

## Midway Evaluation of the Centres of Excellence

### B. Self-evaluation

Centre for Medieval Studies  
(name of centre)

146078 /540  
(project number)

-

*To be prepared by the centre and signed by the centre and the host institution.  
Maximum length 32 A4 pages. Word format, Times New Roman,  
12 pitch font, single line spacing)*

## ***Brief summary***

In accordance with the research plan, the research of the CMS in the period 2003-06 has focused mainly on three fields: (1) the Christianisation of Northern and East Central Europe, with main emphasis on Norway, (2) the edition and study of the documents in the Papal Penitentiary, and (3) the relationship between oral and literary culture. The latter field in particular has also contributed to the study of religion in the Christian period, as expressed in hagiography, the cult of saints, and texts on supernatural revelations. Some steps have also been taken in the direction of research on state formation, notably concerning the early period. Finally, within all these fields great importance has been attached to establishing and developing close contacts with international scholarly milieux. (Expandable frame)

## **1. Research achievements**

### *1.1 Research conducted*

#### **The Parts and the Whole**

According to the initial application and research plan, “the CMS aims to trace some fundamental features of the Europeanisation of Europe by looking at medieval Western Christendom from the periphery, i.e. Scandinavia and Eastern Europe”. This was to be done by examining four fields, (1) the Arrival of Writing, (2) the Christian Religion, (3) State Formation, and (4) the Construction of the Past. Despite its limitation to these selected fields, this programme is ambitious and intended for a period of ten rather than three years. Moreover, the plan for the first three years (see Research Plan) is confined to special aspects of each of the four main themes, often at quite a distance from each other, such as the one between the period of Christianisation on the one hand and the relationship to the papal curia towards the end of the Middle Ages on the other. Within the general framework of the programme and its four themes, the exact topics of study have to some extent been determined by the interests and impulses given by the junior scholars engaged during the first period of the CMS’s existence. Finally, a considerable part of the work during the first three years has consisted in selecting and integrating new scholars into our milieu and in deepening previous contacts with our international partners and establishing new ones.

We have been urged by the Advisory Board to focus on the main aims of our programme and have done our best in trying to keep this focus. Nevertheless, there is an inevitable tension between the whole and the parts in our daily work. The CMS consists of scholars from various disciplines, its members are organised in groups pursuing different fields of research which must be allowed to follow up interesting lines of inquiry without always asking about their relevance for the great synthesis that will eventually emerge. Despite this tension, we have also in our daily work experienced the fruitfulness of an interdisciplinary environment and through this made discoveries that would hardly have happened without it (e.g. the relevance of Thomas Becket for Melve’s present project on political debates, the analysis and edition of Reginald of Durham’s account of a Norwegian pilgrim by Antonsson, Ommundsen & Conti, the combination of a scribal and literary perspective on Latin literature (Ommundsen, Mortensen), a constant exchange between Latin and Old Norse material which would not have happened without the Centre, the cross-fertilisation between studies of Christian and pagan orality etc.). There is also a considerable overlap between the four main projects which opens for new insights, such as the role of religion in state formation, the approach to the medieval understanding of the relationship between fact and fiction by the combined study of legends, sagas, chronicles and romances in Latin and various vernaculars, and the combination of written and material sources in the study of the conversion. (In the following codes in square brackets – like [WA08] – refer to the attached list of publications).

**Project 1: The Arrival of Writing** (research leader: Mundal)

In the application of 2002 we planned to focus on five aspects within project 1.

- 1. The relationship between oral and written.
- 2. The relationship between Latin and the vernacular.
- 3. The symbolic and practical communication made possible by the handwritten book as a medium.
- 4. The administrative use of writing.
- 5. Development of theory on the relationship between oral and literate culture.

Within the project members of CMS have worked with problems connected to oral culture as well as to the later written culture and transitional forms between the two. Importance has been attached to the discussion of and development of theories on the relationship between oral art forms and written literature. The research on written culture has so far had the main focus on literature and centres of writing. In our future research, more attention will be paid to use of writing in the administrative machinery of state and Church.

One important area of research has been oral art forms, Eddic and skaldic poetry and oral tradition behind written medieval literature. A book building on papers from the conference "Oral art forms and their passage into writing" (2004), edited by Mundal and Wellendorf, will be published summer 2006 [WB01], with contributions from among others Mortensen [WA05], Mundal [WA09], Thorvaldsen [WA15], Wellendorf [WA13], Andersson (who is a guest professor in 2006), and Birgisson [WA16] (attached to CMS's research school, supervisor Mundal). The book deals with oral art forms and aims to contribute to the discussion of similarities and differences between different oral cultures. Mortensen's article focuses on the process from interviews (often conducted in the vernacular) through drafts in Latin on wax tablets and single sheets of parchment to the end product of a beautifully calligraphed parchment codex with Latin text. He advocates a stronger emphasis on the divide between disposable writing vs. book writing rather than between orality and literacy. Mundal's contribution deals with the question of hallmarks of oral and scribal tradition in connection with the Eddic poem *Völuspá* which is an interesting text both regarding the transition from oral to written form and the transition from heathen to Christian culture. The book contains articles dealing with Old Norse as well as Old English, Homeric and Serbian literature and will provide a good basis for further discussions on similarities and differences between oral and oral derived literature from different cultures.

Eddic and skaldic poetry has been a central theme in the project. *Völuspá* is the subject of a forthcoming book by Mundal who investigates the different versions of the poem in order to establish whether the versions are the result of oral or scribal variations. Further, she seeks to interpret the meaning of its various stanzas through the references to Old Norse myths as well as against the background of the culture influenced by Christianity in which the skald lived. In his doctoral thesis, *Eddic Poetry Between Literacy and Orality*, which will be finished by summer 2006, Thorvaldsen analyses Eddic poetry with oral formulaic theory as his point of departure. However, his research seems to suggest another system of composition, namely that Eddic poetry, like Old Norse *dróttkvætt* poetry, to an unusual extent is composed and understood as poetry with a high level of individuality and the "text" as mental framework. Thorvaldsen's thesis has its main focus on the discussion of theories on oral culture and oral art forms. two articles on aspects related to his doctoral thesis are in print [WA14, WA15]. Finally, Birgisson's doctoral thesis, *Bro mellom to tider*, which will be finished in 2007, is an investigation of skaldic poetry with focus on creation of mental pictures and the connection between these poetic pictures (mostly *kenningar*) and Old Norse oral culture and heathen society. Two articles connected to his doctoral thesis are in print [WA16, WN15].

The research related to the Reykholt network has had a focus on written culture and

centres of writing in the High Middle Ages in the North. The two first of three volumes containing papers from four conferences are now in print. Mundal is the main editor of the first volume, *Reykholt som makt- og lærdomssenter i den islandske og nordiske kontekst* [WB02], and scholars from CMS are well represented in all the three volumes.

