieval Latin heritage to serious research (Green 1994; Reuter 1996; Spence 1996; Bagge 2001). It is necessary not only to study the influence of Latin on the development of Nordic vernaculars, but also to compare the major lines of development of Old Norse, Danish and Swedish written communication to other vernacular cultures in the periphery (partly closer to the centres) such as Dutch, Czech and Polish. Why were some used already in the 12th and 13th centuries to channel a wide range of communication (Old Norse, Dutch, Czech), why were others latecomers (13th –14th centuries) and even then restricted to law and various religious compositions (Danish, Swedish, Polish)?

The third aspect is the symbolic and practical communication made possible by the hand-written book as a medium. A study of this is closely related to the institutionalisation of religion (cf. Project 2 below) and to the general question of cultural encounter, intellectual debate and the gradual rise of an elitist public sphere. The first important ‘public’ polemic concerned the relationship between the spiritual and the secular power (1075-1122), ensuing from the reforms of Pope Gregory VII. The patterns of intellectual discourse and specialisation arising after this

polemic were of great importance for the intellectual culture of the centre as well as the periphery. A particularly important aspect of these long-term effects concern the development of law which has been considered the most lasting contribution of the Middle Ages to modern European culture (Berman 1983, Radding 1988, Huff 1993).

A more practical side to this third aspect is the production of handwritten books. The strictures imposed on authors and copyists of literary works formed an important background and framed their messages in a way that has previously been underestimated. On the other hand, beautiful calligraphic books preserved in exclusive 'sacred' libraries also lent their work a monumentality and deeper significance that has been overlooked (cf. Mortensen 1995, 2000 & forthcoming). Other questions relevant in this context are the history of medieval libraries, text circulation, and the concrete aspects of intertextuality, questions that can be much better answered today than only a few decades ago due to progress in manuscript cataloguing. These physical aspects of writing, copying, and archiving need more attention in literary analysis.

The fourth aspect is the administrative use of writing, which is closely connected to the study of royal and ecclesiastical government, and of fundamental importance for understanding the emergence of the European state system in the Middle Ages. Although much research exists on the quantitative side of written records and archives, this material has only to a limited extent been dealt with from the point of view of orality and literacy. However, the research projects in Zürich, Utrecht, and Münster – paying particular attention to different facets of the communicative foundations of the medieval state - will provide one point of departure for our project. In addition, the question of administrative literacy has been discussed concerning a few countries – England (Clanchy 1993), Italy (Petrucci 1995) and France (Benton 1992), a discussion that offers a second starting point. However, we still lack a more thorough understanding of the communicative similarities and differences between the periphery (Scandinavia, Eastern Europe) and the centre, because comparative research is virtually non-existent (Adamski 1996).

We intend to make the centre-periphery perspective a point of departure for basic research into the extent and functioning of administrative literacy. Hence, in addition to providing vital basic research on the respective countries in the periphery, the comparative perspective throws light on the process of state formation in the Later Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (Project 3). The comparative perspective also enables us to grasp several distinctive processes of cultural exchange. It will be particularly interesting to analyse the interrelationship between the oral and the written dimension of the administrative system in relation to the legal basis of the emerging administrative structures. A host of interesting question can be posed, all of which are of fundamental importance to the notion of state building in general and the justification of power in particular. For instance, to what extent did writing provide the authoritative basis of laws, as opposed to oral promulgation (Haug 1995). In Norway, the use of written attestation of contracts entered into orally and symbolically illustrates the problematic relationship between the oral and the written within the administrative order of the nascent state (Hamre 1968, 1997; Haug 1999).

The fifth aspect concerns the theoretical component. The initial theoretical framework presented by the pioneers of literacy studies – Goody in particular – needs to be modified. The framework operates by a dichotomous understanding of 'oral' and 'written', as a result of which intermediate forms as well as the interrelationship between a plurality of oral and written forms (i.e. the Latin and the vernacular) are lost sight of (Melve 2001a). Although the theoretical discussion has been an integrated part of literacy studies from the start (Street 1984; Goody 1986; Olsen 1994), the discussion has not – with one exception, Brian Stock's model of 'textual communities' (Stock 1983) – offered a constructive analytical framework for the investigation of the arrival of writing. The need for a theory able to grasp the specific medieval pattern of communication in its plurality (Mortensen 1996; Mostert 1999; Melve forthcoming) therefore has to be taken seriously. Because of the comparative perspective of our project, the empirical basis will enable the theoretical constructs to deal with the complex relationship between the oral and the written, including a plurality of written, aural and oral forms. The project will attempt to formulate a framework on the basis of our empirical research; a theoretical framework transcending earlier discussions and hopefully presenting an analytical tool better able to grasp the practical functions of the different forms of medieval communication.

Project 2. Religion between Unity and Variety

Religion has been a major topic in research on the Middle Ages, but its general importance has increased greatly in recent years, and it now attracts scholars from a much larger field than the traditional disciplines of theology and Church history (Haug 1998a). One source of inspiration has been the French Annales school. Starting by focusing on popular religion, it later extended the field to theology, art, ritual, and religious symbols, while retaining the focus on the relationship between religion, society, and culture in general. This approach has spread to other countries (Gurjewitch 1987). A recent trend, affiliated with the move from the idea of collective mentalities to micro-studies of conflicting attitudes, has gone in the direction of contextualising religious practice, emphasising variety rather than uniformity (Ginzburg 1976; Geary 1994). Further, modern sociological theories of religious change processes have proved seminal to the research on the transformation of beliefs and practices in the Middle Ages (Berger 1969; Jørgensen 1995). Thus Peter Berger regards collective religious change as a result of the emergence of new plausibility structures, i.e. new elements, perspectives, and questions with regard to reality, existence, and life itself to which the old religious explanative structures no longer correspond. This theory seems a promising approach to our research on the transformation of beliefs and practices in the northern and eastern periphery of Europe in the Early Middle Ages.

The Christianisation of the different regions of the European periphery has been a main focus of research. Two major projects on Christianisation in Scandinavia, one on Sweden and one on Norway, have yielded much new information, but have not aimed at comparison or gone beyond the initial stage of Christianisation. The comparative studies now emerging are sketchy on Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (Fletcher 1997; Cusack 1998). A comparative study will therefore be a major aim of our project. The different ways in which Christianisation was carried through in various regions may reveal cultural differences, which in turn may throw light on the pre-Christian culture as well as the development of early Christianity within each region (Jørgensen 1996; Steinsland 2000).

We intend to focus on: **1.** The adoption of elements from traditional (pagan) culture in the faith and organisation; **2.** The actual influence from Britain vs the Continent on the formation of early Scandinavian Christianity, including the question about the absence of monastic foundations on the mainland. **3.** The relationship between Christianisation and state formation. This will be a major theme in the Cambridge-Bergen project. Central aspects are the importance of royal saints, the Christian religion as a centralising element, the ecclesiastical hierarchy as a model for the royal administration, and the use of clerics in the king's service (cf. Project 3).

In addition to comparing the peripheral regions, we want to focus on the further development of a Christian culture within each region. Whereas the learned aspect of Christianity was largely taken over as a *fait accompli*, Christianity as a social practice was for the most part formed by local conditions. In Scandinavia not only oral poetry from the pre-Christian culture survived; mythic thinking and motifs can also be traced in the literature from the Christian period. Ideology, mentality, the understanding of human nature – including the attitude towards women – the concept of right and wrong, good and evil in Old Norse culture in Christian times, were all rooted both in European Christianity and in local pre-Christian traditions (Mundal 1982, 1966, 1998a, 2001). These latter elements might to some extent be related to the old religion, but could also be regarded as neutral from a religious point of view; at the same time they gave Christianity a specific local imprint.

A major difference between Scandinavia and Eastern Europe is the greater importance of non-Christian groups in the latter region, i.e. Jews all over Eastern Europe, and Cumans in Hungary (Berend 2001). The Saamis in Norway and Sweden probably played a less important part. Further, Eastern Europe was closer to Orthodox Christendom, and was subject to rivalry between east and west during the period of conversion. While heresy was rare in Scandinavia, Bohemia became one of the main centres of opposition to the official Church in Europe. These differences will be a major challenge and will probably form a key to understanding other differences between the two areas.

The large religious literature, mostly in the vernacular, which has been preserved in Scandinavia from the Middle Ages, has not been the subject of extensive studies from a religious or historical point of view. Consisting for the most part of translations and adaptations of Latin works, it has not been considered very original. Taken as a whole, however, these sources render important information on how far north the mainstream European religion reached, to what extent it was adjusted to local traditions, or whether parts of it were rejected.

Loans are rarely purely mechanical; they reflect the borrowers' needs. Thus, the choice of elements taken over from the centre in itself indicates local attitudes, regardless of originality. Further, this material may also entail Old Norse interpretations, metamorphoses, and constructions of the imported material, aiming at a new synthesis.

Most of the Old Norse religious literature is devotional rather than theological, whereas scholastic theology has a somewhat stronger position in Denmark and Sweden, and probably even more so in Eastern Europe, where the earliest universities east of the Rhine were founded in Prague (1347/48) and Krakow (1364). Thus, a comparative study of the religious literature over the whole area may reveal important differences in the degree of integration in the religious culture of Western Christendom. Finally, the time has come to take the hagiographical records seriously as a primary source for the development of religious worship throughout northern and eastern Europe. The cult of local saints represents an unlocked treasure as a field for comparative religious and social studies. (Mundal 1996)

An important religious influence in the periphery was the new devotional forms of the mendicant orders. Whereas the younger mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans, enjoy large and widespread international attention, the research on the Augustinian canons is more fragmented. This situation opens for a wider study of the Augustinian movement in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. Haug is conducting a research project on the Augustinian convent Utstein.

A contextual approach can also be applied to the development of the ecclesiastical organisation in Scandinavia, which should be seen, not only as an encounter between an international church and a national monarchy, but rather as an expression of a cultural transformation of the local elite (Hill 1992, Mortensen 2000b, Hermanson 2000). The contrast between the local church (periphery) and the Pope (centre) in the Later Middle Ages has recently been given a new impetus, connecting the seminal works of older historians (Seip 1942; Hamre 1955) with new results and theoretical approaches (Haug 1996, 2000). Haug's recent study on Queen Margaret, the founder of the Kalmar Union, has added new perspectives and theoretical approaches to the study of the Norwegian church and its relationship to the Pope and the joint Scandinavian throne in this period (Haug 1996). This study will be followed up by a wider project on the archbishop as a politician and church leader 1273 – 1458, including a study of the bishops' and archbishop's visitation.

The connection and contrast between the local church and the papacy in the Later Middle Ages have recently become the object of new research. Jørgensen is now editing hitherto unknown texts related to the church province of Nidaros, texts that became available through the opening of the archives of the Apostolic Penitentiary in the Vatican (Tamburini 1969; Schmutge 1996; Jørgensen 1999). The Norwegian/Scandinavian material contains new possibilities for comparison with similar material from other parts of Europe, which is now being investigated (Eastern Europe, Germany). This material is ready for utilisation in dr. art. and post doctoral studies. It has links to 'The Arrival of Writing' (Late Medieval Latin).

Project 3. State formation and political culture

State formation is among the most widely discussed topics in national historiography, but this discussion has mainly been confined to how a particular country was 'made' or 'unified'. Far less attention has been paid to the question we want to address, i.e. how and why most of the northern and eastern periphery of Europe was divided into relatively stable kingdoms and how these kingdoms gradually acquired a more state-like character.

General studies of European state formation mostly come from the field of historical sociology. Stein Rokkan focused on the differences between European regions originating in their distance from Rome, from the sea and from the central urbanised zone extending from the Low Countries to Northern Italy (Rokkan 1975). The model is elegant and illuminating but somewhat static. It exaggerates the difference between east and west, at least during the medieval period, and pays too little attention to war and struggles for power. By contrast, this latter dimension plays a major part in a number of recent studies which point to the state as a main factor explaining why Europe came to dominate the rest of the world (Tilly 1975, 1992; McNeill 1983; Mann 1986, 1990, Kennedy 1989). The majority of these studies find the origin of this form of political organisation in the Early Modern Period. Because of the new military technology developed during this period, only countries with the power and administrative machinery to tax their population heavily, could afford the armies and navies necessary to survive in the fierce competition. Similarly, students of law and political thought claim that the

idea of the sovereign state dates from this period and have been reluctant to talk about states in the real sense in the Middle Ages (e.g. Skinner 1978). Nevertheless, there are good reasons for regarding the Middle Ages as a crucial period in the development of the European state. Despite the fact that medieval military technology did not necessarily favour large political entities, kings of the most successful medieval states managed to establish a close cooperation with the aristocracy, which made its members support rather than resist political centralisation.

We are still far from an adequate understanding of the medieval state, in the periphery as well as the centre. In the strongly 'modernist' English-American tradition dominating the first two thirds of the 20th century (Maitland, Strayer etc.), the medieval state was regarded as the direct forerunner of the modern one. Since then, a 'primitivist' reaction has set in, most clearly in the study of early medieval political culture. Instead of regarding early medieval politics as the expression of the absence of social order, scholars have now, drawing their inspiration from social anthropology, attempted to understand it as a system in its own right, based on personal relationships, and tried to trace its rules of political behaviour (Keller 1986; Koziol 1992; Geary 1994; Althoff 1996, 1997; Bartlett 2000).

The transition from this kind of society to a more bureaucratic one, based on the idea of the king as God's representative on earth, governing a hierarchically organised society according to principles of objective justice, forms a major challenge to present-day historians. On the one hand, there is no doubt that a bureaucratisation took place and that new political ideas were introduced, on the other, modern historians may have interpreted these phenomena too much in the light of the later model of the bureaucratic state. Here we have excellent source material in Scandinavia, from the early period in the Old Norse sagas and from the later in numerous charters, letters and propaganda pamphlets from the Later Middle Ages. We also have a strong scholarly tradition, mainly 'modernist', which, however, has laid a firm basis of solid knowledge about institutional developments (e.g. Seip 1940, 1942; Rosén 1962; Helle 1964, 1971; Christensen 1968; Bagge 1976). Recently, 'primitivist' approaches have become more prominent (Lunden 1972, 1976; Bagge 1986, 1999a, 1999b; Hermanson 2000). Recent studies of the saga literature, the sagas of the Icelanders as well as those of the Norwegian kings, have given new insight into the way the saga writers understand society and politics (Meulengracht Sørensen 1977, 1993; Miller 1990; Bagge 1991, 1996; Mundal 1997b) which remains to be applied to the study of historical reality.