Works on saga literature closely related to the project "The Arrival of Writing" are Mundal's articles "Færøyinga saga – a Fine Piece of Literature in Pieces" [WA08] which deals with the question of saga dating and the development of Old Norse saga genres, "Fornaldarsogene – vurderinga og vurderingskriteria" [WN04] which deals with reception of saga literature and the part this popular genre played in the Middle Ages, and "King Magnus barelegg's adventures in the West. The making of a king's saga" which was presented as a conference paper, and will be published in the conference report [WA10]. This article deals with the development of motifs in oral traditions as well as in written sagas.

A project on Anglo-Norman homilies and sermons and their relation to preaching practices in England and Scandinavia is carried out by Aidan Conti. Traditionally, research has focused on the works of the Benedictine reformers, predominantly responsible for the majority of Old English material that exists from the period, at the expense of secular communities, who are underrepresented in surviving manuscripts and who were vilified by the stricter reformers. A recently discovered fragment of Old English (published in 2005) is a vernacular translation of a homily that represents exactly the type of text that would have served for secular instruction of the laity. Conti is currently engaged in work that discusses this mid-11th-century fragment in terms of its Latin sources. His analysis, based on unpublished manuscript material, reveals that the vernacular translations of these homilies present alterations that cannot be accounted for under traditional stemmatic analysis, and, in turn, demonstrates that the texts were indeed used for oral delivery. Witnesses to this homiliary exist in Scandinavia. However, attempts to ascertain the medieval provenance and origin of these manuscripts has not yielded any definite results. Nevertheless, principles ascertained up to this point, namely that the vernacular continued to serve an important role in the church of post-conquest England, that textual analysis of vernacular translations of homiletic texts must account for possible oral delivery, and that in turn evidence of the influence of oral transmission may aid in determining whether a text was intended for a monastic or broader audience, will serve as important interpretational tools as Conti's research considers these issues with respect to the role of English influence in the Old Norwegian and Icelandic homily books. A number of papers on homilies are in the process of revision for publication or in print [WA02, WA03, WA04].

Ommundsen's research on the Nidaros sequences is – as Conti's project – related both to CMS's project the Arrival of Writing and to the project on Church and Religion between Unity and Variety. The sequences and the remaining sequence sources are seen as witnesses to religious and cultural ties between Norway and the central – and other peripheral – parts of Europe. The fragments are analysed from point of view of their palaeographical and codicological evidence, as well as their contents, and the results are analysed in relation to the European centre-periphery model. Ommundsen's project has benefited from two ongoing projects in which she takes part. The first is an international project on the Nidaros sequences, the other is a project to register the parchment in Riksarkivet (Oslo), both projects initiated by Andreas Haug (Erlangen), Ommundsen's co-supervisor. Three international workshops have been arranged – the second one co-financed and the third financed by CMS – to study the earliest evidence of Norwegian medieval manuscripts, both imported and local. During the first workshop some of the oldest liturgical fragments (late 11th century) gave indications of what is believed to be remains of the first Norwegian scriptorium. Evidence was also found of several local scribal centres in the 12th century, as well as imports from different European regions. One of the issues at the last workshop was the importance of

interdisciplinary collaboration in the study of parchment fragments. The study of these fragments so far has shown clearly the need of Latin and vernacular philologists working together in the study of palaeography and the earliest scribal culture because of the influence, not only from Latin on the vernacular, but also the other way round. The results from the third workshop (Bergen, October 2005) has been published by Ommundsen (ed.) [WB03].

Ommundsen has also contributed with new catalogue data and texts to a minor fragment project at Bergen University Library. This project was launched in 2004 to make the collection of medieval parchment fragments at Bergen University Library accessible online for scholars all over the world. The fragments are now available in an on-line XML catalogue with digital high resolution pictures. Selected fragments are also transcribed and translated [WA11].

A major work which has been finished within the project the Arrival of Writing is Melve's doctoral thesis *The Medieval Public Sphere – Continuity and Innovation in the Polemical Literature of the Investiture Contest* [WB04]. A revised version of the thesis will be published by Brill Academic Publishers. Melve's investigation is a contribution to the history of the public sphere, which has been an area of current debate amongst medievalists. In criticising Habermas's view of the medieval public sphere (in *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*) Melve proposes an alternative model in which the sheer plurality of public spheres in the medieval – as well as the in early modern period – is underlined. While it perhaps could be said that the early Middle Ages corresponds fairly well to Habermas's 'representative public', the 11th century witnessed fundamental structural changes in what has been called the 'first European revolution': in the wake of new educational outlets and the concomitant spread of literacy, new social groups emerged on the public stage. Several public debates in the first half of the 11th century hint at what is to come. These public debates show that the medieval public sphere, at least in the 11th century, was an ad hoc affair and was conducted in a manifold of different settings. This plurality, including both intellectual and popular elements, was pivotal in shaping the arguably most important public debate of the period, namely that emerging during the Investiture Contest. Melve's thesis is an historical study of the major corpus of texts relating to the Investiture Contest (*Libelli de lite*). With regard to the theoretical aspect of the relationship between the oral and the written forms of communication, the thesis contributes in two ways. Firstly, by elaborating on Brian Stock's model of 'textual communities', the relevance of the model's central tenets are demonstrated. Secondly, by fixing the relationship between oral and written forms of communication to the numerous institutions (chanceries, monasteries etc.) that acted as communicative mediators in the period, the resulting approach is able to specify the communicative situation in new ways compared to Stock's model. Melve was awarded the Meltzer prize for young researchers at the University of Bergen in March 2006, mainly on account of the thesis.

## **Project 2: Church and Religion between Unity and Variety** (research leader: Jørgensen)

Within this project the primary focus has been assigned to the epochs of the early and the later Middle Ages. These periods correspond to two of the main fields presented in the initial project proposal: the "Christianisation of the European periphery" and "the encounter and contrast between the local church (periphery) and the Pope (centre) in the later Middle Ages". Considerable attention has been paid to these subjects both in terms of research activities and international network-building. Both fields were being cultivated – with senior CMS scholars in leading positions – before the establishment of the centre, but they have been developed substantially within the CMS context by the arrangement of conferences and workshops and by the publishing of books and articles. The overarching CMS perspective of entering deeper into the complexity of relations between the central European powers and the

peripheral areas has been a main regard throughout these two fields of research as well as in the other projects and events. The topic of devotional religious literature as mentioned in the proposal, is at the moment the subject of postdoctoral and doctoral projects of which Haki Antonsson's project on early Scandinavian saints is the most prominent. In spite of mainly belonging to the Arrival of Writing project, Jonas Wellendorf's project on vision literature and Eldar Heide's on Saami myths and poetry have proved relevant also for the interpretation of particular aspects of religious cult.