So far, the questions with which we shall be dealing are common to all studies of general European history. In addition, the northern and eastern periphery poses some particular problems, primarily because the kingdoms here were formed at a late stage, mainly in the 10th and 11th centuries, and under influence from the centre. Research until now has mainly focused on the unification of each country. There is therefore much to be gained by following up recent tendencies towards dealing with regions instead of separate countries and focusing on general patterns of state formation (Lindkvist 1988; Bagge 1989, 2002a). Historical sociology is an important source of inspiration in this area of study. The formation of kingdoms or larger principalities, which forms *the first theme* of this project, can be understood as a response to particular challenges, the end of external expansion, followed by pressure from western neighbours. Moreover, as soon as one country had been united, others would be likely to follow suit; the alternative would be to be conquered by their stronger neighbour. Further, Christianity was an important factor, through the centralisation of religious cult and the administrative expertise of the clergy. These general observations now need to be applied more systematically to each country and the comparison between them, while contingent factors within each country also must be taken into account. Dealing with these problems will be the main task of the Cambridge-Bergen project, which will receive particular attention during the first phase of the CoE.

The fact that not the whole of Eastern Europe was organised in this way forms a special problem. Most of the countries along the southern shore of the Baltic Sea were conquered in the literal sense by invaders from Western Europe, whereas the three kingdoms respectively in the north and the east were established according to the common European model. Time may be an important factor in explaining this difference. Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and the Scandinavian countries were Christianised and westernised at a time when the countries of Western Christendom were still weak. In dealing with this problem, we shall use the results of the just finished project on the Baltic area in the Middle Ages, led by Nils Blomkvist, and with which we have had close contact. Blomkvist will also participate in the Bergen-Cambridge project.

The second theme deals with the following centuries, which can to some extent be regarded as a period of state formation. This process did not, however, correspond to a strengthening of the king's power. On the contrary, a powerful aristocracy of lay and clerical landowners established themselves between the king and the common people and forced the king to share his power with them. An important factor in this development was the introduction of western military technology, castles and heavily armoured knights, instead of the mass levy of the earlier period. This meant that the peasants were reduced to taxpayers and that the king became dependent on the new military elite. It would thus seem that 'feudal anarchy' and bureaucratic government were imported from the west at about the same time. This question should, however, be discussed in the light of the recent revision of earlier ideas about European feudalism by Susan Reynolds and others (Reynolds 1984 and 1994). Rather than being the result of a breakdown of the social order, the feudal institutions should be regarded as instruments for the king to secure the loyalty and cooperation of the aristocracy. The two sorts of import from the west are therefore less opposed than it would seem according to earlier theories. Both can be regarded as a kind of modernisation and, as pointed out by the Danish historian Michael Gelting, the periphery had the advantage of being feudalised at a time when instruments of strong government were available in the form of writing, an educated clerical elite, and a more developed money economy than in Western Europe during the post-Carolingian period. Exactly how these new forms of administration were introduced in the various parts of the periphery and the relationship between direct influence and parallel development in the centre and the periphery, remain to be considered.

Further, the aristocracy and the royal dynasty became more exclusive as well as more international in the Later Middle Ages. An important aspect of this internationalisation is the introduction of courtly culture, in the form of new manners and dress, art and architecture, and literature (e.g. Bagge 1993, 1998). The formation of an international aristocratic elite contributed to one of the most characteristic features of the interstate system of the period all over Europe, the dynastic unions between two or more countries, which forms the *third theme* of the project. These unions deserve to be discussed against the background of the earlier tendencies towards state formation. The formation of unions as well as the various practical arrangements for solving the problem that the king had to move between various countries, throw light on the relationship between monarchy and aristocracy, dynasty and state, the internationalisation of the elite versus national ideas or interests in national independence. Scandinavian scholarship in this field has been strongly influenced by national ideas as well as by the notion of the Later Middle Ages as a period of decline. This approach has dominated Norwegian scholarship until the last decades, whereas in Sweden and Denmark, the conflict between monarchy and aristocracy was already in the 1930s understood as the main issue of contemporary politics (Lönnroth 1934, 1940; Albrechtsen 1997). Both interpretations have met with criticism recently (e.g. Haug 1996, 2000; Larsson 1997; Hamre 1998; Bagge 2000c), and the field is now open for new interpretations, reinforced by dealing with dynastic unions as a general European phenomenon.

On the level of abstraction indicated above, the process of state formation seems fairly similar all over the area, but much remains to be done in order to trace differences and similarities between the countries and areas. A considerable amount of knowledge exists within each separate country regarding this process. It is now time to mobilise this knowledge in an attempt to get an overall view of the expansion of Christianity and the state to the fringes of Europe. By combining institutional, political, and cultural studies and comparing Scandinavia with Eastern as well as Western Europe we hope to get a clearer picture of European state formation in the Middle Ages. Specific topics for study are changes in legal thought and practice, political culture and behaviour, including the means of political communication, i.e. political rhetoric, the use of writing, and non-verbal and ritual forms of expression, and the introduction of courtly culture in connection with the formation of an aristocracy of the realm. The narrative sources will play an important part in this research, and there will therefore be a close connection with Project 4.

Project 4. The Construction of the Past

One cultural activity will receive particular attention, i.e. the representation and construction of the past. No doubt, the local past was to a great extent made relevant and interpreted through religious ceremony, displays, works of art, oral storytelling and debate etc. These 'texts' and

contexts are by and large lost to us, although some attempts at reconstruction may still be rewarding. Most of what we know has come down to us via the written record - stretching from brief notices to ambitious works of historiography. Not only do the written sources reflect some of the other contexts; the written discourse itself also transformed the entire discourse on the past (cf. 1 above).

The study of medieval historiography started in the 19th century, mainly in Germany, as part of the background study of the narrative sources necessary to arrive at valid conclusions about historical events, notably by uncovering their bias ('Quellenkunde'). From the beginning of the 20th century, this led to a greater interest in the texts themselves and their political and theological ideas and to analyses of genre and literary models. This tradition remains indispensable for the study of medieval historiography, but has partly been surpassed by more recent developments (see themes 2-3).

Further, only a small part of the enormous amount of historical writings preserved from most parts of medieval Europe has been studied from this point of view. Most of the texts earlier than around 1200 have been edited and used, but have only to a limited been analysed as historiography. A large part of the material later than 1200 and particularly from the last centuries of the Middle Ages is still not edited, and very little scholarly treatment of it exists. Historiographical texts are mostly of a later date in the periphery than the centre, most of them dating from the 13th century and later. Although less numerous, they are nevertheless substantial and have so far not received the attention they deserve. Most of the texts are in Latin, which makes it easy to do comparative research on Scandinavian and Eastern European historiography even for non-specialists on the history and languages of the latter region.

In recent decades a good number of substantial studies of individual historiographical works from the periphery have appeared (e.g. Friis-Jensen 1987; Bagge 1991, 1996a). Significant progress has also been made within the broader study of medieval historiography (e.g. Guenée 1980; Spiegel 1990, 1993; Kersken 1995; Goetz 1999; Bagge 1997c, 2001; Mortensen 1994, 1995, 2000a). These foundations are important for setting off in a comparative direction and for linking analysis of the historical discourse to the subject of cultural exchange between periphery and centre.