As far as the role of mendicant orders and the development of Scandinavian ecclesiastical organisation in a wider sense are concerned, the progress has not been as good as expected, due to the fact that Eldbjørg Haug, the scholar listed as the person to implement these projects, left CMS in 2005. She will be replaced during the coming period (see under plans, form D).

#### *Christianisation of the European periphery.*

The Christianisation project is now at the end of its first phase, aiming at an up-to-date volume on the Christianisation of the seven countries dealt with in the project (Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Rus), to which Sverre Bagge and Sæbjørg Nordeide have contributed with the chapter on Norway [RA10]. In addition, a substantial amount of detailed information about various aspects of the Christianisation in all the countries, in questionnaire form, will be available on-line. This material will form the starting-point for the next stage in the process, aiming at new, comparative research on Christianisation and state formation in the whole area by the same authors, probably with some extension of the chronological period and the aspects of social and cultural change covered.

Apart from his contribution to this volume, Sverre Bagge has finished two articles on the Christianisation of Norway, one of which deals with problems and directions of research in the study of this topic [SA06, SA03] (see also below under historiography). While scholars from the nineteenth century onwards largely accepted the sagas' account of the Christianisation as the work of two missionary kings in the late 10th and early 11th century, the recent trend has been to regard the Christianisation as a long and gradual process, starting in the late 9th or early 10th century. This interpretation seems to regard Christianisation as simply the consequence of increasing contact with the new religion, thus failing to ask what made people change their old religion for a new one. The article directly addresses this question, in emphasising the political aspect of the conversion and in discussing the Christianisation of Norway in a comparative perspective, against the background of the international Christianisation project. Whereas the Christianisation of most of the countries in the northern and eastern periphery of Western Christendom (Denmark, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary) was the result of close contacts with the contemporary great power, imperial Germany, most Christian impulses in Norway came from a weak power, Anglo-Saxon England, whose kings had few opportunities to use Christianity as an instrument of conquest. The Christianisation of Norway – in the sense of its introduction as the only lawful religion – was therefore the result of the activity of Norwegian warlords and Viking chieftains returning to their homeland, not of pressure from a strong Christian king across the border. Some features of Norwegian Christianity may possibly be explained by this difference, such as the slow introduction of the ecclesiastical organisation, the widespread use of the vernacular in the administration, and the preservation of much of the ancient mythology and poetry. Finally, the article suggests three lines of investigation for future research: (1) a thorough examination of the rich archaeological material, (2) a comparison with the whole area of Northern and East Central Europe that was included in Western Christendom in the 10th and 11th centuries, and (3) a focus not only on the conversion period, but on the gradual

penetration of Christianity in the following period and its consequences for state formation, the development of society, and cultural and ideological transformation.

These lines of investigation have been and will be followed up in the following way: Sæbjørg Nordeide, postdoc since September 2003, examines the existing archaeological material for the conversion from southern and middle Norway. She has started with the Merovingian period in order to trace early Christian influences on burials. Chronologically, the project covers the period until the mid-12th century, thus cutting across the traditional division between the Viking and the medieval period. Finding that the material is too extensive to cover the whole, she is basing her study on a representative sample of local districts (Norw. kommuner – the country is divided into 434 such districts). Further, analyses of animal bones from early urban centres is carried out by an assistant, Marianna Betti, in order to trace differences in the use of animal resources in sacred and profane settings, which may throw light on possible changes before and after the arrival of Christianity. This will also contribute to the understanding of the early Christian legislation in Norway in allowing us to examine to what extent the dietary rules in the laws were paying particular attention to local conditions. Betti has been employed since January 2006 (see below). The results will be related to early medieval legislation, and they will be published as an international article. The project is carried out in cooperation with Bergen Museum and the University of Bergen, is part of the Christianisation project by CMS, and at the same time part of the PhD project for Betti (UCLA).

In 2005 Nordeide worked more intensively with the earliest traces of Christianity, including a re-examination of the burials from St Clement's Church in Oslo, which may serve to test her idea of a connection between Christianisation and urbanisation [RA24]. She organised a conference on the archaeological sources for the Christianisation of Norway in April, and has given papers on the subject at archaeological conferences. The archaeological material is probably the most important source for new insight into the Christianisation process and research on this should be continued in a comparative, European perspective. The international Christianisation project mentioned above has demonstrated the fruitfulness of this kind of research, as the methodological problems, e.g. in identifying Christian and pagan graves, are common and need to be addressed on the basis of the broadest possible empirical material.

One item group under investigation by Nordeide was Thor's hammers. These have been interpreted as a reaction to Christianity and as a sign of crisis in the pagan religion, thus indicating when and where Christianity became 'threatening' to paganism. The occurrence of Thor's hammers turned out to be very rare (12 items), and could not indicate any such crisis. The hammers as well as place names indicating Thor cult were found only in the southernmost region of Norway, which suggests that Thor was worshipped only in the southern part of the country [RA23].

The main task for the archaeological project so far, however, has been to date the youngest obvious traces of pagan, and similarly the oldest Christian cult. The project is not yet concluded, but the preliminary results from selected areas show that there are at least 100 years of difference from area to area for the youngest dates of pagan cult, and the earliest Christian traces seem to coincide with the establishment of the oldest towns. It also appears that the traces of pagan cult are extremely varied, even within small areas, and that there is no sign of syncretism or Christian influence on pagan burial customs before their rather abrupt end. In sum, the results from the archaeological research so far show a far more varied picture of pagan religion than the one based almost exclusively on written sources. But it seems to support the story from the sagas picturing the king as a key factor behind the urbanisation and Christianisation as means to build a monarchy. The preliminary results have been published in papers presented both on national and international arenas, and Nordeide is

preparing a book with the preliminary title *From Odin to Christ in Norway: A Change of 'sidr'*. A paper presented at *The 15th International Viking Congress* in Cork, Ireland, 2005, will be published in the congress proceedings.

Further contributions to the understanding of the conversion of the Scandinavian countries, not directly based on archaeology, include Hilde Inntjore's PhD work project on the Christianisation of Agder in southwestern Norway, a largely neglected region from this point of view and Haki Antonsson's study of early Scandinavian saints, including the question of break or continuity between heroes and gods in the pagan period and saints in the Christian (more on Antonsson's work below). The gender aspect of the Christianisation project has been dealt with by Mundal [RA19] who has also discussed the prohibition against exposing children [RN08].

Regarding the Christianisation of the Saami people, Else Mundal has reinvestigated a selection of medieval documents that indicate an earlier influence of Christianity among the Saami, at least the Southern Saami groups, than hitherto believed. The general new picture appearing is that many Saamis converted to Christianity already in the Middle Ages and were baptised, but that many of these also practised aspects of their old religion [RA20]. Eldar Heide's study of Saami myths and poetry (see under Arrival of Writing) has had some bearing also on the CMS religion project [RN01].