When the cultures of the northern and eastern European periphery took to writing (roughly during the period c. 1000-1300), they were given the opportunity to make a lasting record of more or less recent local events. But they were also given in one stroke - by the very act of being schooled in Latin letters - a much more extensive past, i.e. the biblical and Roman past as it had emerged in Late Antiquity and was presented to the High Middle Ages as a 'patristic package' through the fundamental textual transmission of the Carolingian age (investigated in the European Science Foundation project *The Transformation of the Roman World*, in which Mortensen took part). The dynamics of this simultaneous encounter, with both writing and a prestigious written tradition, have not been explored in a satisfactory way. It gave a variety of results which need to be studied comparatively.

One question, which forms *the first theme* of the project and has been in international focus recently (e.g. Wunderli 1994), concerns 'national identity', i.e. tracing the origin of a particular people back to a mythic past which brings the people in question into the mainstream of universal history. Most important in this respect is the attempt to link one's own people to the Romans and find parallels between its history and that of the Romans. The tendency seems to be that the peoples in the periphery try to get closer to the Roman model than those in the centre.

However, cultural identity is not only articulated chronologically through mythical foundation and rhetorical elaboration of a distant pedigree. It is also signalled linguistically (through choice of literary language, vernacular or Latin, cf. 1 above), through ethnographical, religious (i.a. hagiographical) and geographical delimitations of 'our people' (Mundal 1998b, cf. Projects 2, 3 above). In Denmark, Sweden and Poland, Latin letters established themselves profoundly, and the historical discourse was directly influenced by contemporary (and ancient) Latin literature. By contrast, the majority of historical works in Norway and Iceland were in Old Norse, although a Latin historiographical tradition also existed. The Old Norse historiographical literature, the sagas, has been considered one of the most original products of the local culture. Much remains to be done, however, before we have a full understanding of the relationship between the various traditions within the periphery and between the latter and the centre (Bagge 1997b).

This leads over to our *second* theme, the historiographical texts as literature. Questions concerning genre, rhetoric, composition, classical models, etc. are not new, but this approach has recently got a new impetus through ‘the linguistic turn’ in studies of modern historical writing (White 1973, 1987; Ankersmit 1983, 1995, Topolski 1997). Various levels of the referentiality claim, strategies of emplotment, the persuasive power of metaphors, the play on fiction and much more are explored in such discourse analyses. They are extremely fruitful for medieval historiography, especially for the 12th and 13th centuries which are our main concern, because this was a flourishing period for both Latin and vernacular historical writing and a new play on fiction and a tension between Latin authority and vernacular writing came into being (Green 1994; Mortensen 1997; Spiegel 1993, 1997). Such questions have to some extent been approached successfully in studies of individual texts, but again the comparative method has not been employed in any systematic way. Here a comparison between northern and eastern Europe could probably lead to interesting conclusions about cultural exchange: Did German historiography play the role one would expect as a point of departure in both areas, or was it neglected in favour of northern French cultural dominance? Furthermore, the literary aspect of historiography also includes questions related to the production, preservation, and circulation of handwritten books (above, Project 1)

The *third* theme concerns the relationship between, historiography, political culture, and state formation (cf. 3 above). To what extent can historical writings be used to trace the evolution from early medieval ‘personal politics’ and ‘face-to-face society’ to a more centralised and bureaucratic society; and to what extent are they determined by ecclesiastical ideology or influence from the Bible or Classical historiography and rhetoric? Ernst Robert Curtius's work on the Classical tradition (1948) goes far in the direction of emphasising the common Latin culture of the Middle Ages, largely independent of time and place and concrete circumstances. William Brandt's rigid distinction between a clerical and an aristocratic ‘mode of perception’ (Brandt 1966), although from a completely different point of view, results in a somewhat similar stressing of the common and *a priori* aspects of the texts. By contrast, a number of recent works seek to understand the texts in the light of actual norms and ways of behaviour in contemporary society (e.g. Miller 1990; Bagge 1991, 1996b, 2000, 2002; Althoff 1996, 1997). Another ‘contextual’ approach is represented by Gabrielle Spiegel's attempt to understand early 13th century French historiography not as the reflection of actual norms and patterns of behaviour but as a subtle strategy in favour of particular solutions to controversial issues at the time, in accordance with recent theories on the linguistic aspects of power (Spiegel 1993, cf. Wuthnow 1989). Literary and rhetorical analyses are clearly needed in order to understand medieval historiography, but should not be isolated from the contextual study of politics and society.

A *fourth* theme is the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical culture for which historiography forms an important source. William Brandt's distinction between a clerical and an aristocratic ‘mode of perception’ (Brandt 1966) is no doubt too rigid, but there are clear differences in our texts between the understanding of history as the history of salvation on the one hand, and as the celebration of war heroes and clever politicians on the other. Old Norse historiography is often regarded as a particularly clear example of the latter approach, but parallels are to be found in the rest of Europe, particularly in the Later Middle Ages. Tracing these different attitudes in various parts of the periphery will contribute to understanding the tension between religious and secular culture within Western Christendom.

The field of historiography is thus the focus of widely different approaches to medieval textual culture and its link to society, besides offering great opportunities for a new understanding of the relationship between centre and periphery and of the cultural variety of the periphery itself.

ENCLOSURE 2. CV'S OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CORE GROUP

Sverre Bagge, born 1942 in Bergen, cand. philol. 1970, dr. philos. 1980, both at the University of Bergen. Taught medieval history at the University of Bergen since 1973, from 1991 as a

professor. Visiting Fellow at Clare Hall, Cambridge, 1979-80 and life member of the college, Directeur d'études associé at Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, 1992, Visiting Scholar at Stanford University, 1995, Visiting Professor at Aarhus University, Denmark, 1996. Lectures and research visits to several other universities: Copenhagen, Uppsala, Stockholm, Reykjavík, Oxford, London, Berkeley, Seattle, UCLA, Sydney, Augsburg, Rotterdam, Bonn, Münster, Frankfurt, Munich, Zürich, Basel, Freiburg, Göttingen, etc. Participated in the project *The Origins of the Modern State in Europe*, funded by The European Science Foundation, 1988-92. Participation with papers at a number of international conferences; e.g. invited speaker at the Norwegian National Sociology Conference, 1994; main speaker at the Conference of the American Medievalist Association of the Pacific 1995; invited keynote speaker at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study in Urbana, Illinois, 1997; invited speaker at the Fourth Meeting of the International Society for the Classical Tradition, Tübingen, 1998; invited keynote speaker at an international conference organised by the University of Hull, 1999; invited speaker at an international conference in Berlin, 1999; organiser of a session at the 11th International Saga Conference in Sydney, 2000. Leader of the project *The Individual in the European Cultural Tradition*, funded by the NRC, 1992-95. Leader of the project *The History of Power in Norway* (Part of the interdisciplinary project on Power in contemporary Norway, initiated by the Norwegian government) 2001-02. Editor of *Historisk tidsskrift* (The Norwegian Journal of History) 1981-84 and editor in chief of *Scandinavian Journal of History* since 1996. Member of the editorial board of *The Journal of Medieval History*, and of the programming committee for the International Medieval Congress, Leeds. Head of Dept. of History, 1984-85 and 2002-, member of the Committee for History, NRC 1993-98, chairman 1996-98. Supervisor of a number of theses in history at 'hovedfag' and doctoral level. Coordinator for the doctoral programme at the Dept. of History since 2000. Member of selection committees for professorships at Oslo (1994), Uppsala (1995), Roskilde (1996), and Aarhus (1999-2000). Organiser or co-organiser of several national and international conferences: The Nordic conferences in historical methodology 1987, 1989, and 1991; conferences on the project *The Individual*, including international ones in 1992 and 1994, conference of Norwegian and French historians in Caen in 1993 funded by NRC, conference in Norway in French with Jacques Le Goff as key speaker in 1997, funded by NOR-FA.