Work has also been done within the second and third fields mentioned above, the comparison between Northern and Eastern Europe and the relationship between this area and the rest of Europe and the penetration of Christianity in the period after the initial conversion. The influences from the British Isles on the Christianisation of the Nordic European periphery have for long been in focus in different scholarly works on the topic (F. Birkeli, S. Bagge, T. Jørgensen). In 2005 an international congress was held at the University of Southern Denmark, Odense, on the topic *Christianisation of the North: Theology and Archaeology*. The congress gave a broad overview of the arrival of Christianity in the Nordic countries, at which T. Jørgensen gave a paper developing the lines of influence from English monastic circles. It should also be noted that several of the communications at this congress were presented by scholars included in the newly established Nordic Centre for Medieval Studies (K.V. Jensen, M. Hiekkänen, B. McGuire, P. Urbanczyk, B. Nilsson). A book with selected articles from the congress is in preparation.

In 2004, Olav Tveito defended his doctoral dissertation at the University of Oslo, *Ad fines orbis terrae: En studie i primær trosformidling i nordisk kristningskontekst*, Unipub No 209, Oslo 2004. Torstein Jørgensen acted as opponent at the disputation. Tveito's study delivers evidence that Christianity established footholds in the Nordic countries at a very early stage, that influences both from Britain and the continent were important factors and that Christianity and a still vital pagan cult existed side by side for a longer period than earlier believed. In the autumn 2006 Dr. Tveito will be a guest researcher at CMS.

Furthermore CMS hosted Stefan Brink (previously Uppsala, now Aberdeen) for ten months in 2005 as guest researcher. Brink worked on the Swedish parts of the Christianisation project, but also spent time on developing other fields of research within onomastic studies, state formation and religion [RA13, RA14, SB02, SB03, SA11, SA12, SA13]. Brink was an active and much appreciated participant in the regular CMS seminars and at several conferences.

Mortensen's edited book on Christian Myths (see below [HB03]) also contributes to the religion project by stressing the importance of local myth making and local agency in the literary field.

Finally, Bagge continues his work on the relationship between Christianisation and state formation, on the political aspect of the Christianisation and the relationship between the missionary centres, notably England and Germany, and the countries to which the mission

was directed. He develops the results from the Christianisation project in his book on Norwegian state formation, in which the importance of the Church and the Christianisation for state formation and social change in the period up to the early 14th century forms an important theme.

### *Local churches and the Papal Curia*

The connecting lines between local churches and the Papal Curia in the Later Middle Ages were manifold. The period from the mid 14th century to the beginning of the 16th century was a time of profound changes in the status and role of the Pope and his court with the pontifical schismas, the different attempts from princes of Europe to increase the national independence of their churches, the movement of conciliarism, the Renaissance and finally the Reformation as the main triggers of change. The period is of interest regarding changes within the administrative structure of the Church as well as the new forms of religious practice and thought emerging in local contexts. Additionally the period witnesses a change in organisational links between the ecclesiastical centre and the periphery.

As stated in the CMS project proposal the relatively recently obtained access to the antique section of the archives of the Apostolic Penitentiary, i.e. textual material predating the Council of Trent, has opened an entrance to new analyses of the unity and contrast between the ideology and organisation emanating from the papacy on the one hand and the local currents and initiatives on the other. The research conducted within the CMS context consists of three elements:

1) The publishing of the full collection of supplications from the Norwegian church province of Nidaros to the Papal Penitentiary [RB02]. These fresh discoveries were published for the first time in this book. The compilation of penitentiary supplications represent the biggest supplement to the collection of medieval texts relative to Norway over the last 50 years.

2) The organising of an international network of scholars from different European countries working with the registration of and research on the penitentiary texts from different parts of Europe. The network has already proved most useful for the comparing of notes and for active co-operation across Europe on a hitherto neglected source unit. Scholars from 17 countries at present participate actively in the network which is administered by scholars affiliated with CMS/Bergen (Jørgensen), the Central European University/Budapest (Jaritz) and the University of Tampere (Salonen).

3) The arranging of a series of international conferences and workshops. The series was started on the initiative of CMS by a conference in Bergen in 2003. It was followed up by conferences in Budapest in 2004 and Rome in 2005. The next conference is scheduled to take place in Aberdeen in 2007. The already arranged conferences have resulted in the publication of a book with contributors from 12 countries [RB01]. By use of the texts from the Papal Penitentiary protocols the different articles of the book examine ways of behaviour and mentality at the intersection between local customs and practices on the one hand and the centralised ecclesiastical Papal standards on the other. Issues like marriage and sexual behaviour, violence and killing, heresy, matters pertaining to religious orders and the relation between ecclesiastical and civil legislation are in this way put under new investigation by contributions regarding Italy, Germany, Britain, Croatia, Albania, Hungary, Slovakia, The Czech Republic, Finland, Sweden and Norway. A second book is forthcoming in 2006: ... *et usque ad ultimam terrae: The Apostolic Penitentiary in Local Contexts*, with the same editorial arrangement. This book will more strongly than the first focus on the situation in different local peripheries of Europe. Another bonus emerging from the penitentiary network is the facilitated possibilities for exchange of scholars between participating institutions. Thus, Professor Gerhard Jaritz of CEU/Budapest paid a visit to CMS/Bergen in February

2006 giving a seminar on local urban law codes as expressions of moral norms.

Communications of the findings of the research on the Norwegian penitentiary texts have also been presented in wider international contexts; such as the congresses of AHA/Washington and Leeds, both in 2004, and as contributions to publications with a wider perspective, such as an article by Jørgensen [RA16].

In order to strengthen the CMS's efforts on the research on the penitentiary texts in particular and on the relation between the Papacy and the local communities in general, a postdoc fellowship has been granted from January 2006. Dr. Jennifer McDonald from the University of Aberdeen, who will hold this post, has embarked on a project on ecclesiastical careers in a comparative perspective with the following title: 'The Pathway to an Ecclesiastical Career: Scottish and Norwegian Clergy in the *Registra Supplicationum* and the *Sacra Penitenzieria Apostolica*, 1449-1531' [cf. RA27, RA28, RA29, RA30]. The project will analyse supplications from Scottish and Norwegian clerics who applied to the Papal Chancery, Datary and Penitentiary for dispensation from the impediments of illegitimacy, disability, and minority of age to enter an ecclesiastical career. It will address these impediments within a legal and theological framework, examining the Church's attitudes towards defects, as well as the legal and theological justifications for establishing them as impediments to holy orders. This will serve to highlight whether diocesan authorities in later medieval Norway and Scotland were strict or lenient in their interpretation and enforcement of canonical stipulations. The project also aims to involve an analysis of practical approaches to these impediments, and, especially, how the Church, both locally and internationally, circumvented its own legal conventions by allowing men who received dispensation to enter an ecclesiastical career. This will enable identification of regional and cultural variation, as well as provide an opportunity to assess the application of Canon Law in different geographical contexts. The project will also trace the careers of Norwegian and Scottish supplicants who received dispensation, in order to determine whether Norwegian and/or Scottish clerics affected by impediments secured (or were prevented from securing) lucrative preferment and/or emoluments.

Haki Antonsson, postdoctoral fellow since 2004, has concentrated his work on more devotional aspects of the Christian faith when adopted in the Nordic countries. His particular focus has been on the role of royal saints and on St. Magnus of Orkney. His article "St. Magnus of Orkney and St. Thomas of Canterbury: Two Twelfth-Century Martyrs" was published already in 2004 [RA01]. A new book of Antonsson's is, however, in print for publication in 2006: *St. Magnus of Orkney: a Scandinavian Martyr Cult in Context* [RB03]. In September 2005 Antonsson and Aidan Conti organised an international conference on Saints and Sermons in the Nordic Middle Ages. Antonsson's research has proven to deliver profits both to the Church/religion and the State-formation project. More articles on the topic of saints' cult, relics, martyrdom and the role of royalty in the Nordic setting are forthcoming in 2006 and 2007 [RA04, RA05, RA06, RA07, RA08].

### **Project 3. State Formation and Political Culture** (research leader: Bagge)

In the research plan we have stated our intention to conduct the project as a comparative study of the kingdoms and principalities that were formed in the northern and eastern periphery of Europe from the 9th and 10th centuries onwards. We further divided the project into three parts, dealing respectively (1) with the origin of kingdoms and principalities in the area during the early period, (2) with their further development 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, and finally (3) the unions in the later Middle Ages. In accordance with the research plan, our main focus during the first three years of the CMS's

existence has been on the first of these themes. Work on state formation in 2003 and 2004 was mainly carried out in connection with the Christianisation project, thus dealing mainly with the early period. From 2005, however, this theme has been subject to greater attention and a more varied approach. Throughout the period, our main emphasis has been on the Scandinavian countries, particularly Norway, but we have applied a comparative perspective, intending our study of this limited region as a contribution to some general aspects of European state formation in the Middle Ages.

Concerning the earliest period, the research carried out by Ildar Garipzanov since the summer of 2004 has resulted in a number of publications on the relationship between the Nordic countries and the Carolingian Empire [SA15, SA19, SA22]. Garipzanov's project gives a new understanding of the connections between Scandinavia and the Carolingian Empire and thus of the early phases of Scandinavian state formation. His recent paper on Carolingian coins in Scandinavia shows the potential of this approach. Since Carolingian silver coins had a very limited economic function in this period, their dissemination was rather influenced by Scandinavian political culture, in which Carolingian coins worn as pendants came into fashion in the first half of the 9th century. Their functional use as the signs of social prestige drastically decreased after the start of Viking raids on the Frankish kingdoms in the mid-9th century. These facts show the significance of the Carolingian world for local political culture especially in the earlier stages, on the one hand, and the conscious juxtaposition of Scandinavian political culture vis-à-vis the Carolingian realm in the later stages, on the other. Garipzanov's paper also demonstrates that the dissemination of Carolingian coins with Christian symbols and legends in 9th-century Scandinavia cannot be used as signs of early Christianization in the region as some scholars have argued: those coins were predominantly used in a pagan context. The significance of the Carolingian world for Scandinavian state formation and political culture will be further developed in a paper on the Carolingian frontier and the *gens Danorum* in the 9th century, in which Garipzanov will argue that the emergence of the early Danish kingdom at the turn of the 9th century was to a large extent a reaction to Frankish expansion to the north. As early as the mid-9th century the threat of Frankish aggression had ceased to exist and the economic resources of Danish kings in Southern Jutland had been undermined; state structures disintegrated to re-emerge only in the 10th century.

The next stage in Scandinavian state formation has been discussed by Sverre Bagge in some articles [SA05, SA06, SA09, SA10] and will be further dealt with in his forthcoming book on Norwegian state formation, expected to be finished by the end of 2006, which will form a first step in the direction of a comparative study of state formation in the whole European periphery compared to the centre. A first, chronological part of this book discusses the formation of a central authority from Harald Fairhair's conquests around 900 until the consolidation of the Sverre dynasty in the 13th century. Here Bagge will follow up Garipzanov's research on Scandinavian state formation as a reaction to the empire on the southern border of Scandinavia, in this period Ottonian Germany, the strongest of the Carolingian Empire's successors, as well as the discussion of Norway's relationship to England in the article on Christianisation (see above). Rather than discussing the traditional question of the "unification" of Norway, Bagge focuses on the division of Scandinavia into three kingdoms from a geopolitical point of view, in the context of the expansion of Western Christendom to the north and east in the 10th and 11th centuries and against the background of inter-Scandinavian rivalry and the new opportunities created by the possibility of investing the surplus from Viking expeditions into political power at home. Compared to the other Scandinavian kingdoms as well as to most other polities of medieval Europe, Norway could fairly easily be united under one ruler. Its long coast, where most of the people lived, formed an excellent line of communication, and no single region was sufficiently wealthy and

densely populated to resist the central government.

The second theme in the research plan, the character of the European state in the Middle Ages, forms the subject of the second part of the book. After a discussion of various criteria for a state, emphasising that the focus in the following will not be on whether or not medieval Norway can be called a state, but on the process in direction of more clearly defined political and administrative institutions, Bagge will discuss various aspects of the formation of such institutions, warfare, religion, justice, bureaucratisation, including the introduction of administrative literacy, and the division of power between the king, the lay and ecclesiastical aristocracy, and the people. Finally, he will attempt an evaluation of the degree of “stateness” in Norway compared to other countries at the time, including Denmark and Sweden, and an explanation of the particular features of Norwegian state formation. In this way the book will contribute to the general discussion of the medieval state compared to the early modern and modern one.

The prevailing paradigm regarding these questions is still that of Knut Helle’s important and influential book *Norge blir en stat* (*Norway becomes a State*, 1964, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1974). Helle’s book adheres to a strong and distinguished “modernist” Anglo-American tradition (Haskins, Strayer, Southern et al.) which regards medieval state formation as an important step in the direction of the modern democratic and bureaucratic state of Western Europe and the US. In the last decades, this interpretation has been challenged by a “primitivist” approach to medieval political culture, inspired by social anthropology and emphasising personal relationships rather than classes, institutions, and bureaucratic organisation (Althoff, Reuter, Koziol, Geary et al.). This approach has been applied to the Early Middle Ages by Bagge himself as well as other scholars, but it remains to be seen how much it can explain of the more organised society of the High and Later Middle Ages and to what extent it necessitates a revision of earlier ideas of state formation in this period. In the book, Bagge confirms and extends his earlier “primitivist” conclusions regarding the period until the early 13th century, while trying to achieve a synthesis of the two approaches regarding the following period. Although earlier scholars have exaggerated the strength and the bureaucratic character of the Norwegian state during its so-called “period of greatness” (1240-1319), considerable changes did take place during this and the following period. Personal links and patronage between the king and his men were still important – and continued to be so until well into the 19th century – but important changes took place, notably regarding the administration of justice and the use of writing in administration, both of which fields will be the subject of closer examination. The “ethnic” aspect, which has been an important issue in the contemporary discussion of nationalism as well as in the discussion of ethnic origins in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, will also be dealt with in the context of the degree of cultural “glue” necessary to keep any political entity together. An international conference on ethnicity and state formation in the Early Middle Ages, arranged by Garipzanov and Prof. Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (Warsaw/Bergen), the papers from which are now being prepared for publication, will mean a further contribution to this important aspect of early state formation.