Within the CoE, my main responsibility will be to coordinate the research and education programme and to develop the CoE's international networks. My previous experience from university and research administration and international cooperation will be useful in this respect. Further, I have a long-time interest in interdisciplinarity, comparative and international research. In my studies of Norwegian history, I have always been interested in the wider European background. During the last ten years or so, I have also taken up primary research on European material. This work has so far resulted in articles and books on selected works in German, Old Norse, Byzantine, and Italian historiography and biographical literature (Bagge 1989, 1991b, 1993a, 1996b, 1996c, 1996d, 1997c, 2000a, 2001b, forthcoming 2002). My comparative work has brought me into contact with a number of colleagues and milieux in other countries and increased my interest in the different scholarly traditions in countries like the UK, France, Germany, and the USA. As for interdisciplinarity, my studies, based on individual texts, of political thought and historiography are closely connected to disciplines like philology and literary studies, and my studies of state formation and the relationship between society, culture, and ideology to the social sciences. The project *The Individual* included scholars from history, philosophy, art history, and social anthropology, which was a very stimulating experience.

In addition to my responsibilities as leader, I also intend to contribute to the individual projects on historiography and state formation, topics which have been my main field of interest during the last ten years or so. I plan to extend my studies of medieval historiography to other geographical areas, notably a comparison between works from the periphery and the centre, and further, to deal more directly with the various ways of understanding the origin of kingdoms and nations. The main focus of my research during the nearest years to come will be on early state formation, as co-leader of the Cambridge-Bergen project and as leader of the CoE's state formation project. I have previously worked on the early formation of the Norwegian kingdom, on political culture from the Viking Age to the 13th century and on political institutions, royalist ideology and the development of law and royal justice in the High Middle Ages (Bagge 1987, 1992, 1993b, 1995, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2001b). Further, my historiographical studies will

form an important background for my work on state formation, as they have dealt with the understanding of society and with political culture and behaviour in the narrative texts.

I have also been interested in broader aspects of medieval culture and society, such as political thought (Bagge 1987, 1994, 2000b), science (Bagge 1994), religion (Bagge 1989, 1996e, 2001a), and the arrival of writing. I have recently dealt with a number of these topics in a general overview of Norwegian intellectual history in the Middle Ages with particular emphasis on the change from an oral to a literate culture (Bagge 2001a).

Eldbjørg Haug, Born 1947, Lillestrøm. Cand. philol. 1974 University of Oslo; trainee education The Norwegian Foreign Service 1982/1983; dr. philos. 1996 NTNU, Trondheim. Taught medieval history at the University of Oslo, and at Telemark University College, Bø (during the years 1975 – 1981). Independent scholar 1975 – 1980, during these years micro-historical research on the locality Fet from prehistoric times until 1800 (Arnesen 1980). Research assistant at the Norwegian Institute of Local History (NLI) 1980 – 1981. Filling-in as head of administration at the Dep. of History, University in Oslo (1975). Diplomat in the Norwegian Foreign Service 1981-2001, assigned to the Norwegian embassies in Tel Aviv (1983-85, 1993), Copenhagen (1987-1990), Lusaka (1997), and several departments of the MFA

Working as a diplomat and civil servant has given a considerable experience in analysing and reporting on current international, political, and economical issues; source criticism and historical analytical tools have been useful in this process. In 1990, I once more took up research and wrote my doctoral thesis while still working in the Foreign Service. My career background flavours my dissertation, which is a contribution within Scandinavian and European political, ecclesiastical, and legal history (1996). I have also published a study on Queen Margaret, the founder of the Kalmar Union (2000). Since 1997 I have taken part in the international project *The Local Churches in Northern Europe and the Papacy in the Later Middle Ages* (led by Bram van Benhoven van Genderen, Utrecht, and Per Ingesman, Århus). In 1998 I published a study on the financing of the local churches in Romerike (1998b). I have published several critical studies on sources (1996, 1997, 1999, forthcoming). From 2001, I occupy a position as associate professor in medieval and global history at the UoB. Invited as speaker at the conference *Kalmar between Verdun and Maastrich 1997*. My main interest is the study of power and ideas in political and international context, and source studies.

Within the CoE, I intend to work with the following projects: (a) The Archbishop of Nidaros as a church leader and a Norwegian and Nordic politician (c. 1270 – 1458). My contribution to the Anniversary history of Nidaros on the settlement of Tunsberg 1277 – 1458 will fit in with this project (cf. Project 2, 3; Haug 1995, 1996, 1998a); (b) Critical studies of sources (Icelandic Annals, Bishops' Lengths, *Rødebogen*, *Munkelivs brevbok*) (Haug 1996, 1997, 1999, forthcoming); (c) Early state formation in Norway, connected with the larger project *The history of Utstein c. 900 – 1536*, which I am chairing. King Harald Hårfagre settled, according to skaldic poetry, at Utstein after the battle of Hafrsfjord; (d) The Augustinian movement, also connected with the Utstein project. The Augustinian convent at Utstein was established by Magnus Lagabøte c. 1270; (e) The study of Norwegian monasticism; (f) Planning: *Regesta Hanseatica Nordicae* in cooperation with the editors Anne-Marit Hamre (Norwegian National Archives), Aage Andersen (Denmark), and Prof. Már Jonsson, Reykjavik.

Torstein Jørgensen, born 1951, Kristiansand. Cand. theol. 1976, the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology, Oslo, Practical-theological Seminary 1977, dr. theol. 1988, University of Oslo. Chaplain Norw. Airforce/Church of Norway 1977, thereafter the following offices at The school of Mission and Theology (MHS): research fellow church history 1980, lecturer 1985, assistant professor 1987, professor 1991. Visiting research fellow Umpumulo Theological College/University of Natal, South Africa 1981. Visiting researcher Arnamagnæan Institute, University of Copenhagen 1995 and Vatican Archives and Library, Rome, 1997/98, and visiting lecturer at different universities/research institutes abroad: Durban, Hong Kong, Cambridge, Oxford, York, Rome, London, Dublin, Århus, Uppsala, and in Norway: Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim. Dean of faculty MHS 1992-94, vice dean 1994-96. Member of committee for theology and history of religion NAVF/NRC 1992-2000, vice chairman of Stavanger Research Academy since 1998, member of counselling group North Sea University 1998/99, member of research committee MHS since 1994. Opponent at doctoral dissertations at the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology, University of Bergen, University of Copenhagen. Published on

different subjects within the discipline of Church history. A special area of concern has been the process of religious change in Africa during the 19th century and Europe during the Middle Ages. Editor of the two volumes *I tro og tjeneste: Det Norske Misjonsselskap 1842-1992* (1992). Co-author and responsible for the medieval section of *Gjør døren høy: Den norske Kirke 1000 år* (1995), containing selected texts on Norwegian church history through the ages.

Within the CoE, I shall lead Project 2, and its coordination with the other three projects of the programme. Together with Haug I shall have the main responsibility for the supervision of dr. art. theses and other work under this project. My own research contribution will be on the religious change process of Scandinavia, in comparison with that of other areas of the European periphery in focus in this programme. Further, in 1996 the first fruit of an NFR-supported project on the registration, transcription and interpretation of medieval Norwegian supplications to the Apostolic Penitentiary was published in the book: *Letters to the Pope: Norwegian Relations to the Holy See in the Late Middle Ages*. In co-operation with the Italian historian Dr. Gastone Saletnich, I have during the last years worked out a complete registration of altogether approx. 150 hitherto unknown texts relative to the church province of Nidaros (including Iceland, Orkneys and the Hebrides). The transcribed and translated texts will appear in a new book in 2002, laying the ground for new research on a virginal text basis. In close cooperation with Haug, Mortensen and Mundal, I shall participate in the research on church organisation, mendicant orders, popular religion and medieval Latin and in the Cambridge-Bergen project.

Lars Boje Mortensen, born 1958, Copenhagen. Professor of Medieval Latin at the University of Bergen since 1992. I have spent a year in London (1989) and in Bologna (1998-99) and been guest professor at Göteborg (2000). Invited as speaker / main speaker at conferences and workshops in Spoleto (1993) Trento (1994) Oslo (1994, 95, 96), København (1996), Roskilde (1996), Roma (1997), Tromsø (1997), Trondhjem (1997, 2001, 2001), Udine (1999, 1999), Odense (1999), Leeds (2001), Paderborn (2001), København (2001), Zürich (2002), Lund (2002). Head of dept. of Greek and Latin in several periods. Member of the Danish Society for Language and Literature since 1986. Co-editor of the international *Journal Symbolae Osloenses* from 2000. Editor of the Database of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature since 1992. Head of the interdisciplinary *Forum of Medieval Studies* since 2000 and organiser of a national dr. art. conference for medieval studies (Voss 2000). Supervisor of 'hovudfag' and dr. art. students in Latin (mainly within medieval and renaissance literature). Project initiator and head of Latinist group (2 from Bergen, 2 from Oslo) for NRC-supported new editions of Norwegian Latin Chronicles since 1995 (e.g. 2000a+c, forthcoming c). I have been working with all periods of Latinity, but concentrating on the early and high Middle Ages (ca 550-1200). A main field of my research lies in literary, political, ideological and history-of-learning approaches to the historiographical tradition, e.g. my Ph.d. on Paul the Deacon and his *History of the Lombards Civiliserede barbarer. Historikeren Paulus Diaconus og hans forgængere* (1991) plus a number of international articles (1987, 1989, 1990, 1992a + b, 1993b, 1994, 1995a + b, 1997, 1998, 2000b + f). Another main field lies in Danish and Norwegian medieval Latin literature and its link to classical or contemporary English, French or German Latin literature (1985a + b, 1987, 1993a, 2000a+c+d+e). Hence, I have written about relations between centre and periphery and on questions within the sociology of learning (1999, 2000c + e). The publication from 1999 deals with a comparison between different peripheries such as Scandinavia, Poland and Palestine.

Interdisciplinarity is a major trend in my work. To spread knowledge about the rich Latin literature of the Middle Ages beyond the basic philological analysis and to draw on other fields' theoretical and empirical work are my main concerns. I have been inspired by scholars in media studies and have worked with them in a common project on rhetoric (1996-98, led by Gripsrud, UoB) where I also taught book history as part of modern media studies. I have done palaeography and codicology courses together with Old Norse studies. Recently I have taken up sociology of religion as well as some trends in discourse analysis. I regularly represent the field of Medieval Latin in international interdisciplinary gatherings, e.g. in Zürich in January 2002 where I shall speak at a Ph.d. programme called *Text – Bild – Karte. Kartographien der Vormoderne* about the northern periphery. (cf. also forthcoming a+b)

Within the CoE, I intend to use my disciplinary as well as my interdisciplinary experience for the benefit of the whole program. My experience with editing and DTP- and Web-publishing can also be useful. I shall lead Project 4. Here I want to pursue my studies in the uses of Roman

history in the construction of a local past. I am going to develop my work into a book-length study on the Appropriation on Ancient Rome in 11th - and 12th -century historiography. In this a comparison with Eastern Europe is particularly promising. I also intend to pursue my studies on the international and national conditions under which the first wave of Norwegian and Danish Latin literature emerged. Here I will contribute to the projects on the Arrival of Writing and on Religion by developing my work on the role of Latin writing and its sacred functions in dialogue with the various research going on in those projects.

Else Mundal, born 1944, Eidså in Sunnmøre. Cand. philol. at the University of Oslo, 1971, researcher NAVF, 1972–74, research scholar, University of Oslo, 1975–76, dozent of Old Norse philology, University of Oslo, 1977–84, professor of Old Norse philology, University of Oslo, 1985–94, professor of Old Norse philology at the University of Bergen since 1994. Visiting professor at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Iceland, 1985, at St. Olaf College, Minnesota, January–February, 1992. Lectures and research visits to several other universities abroad: Uppsala, Stockholm, Gothenburg, Lund, Helsinki, Åbo, Copenhagen, Aarhus, Kiel, Rome, Genua, Minneapolis, Madison, Fargo-Moorhead. Has participated with papers and as invited speaker at a number of international conferences, and has – together with others – organised national and international conferences and published conference reports. Member of the editorial board of *Bryggen Papers* (since 1996) and *Nordica Bergensia* (since 1996), member of the advisory board of *Maal og Minne* (since 1995). Supervisor of a number of theses in Old Norse philology at ‘hovudfag’ and doctorate level. Member of selection committees for professorships at Oslo 1991 (Icelandic), Bergen 1991 (Old Norse philology), Oslo 1992 (History of religion), Oslo 1992 (Nordic medieval culture), Tromsø 1994 (Old Norse philology). Vice Dean, Faculty of Art, University of Oslo, 1982–84, head of The University Council, University of Oslo, 1991, member of The Research Committee, University of Bergen since 1996, member of the board of The Norwegian Stage School, 1983–84, member of NRC’s Committee for Scholarship in Linguistics and Philology, 1995–97, member of the board of Det Norske Samlaget, 1992–99, member of the board of Kjeldeskriftkommisjonen (Department within The Norwegian Public Record Office, responsible for publications of primary sources), 1993–99. Member of The Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters.

I have published on Old Norse sagas, Eddic and skaldic poetry, Old Norse mythology and religion, legends and cults of saint, on subjects within women’s history, on aspects of the cultural history of Medieval Scandinavia, on Old Norse literature as a historical source and on the relation between Old Norse oral and written culture. For a complete list of publications, see: www.hf.uib.no/i/Nordisk/Nofi/personarkiv/elsemundal.html

Within the CoE, my main responsibility will be to lead Project 1. In my research I have been occupied with the theories concerning the relationship between Old Norse oral and written literature (Mundal 1977), with the social consequences of the transition to a literate culture, especially for women (Mundal 1983), with oral and literate culture as parallel cultural patterns, and the mutual influence of the two (Mundal 1994). Within Project 1, I want to concentrate on the relationship between oral and literate culture, especially in Iceland and Scandinavia, throughout the Middle Ages. The great differences within this territory (see Project 1) offer an interesting basis for comparative research, within the Nordic region as well as between the northern and eastern periphery and between periphery and centre. Due to the close connection between Projects 1 and 2, I shall also participate in the latter. My earlier research has focused on the impact of Christianisation on Old Norse culture – especially on the position of women – as well as the inheritance from the Old Norse culture in northern Christianity.