Moreover, in discussing bureaucratisation and state formation, Scandinavian scholars have tended to neglect the other public power in medieval Europe, the Church, which exercised a number of functions that were later taken over by the state and whose organisation and activities are therefore essential to any understanding of “stateness” in the period. Christianity is the most bureaucratic of the great world religions, and an important question, which deserves further discussion, is to what extent this fact can explain the character of European state formation. The book will therefore consistently discuss state formation on the basis of the organisation and public functions of the Church as well as the monarchy.

Finally, the Nordic and European context will be dealt with throughout the book. Notably,

the degree and kind of “stateness” in Norway will be discussed in comparison with the other Scandinavian countries and with various states in other parts of Europe. In a Scandinavian context, Norway seems to be an example of relative “soft” state formation, i.e. a state with fairly limited means of suppression, modest incomes and little military specialisation, but a surprisingly advanced legal and judicial system and thus not necessarily behind the other kingdoms in degree but certainly different in kind. To some extent, the geographical and ecological conditions prevailing during the unification of the Norwegian kingdom may serve to explain this difference: Norway could be united fairly easily and with a modest amount of violence.

Some aspects of this process will be the subject of more specialised studies. Jo Rune Ugulen is now in the final stage of his study of the landed estates of the lay aristocracy in Western Norway compared to England and Hungary. This thesis challenges two central assumptions in the scholarly tradition, i.e. (1) that the lay aristocracy in Norway was weaker than in most other countries, including the two neighbouring ones, and that this serves to explain the decline of the country in the later Middle Ages, whereas (2) the Church was exceptionally wealthy, possessing 40 percent of the incomes from landed estates around 1300. Although a complete test of the traditional assumption will hardly be possible within the scope of a doctoral thesis, Ugulen’s work will throw new light on the social and economic basis of the Norwegian kingdom, particularly in the Later Middle Ages.

The union period, which forms an excellent opportunity to compare Scandinavia and East Central Europe which underwent a similar development in the later Middle Ages, has so far only been dealt with sporadically. In a separate article, however [SA07], Bagge discusses the intense struggles within and between the three kingdoms in the period 1302-19 which laid the foundation for the later unions between them. In contrast to earlier interpretations it argues (1) that despite the apparently chaotic pattern of intrigues and alliances and ruthless behaviour of the actors, they mostly had fairly limited and realistic aims and sought reasonable compromises, (2) that the Norwegian King Håkon V’s policy was largely successful, as it ended the Norwegian isolation resulting from the strong alliance between the Danish and Swedish royal houses from the previous period, and (3) that this was largely because he controlled the most important asset in the game, his daughter who was likely to become his heir. Generally, the analysis points to the importance of dynastic considerations and argues that the ensuing union between Norway and Sweden was the result of a deliberate policy, particularly by Håkon V. This conclusion will be followed up with a closer examination of early 14th century political culture, the importance of dynasties, and the relationship between external and internal policy and between monarchy and aristocracy.

**Project 4: The Construction of the Past (historiography and other literature)** (research leader: Mortensen)

Comparison between the Nordic periphery and the centres (and between the Nordic and Eastern peripheries) has also been pursued within a fourth field of study, that of medieval historical writing, or, in a somewhat broader term that includes other literary genres as well, the ‘construction of the past’. In the application of 2002 this was divided into four main complexes:

- 1. Medieval historiography as an expression of national and cultural identity, with specific reference to (a) the influence of classical and patristic Roman models and (b) the choice of writing about the past in the vernacular or in Latin.
- 2. Medieval historiography, vernacular and Latin, as literary products, with emphasis on narrative patterns and the play on fiction.
- 3. The relationship between historiography, political culture, and state formation.
- 4. The relationship between secular and ecclesiastical culture for which historiography

forms an important source.

The research carried out between 2003 and the present (spring 2006) has addressed most of these themes, but due to overlaps and the nature of some of the results, the cake has been cut slightly differently. It is fair to say, however, that we have done most work on themes 1 and 4 (the latter in another direction than we anticipated in 2002), activities and plans within 2 are beginning to unfold, whereas 3 has been dealt with only to a minor degree (although our approach to 4 has had ramifications into all the other complexes, including 3).

1 (a). The main research into the influence of ancient Roman historiography has been carried out by two PhD students, Marek Kretschmer and Sigbjørn Sønnesyn. MK defended his thesis [HB02] *Rewriting Roman History in the Middle Ages* (463pp.) in April 2005 at the University of Trondheim (with Mortensen as co-supervisor), and Sønnesyn is going to submit his on William of Malmesbury in the beginning of 2007 at the University of Bergen (Bagge as supervisor).

Kretschmer has investigated c. 20 un-edited paraphrases and abbreviations of the most well-known survey of Roman history in the Middle Ages, Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana*. On the basis of this comparative effort he has singled out the paraphrase extant in a Bamberg manuscript as the most interesting and has edited it for the first time in its entirety as well as given a thorough analysis of both manuscript, text, and the intellectual environment of its production. His results are, among others, that the text redaction is pervaded by Italianisms and must have originated in southern Italy in the mid-10th century; thus he has unearthed a new early document for the study of the history of the Italian language. The Bamberg copy of this text, in turn, reflects interest in Roman imperial history on the part of German emperors around the turn of the millennium (Otto III or Henry II). It is to the same environment that other versions of Paul the Deacon's Roman History were copied for the first time north of the Alps and thus one important brick was laid in the historiographical edifice that would radiate through and from Germany in the 11th and 12th centuries.

Another side of *Romanitas* and Latinity is attacked in Sønnesyn's dissertation which is currently in progress. His main field of interest is the linguistic, conceptual and philosophical framework of morality in high medieval Latin historiography, and his choice of William of Malmesbury is motivated both by the fact that this is one of the richest and most excellent proponents of 12th-century humanism and by the fact that his approach to historical writing has never been analysed conceptually and on the basis a systematical reading of all his writings, including hagiography and theology. It will be argued, among other things, that the pervasive morality in medieval historiography, and in William's writings in particular, has been a blind spot in modern research because of a facile application of a modern morality of merit. It is therefore relevant to probe deeper into the language of morality which William shares to a much greater degree with both pagan and Christian Romans than with any post-Cartesian paradigm of (Christian) ethic thought. To elucidate the conceptual underpinnings of this pre-modern morality of character Sønnesyn draws on a wide range of ancient and medieval philosophers from Aristotle through Cicero and Augustine to John of Salisbury.

In order to contextualise the research in progress by Kretschmer, Sønnesyn, Mortensen and other scholars in Bergen, a workshop was arranged in June 2005 entitled "The base narratives of Roman history – and what medieval scholars made of them". PhD-students and recent PhDs working in this specific field attended with papers (one each from the U.S., U.K., Denmark, Estonia, and Belgium); in addition Kretschmer, Sønnesyn, and three senior scholars gave papers (from Bergen, Tübingen, and Copenhagen). Its purpose was also to establish contacts between exponents of various new approaches to medieval Latin historiography as well as vernacular translations and adaptations of Roman history. Medieval scholars integrated the Roman past, pagan and Christian, as an essential part of their own

regional and European past, and in the workshop we tried to bridge the divide between latinists and vernacularists who have the base narratives of Roman history in their focus - the narratives of Orosius, Justinus, Eutropius, Paul the Deacon, Josephus, Livy, Lucan, Sallust and others.

One of the striking results that came up was that the Old Norse adaptations of Sallust and Lucan (from c. 1200) employed exactly the same abbreviational techniques as the redactor of the Bamberg text presented by Kretschmer (skipping many names and dates, adjusting the moral of episodes etc., enhancing the stature of a few heroes and villains etc). This confirmed the description Kretschmer had already been tempted to give of his version as ‘vernacular’. Although written in Latin, the phraseology and syntax is so thoroughly Italianized that this amounts to a vernacular version (probably to be read for a lay audience). The difficulties in dealing with Roman historiography, its audience, and its relevance, thus displayed startlingly similar features from southern Italy through Germany to Iceland.

Another aspect of the impact of the Roman, patristic and biblical framework on 12th century historiography from the periphery has been studied by Mortensen in an article on the geographical introductions of Nordic historical writings, particularly *Historia Norwegie* and Saxo Grammaticus [HA10]. It is argued that the learned conceptualization of universal Christian space and the connection between the local and the universal consisted of words rather than images (imagined or drawn). Through semiotic analysis it is suggested that the Nordic space is described as both contiguous with Roman/biblical space and as a copy of it.

1 (b). It was soon realized that any answer to the question of choice of language for medieval historical writing and the cultural identity expressed through that could not be answered at the level of individual authors, but had to be seen within the context of the general level of a given vernacular textual culture and its relationship to Latin book culture. In the case of Old Norse and Latin (and Old Danish and Latin) it was difficult to approach this because of a great conceptual, ideological and practical divide between scholarly traditions. In a first attempt to see Nordic book culture in the crucial period before c. 1250 as one field, Mortensen has suggested a model [HN07] for the rise of vernacular textual culture based on a bird’s-eye-view comparison of the rise of the first vernacular literatures in northern Europe, namely Old Irish, Old English, Old and Middle High German, Old French, and Old Norse. The model privileges the role of writing in books – what is to be explained is not any use of writing *tout court*, but the appropriation of the basically holy (and Latin) medium of the book for vernacular texts. This developed in all cases from liturgical and exegetical needs, the first local texts being Latin extensions of the sanctoral, followed by translations into the vernacular of biblical, patristic and other texts. In addition formulaic texts like laws and metrical compositions – because they had been textualized already in an oral phase – tend to accompany liturgical texts as the first ‘book texts’ in the vernacular. A further set of transformations within one field of literary discourse is expounded in the model, which, as said, tries to take seriously trends from both vernacular and Latin philologies as well as recent developments in the history of the handwritten book.

A practical application of this approach has been given by Mortensen in the introduction to medieval literature and the section on high medieval literature (c. 1100-1300) in vol. 1 of a new History of Danish Literature [HN08] as well as in an introductory article on Norwegian Latin literature [HN03]. A more technical study of the complex of texts in books - dealing with drafts and wax tablets (see above under Arrival of Writing) - lends support to the importance of distinguishing between book writing and other writing.

Research into the dialectics between Latin and vernacular historiography in the 11th and 12th centuries is currently being developed within the WUN multilingualism network, the Latin side mainly by Bergen and York. In this context Mortensen is preparing a paper for Leeds and York in July 2006 about Roman past and Roman Language in 12th-century

English historiography. Similarly a survey paper was given at the American Philological Association congress in Montreal in January 2006 which summed up this research especially from a peripheral perspective. Here it was, among other things, stressed that Latin literature from the periphery certainly needs to be more visible in the greater picture, but also that one could not deny the peripheral status of the Nordic region considering the general direction of the traffic of storytelling matter in 12th and 13th century Europe: Tristan and Isolde became rapidly known in the North, stories of Odin, Starkad, and Njál seem to have remained firmly in the North. Furthermore it was noted that in some ways Denmark should rather be lumped together with Poland and Bohemia than with Norway and Iceland, because of the proximity of the Empire and its setting of the agenda, also in the literary field.

Other studies by Melve and Mortensen have dealt with aspects of the construction of the medieval past in the early modern or modern periods [HA06, HA07, HA13, HN05].

CMS benefitted greatly by the visit in September 2005 by prof. John Ward (Sidney) who began a project on Historiography at Centre and Periphery c.1100-1325 and shared his knowledge and ideas with junior and senior scholars; particularly through his interests in Italian, French and Anglo-Norman Latin historiography (not least William of Malmesbury) CMS scholars had opportunities to explain and test their research.

2. Studies in the literary forms of Nordic texts in comparison with similar texts from the cultural centres have so far been conducted by two PhDs and through a lecture series and a workshop on fictionality. The PhDs have not been dealing with historiographical texts proper, but with other literary forms which, however, also highlight the impact of the importation of a 'new past' through Latin book culture.

Åslaug Ommundsen is working on a thesis on the Nidaros sequence repertoire in the period c. 1150-1300, to be submitted in spring 2007. A large part of her project addresses central questions of early scribal culture in Norway and is reported above under the Arrival of Writing. But there is also a musical and an intertextual aspect of her study. The composition of local liturgical songs naturally drew heavily on both musical and textual models from the centres – in the case of Nidaros from the Anglo-French region. But the adaptations and the composition of a few, but central sequences for local saints, throw new light on both the speed and direction of cultural transfer, as well as the compositional techniques of local products which play artistically with biblical and hagiographical texts as well as older sequences.

Jonas Wellendorf is about to finish his dissertation on vision literature in Old Norse and its relationship to its Latin models (see also above under religion). It is the first systematic study of the Old Norse genre and its background in visions from the cultural centres. Only one out of the ten existing visions is not a translation or a paraphrase from the Latin. Although difficult to date, the visions in Wellendorf's study point to a lively textual traffic and a clear acceptance of central genre features, imagery and ideas about the otherworld. However, there are also points of contact with Old Norse mythology and the visions (and their reflections in other genres) can thus be seen as an important field of plots, ideas, narratives, and didactic discourse at the meeting point between pagan and Christian cosmology and between Old Norse and Latin.