ENCLOSURE 3. INTERNATIONAL PARTNERS AND NETWORKS

The Cambridge-Bergen Project on Christianisation and State Formation

The project has its background in a session at the 19th International Congress of Historical Science in Oslo in 2000, on the Christianisation of Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, organised by Bagge and Berend. It will start with a conference in Cambridge in September 2002. Here we shall present more detailed plans for our research, along the lines sketched in the present

application, to a wider audience of scholars from Eastern as well as Western Europe. After discussion at the conference, these plans will form the basis of a collection of articles, to be presented and discussed at a new conference one year after and published as a book. The collection will give an overview of the present state of research on the whole area and focus on comparison between the two main regions, particularly regarding the connection between Christianisation and state formation. From this starting-point, more long-term plans will be developed, regarding this initial period as well as the Middle Ages as a whole.

Nora Berend is Hungarian by birth and educated in Budapest, New York (Columbia University) and Paris (École des Hautes Études en sciences sociales). She is now lecturer of medieval history at the University of Cambridge. Her main research interests are medieval social and religious history, interaction between different civilisations and religions, hagiography, and the comparison between the development of Western and Eastern Europe. These interests have resulted in a number of articles and conference papers, as well as a recent book on non-Christian groups in Hungary in the Middle Ages (Berend 2001).

The main participants, beside the two leaders, will be: Prof. Jonathan Shepard (Cambridge), Prof. Przemyslaw Urbanzyk (Warszaw), Dr Josef Laszlovsky, Dr Bela Zsolt Szakacs, Prof. Thomas Lindkvist (Gothenburg), Ass. Professor Nils Blomkvist (Visby), Prof. Stefan Brink (Uppsala), and Archivist Michael Gelting (Danish National Archives, Copenhagen).

The group includes as of now specialists on the three Scandinavian countries plus Poland and Hungary. We are still looking for one or more specialists on Bohemia. Further, Shepard (Cambridge), covers Byzantine, East European, and Russian history. Urbanzyk, who is an archeologist, is familiar with early medieval Norway in addition to Poland and Eastern Europe. He has arranged several conferences on Poland's neighbours in various periods, including scholars from Germany, Scandinavia, Russia, and various countries in Eastern Europe. He and his colleagues in Warsaw are internationally oriented and take a broad interest in comparative studies, which makes them valuable partners in this project. In addition to Sweden, Lindkvist is also familiar with Eastern Europe. Blomkvist has been a leader of a large project on the Baltic in the Middle Ages, including a number of scholars from this area, which is highly relevant to Scandinavia as well as the Eastern European kingdoms. Finally, Gelting, who is a specialist on both Danish and Savoyan history, is the author of a series of valuable studies of Denmark and the rest of Scandinavia in a comparative perspective, and a number of articles comparing Danish society, state formation, and ecclesiastical and legal history to the rest of Europe.

In addition, a group of experts, mainly on Western European history, will participate in the discussions. These include Susan Reynolds, Janet Nelson, John Gillingham, Robert Bartlett, Timothy Reuter, and Gerd Althoff.

Other Co-operating partners

Apart from Jørgensen and Berend whose institutions, the School of Mission and Theology, Stavanger and Cambridge University, are active funding partners, we have made arrangements with a number of institutions and individual scholars for co-operation on an exchange basis. The most important are listed here, sometimes with a quotation from their letter of support:

Institutions / groups

An interdisciplinary group in Münster, led by Prof. Gerd Althoff, and Hagen Keller, working on symbolic communication in the Middle Ages. This is a large group, consisting of established scholars from a number of disciplines: history, art history, philology, theology, etc., the majority of whom have cooperated for a long time. A number of younger recruits are also attached to the group. A dialogue with this group will particularly benefit projects 2 and 3. An earlier project, on *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit*, was finished in 1999. The origin of the project on symbolic communication is research over a long period on political culture, notably in the early Middle Ages (e.g. Althoff 1996 and 1997). The new project will include the whole of the Middle Ages and will focus in particular on ritual, ceremonial, and non-verbal forms of communication. This is a field where very little has so far been done in Scandinavia, so we expect much from the cooperation with this group.

A German group of church historians led by Prof. Ludwig Schmutge, Zürich, working on the new source unit of the Apostolic Penitentiary supplications. For this field the following scholars will also be invited to contribute in a joint workshop: Prof.ssa Giulia Barone, Istituto

Medievale, Università La Sapienza, Roma and Dott. Ambrogio Piazzani, vice-prefect of the Vatican Library. These are crucial partners for project 2.

Institut zur Interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters und seines Nachwirkens (IEMAN), Universität Paderborn, led by Prof. Jörg Jarnut. They find our comparative perspective and combination of political/institutional and cultural approach highly interesting and close to their own fields. They want in particular to contribute to Projects 3 and 4.

An international group of scholars working on medieval historiography, including a Finnish group led by Professor Tuomas Lehtonen (Helsinki). We have cooperated with this group since 1997, notably at the Leeds congresses, together with Professors Joachim Knape (Tübingen) and John Ward (Sydney). Knape is a specialist on German vernacular historiography but is also working on the basic assumptions underlying medieval historiography in general. John Ward's main speciality is medieval Latin rhetoric. Against this background, he has treated style, organisation of narrative, and modes of expression in medieval historiography in a number of articles. In the context of our project, he wants to explore how the construction of the past varies from area to area and between "professions" (bishop, monk, notary, layman), and the importance of pre-existing influences (e.g. rhetoric, ideology, patronal commitment, etc.

A group of scholars at the Maison des sciences de l'homme in Paris, working on historical anthropology of the Middle Ages. The group was founded by Jacques Le Goff (now retired) and is at present led by Jean-Claude Schmitt. We have presented our plans to them and expect much from a cooperation with them, particularly concerning Project 2.

A Polish Group of Latinists, led by Ignacy Lewandowski and Piotr Bering at the Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität in Poznan. Their interests include the medieval reception of ancient culture, rhetoric, theatre, Latin poetry and historiography, and they will participate in Project 4.

The international group 'Local Churches and the Papacy in Northern Europe in the Later Middle Ages', led by Bram van Benhoven van Genderen, Utrecht, and Per Ingeman, Århus. Haug takes part.

A Danish interdisciplinary group led by Ass. Prof., Dr. Kurt Villads Jensen, wanting to participate in our comparative research on Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. They will be particularly interested in Project 3.

The Reykholt Project, a Nordic group working on Icelandic culture and society in the High Middle Ages. Part of the project is led by Ass. Prof. Karl G. Johansson, University of Växjö, and does NOS-H supported research on Icelandic centers of writing. The CoE will co-operate with this group within Project 1, in research and in arranging seminars for dr. art. students.

Individual Scholars

Gro Steinsland, professor of the History of Religion at the University of Oslo. She participated in the project *Overgangen fra hedendom til kristendom*, funded by the NCR. Her main focus of research in recent years has been on the ideology of sacred kingship in Norwegian pre-Christian and early medieval culture, King Olaf the Saint as a focus of transformation between pre-Christian religion and Christianity, and elements of *interpretatio norroena* and transformations of Christian motifs and ideas in Old Norse literary sources.

Mary Garrison, University of York, will contribute to projects 1 and 4. Through her research in Carolingian Literature and literacy and her vast experience in interdisciplinary work, she will be a most interesting participant.

Simon Teuscher, UCLA. Teuscher has published a number of articles on various topics, including the Old Norse saga literature. He now works on his habilitation on the use of writing for administrative purposes in the western part of Switzerland in the later Middle Ages. This work will throw light on the relationship between oral and written culture in general, on the use of memory versus written documents, and on the question of power and authority attached to various forms of recording past events and transactions. Having finished this work, he will be interested in a closer connection to Project 1, dealing with Scandinavian and Eastern European administrative literacy in a comparative perspective.

Paolo Chiesa, Prof. of Medieval Latin, University of Udine. He has worked extensively with the historiography of Italy from the 10th to the 13th century and is thus an important scholar representing the European centre as described in our application. He will be interested in cooperation concerning the relationship between Latin and the vernacular (Project 1) and historiography (Project 4).

Roberto Lambertini, University of Macerata and Andrea Tabarroni, University of Udine

They have for many years cooperated in research on intellectual history and the history of philosophy in the Middle Ages, and are both involved in a research group sponsored by the Italian CNR. They find our project attractive and are particularly interested in cooperating in Project 2, doing research on the Mendicant orders and their cultural and intellectual importance, from the point of view of the relationship between periphery and centre.

Karsten Friis-Jensen, Ass. Prof. of Medieval Latin, University of Copenhagen. As the leading scholar of Saxo Grammaticus he has expressed much interest in our project. He is interested in contributing to the comparative as well as the philological parts of projects 1 and 4.

Lars Ivar Hansen, Professor of Saami Ethnography in Tromsø, and scholars with the Institute of Saami studies, University of Tromsø. Through his numerous works on medieval and early modern culture in Northern Norway he is an obvious partner for the whole programme.

Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, Royal Library, Copenhagen. With her recent works on Nordic historiography in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance she has much to contribute to project 4.

Laszlo Veszpremy from the Central European University in Budapest could contribute significantly to project 4 through his research in Hungarian Latin historiography, which he wants to study in a wider comparative perspective.

Andreas Haug (Musicology, Erlangen & Trondheim). Through his profound knowledge of Norwegian, Scandinavian and continental Medieval liturgy and music, Prof. Haug could contribute significantly to projects 1 and 2, and to the general problems of analysing cultural export and import.

ENCLOSURE 4. PLAN FOR THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF THE COE

Because of the Cambridge-Bergen project, Christianisation and early state formation will play a central part in Projects 2 and 3 during the first period of the CoE's existence. This project will start with a conference in Cambridge in September 2002. Here we shall present more detailed plans for our research, along the lines sketched in the present application, to a wider audience of scholars from Eastern as well as Western Europe. After discussion at the conference, these plans will form the basis of a collection of articles, to be presented and discussed at a new conference one year after and published as a book. The collection will give an overview of the present state of research on the whole area and focus on comparison between the two main regions, particularly regarding the connection between Christianisation and state formation. From this starting-point, more long-term plans will be developed, regarding this initial period as well as the Middle Ages as a whole. The conferences will be attended by the Nordic participants in our programme. Between the two conferences, we intend to gather the Nordic participants for one or two smaller workshops to prepare our contribution to the second conference. More specifically, members of our group will deal with the following topics, which will be presented at the second Cambridge conference: political culture and power struggles in the Baltic and North Sea area in the 10th and 11th centuries (Bagge, in cooperation with the Münster group), the royal stronghold at Utstein (Haug), and aspects of the Christianisation of Norway (Mundal, Jørgensen). The final report from the Baltic project, led by Nils Blomkvist, will appear shortly, and will be used to develop new questions and ideas for research in the following years. We shall encourage students and younger scholars, from Norway, the rest of Scandinavia, and Eastern Europe, to participate in our project.

We shall make active use of the visiting professorship in this connection. Nora Berend and other participants in the project will spend longer or shorter periods in Bergen. This project will form a basis for further studies on the later period during the second half of the CoE's existence and for more general comparative studies on state formation, religion, and ecclesiastical organisation. As this project will probably be expanding after the second Cambridge conference, we shall consider extending the core group in 2004 or 2005 (Gro Steinsland and/or an archaeologist).

Within Project 1, Mundal will continue her studies of the complex problems of orality and literacy within the Old Norse culture in cooperation with the extensive international network of Old Norse scholars, and seek closer contacts with scholars in the field in Eastern Europe. 'Reykholtsprosjektet' will arrange a conference on literacy in 2002, and so far three conferences in the following years are scheduled. Melve is working on the pamphlets from the Investiture

Contest and expects to finish his thesis in 2004. He has already published a book on literacy (Melve 2001b) and the orality/literacy problem plays a major part in his thesis. Having finished this, he will focus more directly on comparative studies of centre and periphery from this point of view. The group will keep close contact with Teuscher who has much to contribute from a theoretical point of view regarding the administrative use of literacy. After some years, when he has finished his Habilitation, he will be interested in working more directly with Nordic material. We plan to launch a major comparative project in this field from 2004 or 2005.

A significant part of Project 2 will be included in the Cambridge-Bergen project. However, work on the Later Middle Ages will start immediately. Jørgensen will soon finish his edition of the hitherto unknown sources for Norwegian history in the Vatican, which will form the basis for new research, by himself, 'hovedfag' students and dr. art. students. This material will be presented at an international workshop, led by Jørgensen, late in 2002 or early in 2003, where further plans for comparative studies of the relationship between the papacy and various countries of the periphery will be discussed. Further, Haug will start work on the Norwegian archbishop in the Later Middle Ages early in 2002, in connection with her contribution to the book celebrating the 850th anniversary of the foundation of the Norwegian Church province (1153), in 2003, continuing with a project on the Augustinians in 2003. She is already supervising 'hovedfag' students within these fields. She intends to publish a monograph on the archbishop late in 2004.

Project 4 will start by focusing on the uses of Roman history in 11th and 12th century historiography (Mortensen). An international philological workshop will be arranged in 2003 on The Spread of International Historiographic Models in the High Middle Ages (texts such as Eusebius, Orosius, Josephus etc.). At a later stage, perhaps in 2004, this will be supplemented by another interdisciplinary conference on eastern and northern historiography and their appropriation of Rome in the 12th–14th centuries. Bagge will extend his comparative studies of political historiography to Eastern Europe, in close contact with Lewandowski and Bering and other scholars from Eastern Europe. Liliane Reynaud will deal with the representation of human character in Old Norse sagas and biographical sources. This project will be finished in 2005 and will serve as a stimulus to further comparative studies. We shall also continue our cooperation with the group around Lehtonen. A particularly important contact is Ward who will be invited to spend some months in Bergen in 2003 or 2004.

During the first years of the CoE, we shall give high priority to deepening our contacts with Eastern Europe. The Cambridge-Bergen project will be particularly important from this point of view. Further, we shall invite more established as well as younger scholars from these countries to spend some time in Bergen. Frequent conferences and workshops will also be useful from this point of view. As for developing the project, we shall use international conferences such as the IMC, Leeds, The Medieval Chronicle, Utrecht, and the Saga conferences to present our work.

As for research education, two dr. art. students (Melve and Haide) and one post doctoral scholar (Reynaud) already receive supervision from members or our group. We expect to get the first scholarships from the beginning of 2003, and will then start regular seminars. We plan the first, Scandinavian research course in 2004, to be followed by an international one in 2005.

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