In order to link Nordic literary studies (in Old Norse and Latin) up to recent developments in the study of the rise of fiction in the cultural centres, Mundal and Mortensen arranged a seminar series in the autumn of 2004 entitled 'Medieval narratives between history and fiction'. The series was partly inspired by Dennis Green's recent book *The Beginnings of Medieval Romance – Fact and Fiction, 1150-1220* (Cambridge 2002), in which he makes the case that a new 'contract' between authors and audience emerged in the period in question. He also stressed the point that this fictional literature arose in a dynamic exchange between Latin learning and vernacular written composition and evolved in a new setting

where lay (aristocratic) audiences were an important factor. Green's study is based on literature from the centres – France, Germany and the Anglo-Norman realm. To further elucidate this theme we invited guest lecturers covering both Latin and Old Norse literature as well as theoretical issues. The series ended with a one-day seminar where Green himself gave a paper.

Following up on this series we invited several of the contributors plus a few additional specialists to write contributions to a book on the subject, the idea being partially to take issue with Green's thesis (he contributes an introductory chapter), partly to make the experiment of debating the rise and nature of medieval narratives between fiction and history based on literature that is peripheral either geographically, or in relation to the mainstream discussion which centres around Arthurian compositions of the 12th and mainly 13th centuries. A workshop took place in Bergen in March 2006, and the fields represented were Icelandic sagas, epics and narratives on Roland in Latin, Byzantine epic, romance and historiography, Latin historiography from Denmark and Norway, visionary literature in Latin and Old Norse – in short narratives spanning a wide spectrum between fiction and history from the 12th and 13th centuries but without the usual departure in Arthurian literature. The workshop highlighted a number of common themes, such as authentication, realism, representation of the past and more; it also became clear that it was a common wish to put peripheral narratives 'on the map' as a factor in the difficult equation of the rise of fictionality. New international handbooks tend to exclude Nordic as well as Byzantine and medieval Latin literature. The draft papers were discussed and a format was agreed upon for the final papers. A workshop will be organized in the beginning of 2007 to finalize the volume. Mortensen and Mundal are both working on contributions on this, and the former will also address theoretical problems on historiographical representation now and in the Middle Ages, with input among others from the important books by Frank Ankersmit on narrative logic and historical representation which seek a middle ground in the divide between empiricists and narrativists.

In addition Mortensen and Ommundsen have written contributions to a project launched before the establishment of the CMS, namely a handbook on medieval Nordic literature in Latin, co-edited with specialists from Copenhagen and Lund. This will be a thorough historical and bibliographical guide for the field.

4. To throw new light on the relationship between ecclesiastical and secular culture in the periphery through the historiographical record, it was decided to focus on the written representation of local saints, and to attempt to cover the construction of the past in hagiography and historiography under one heading. An international conference entitled *Historiography and the Holy* was held in November 2003 with participation of specialists in Eastern European and Nordic hagiography and historiography as well as some historians with expertise in the similar textual culture in the centres and a specialist in comparative religion. This has now been published [HB03].

The book can claim to be a novelty in two respects. First, it charts a landscape of saints and texts strictly from a peripheral and comparative perspective. The appropriation of old saints and the creation of new local ones is followed systematically through the literary representations made in the periphery itself. One is thus able to read the story as one of cultural and religious creativity on the part of the regions included (Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia) rather than as that of simple cultural diffusion from the centre. On this level the book should be of practical value because it provides a survey of the most important hagiographical and historiographical texts under a single format; we hope that it will also have the token value of internal 'European education' because it holds between two covers an English presentation of the relevance of regional medieval textual cultures to specialists of other countries – an instance of a modern European

extension of the literary and historical canon, so to speak.

On another level the book suggests new insights into the process of the making of local Christian myths and books. One such is the pervasive priority of liturgical writing over historical: the relevance of writing down local history first appears in liturgical contexts; moreover, the subsequent historical literature is guided by the already fixed points of local sanctity; and finally, the interest shown in taking down pre-Christian local history belongs firmly to a second phase of the development. Furthermore the collection also contains papers of more theoretical approaches, such as the reading of the local Christian myths in a larger framework of pre-modern ritualistic behaviour (using Rappaport) [HA11, HA12], against the background of the idea of the chosen people (which was a surprisingly rare claim), in terms of various definitions of centres and peripheries, and through an application of a cultural-memory perspective (using Assmann).

This approach touches, as mentioned, on the other three sub-themes: it emphasizes the centrality of written accounts of local saints for cultural identities, a characteristic which tended to be overlooked as long as hagiography and historiography were treated mainly as products of separate institutions and ideologies in Nordic scholarship. It also invites a new literary angle, because it takes into account that legends were not any more fictional than chronicles – local saints were the singular most important thing that had happened in the past. And finally it throws new light on the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical culture, inasmuch as the saints' importance for elite group identity and the creation of polities is a common denominator: in this respect the ecclesiastical intellectuals expressed a common elite ideology and laid the foundations for subsequent historical writing which, in some cases, bore a more secular stamp.

In an article on the medieval historiography on the conversion of Norway from the mainly clerical tradition of the second half of the 12th century to the more secular account in Snorri's *Heimskringla* [HA02], Bagge points to the missionary biography as the main narrative of this process. Hagiography thus to a considerable extent serves as the model. In contrast to many other missionary biographies, however, the protagonist of the Norwegian one is a king, first and foremost Olav Trygvason (995-1000), to some extent also St Olav Haraldsson (1015-30). This seems to be a distinctive, although not necessarily unique feature of the Norwegian-Icelandic tradition. Admittedly, the kings bring with them priests and missionaries from abroad, but these people play a wholly subordinate part in the narrative, as does doctrine. Religion seems to have to do with doing rather than thinking. Personal connections also play a major part, above all in Snorri, but also in the earlier sources. The kings' charismatic qualities are particularly prominent in Snorri but are also there in his predecessors. Violence also plays some part and receives explicit justification in some of the religious works. Finally, the forum for making religious decisions is the popular assemblies, where the kings negotiate with the local population. Although Snorri's in many ways radical transformation of the earlier tradition is largely his own achievement, he makes explicit some of the themes that are implicit in the earlier tradition, i.e. the pagan past as legitimizing the present dynasty, power structure, and cultural traditions, and the relationship between the new religion and secular politics and constitutional issues.

Despite the fact that these narratives can hardly be regarded as trustworthy accounts of what actually happened during the conversion, they form interesting evidence of later perceptions of the process which in turn may illustrate some of the long-term effects of the role Viking chieftains played in the introduction of Christianity. Further, the article also uncovers some of the stages in the development of a narrative tradition before the oldest extant text which may be relevant both to the discussion of orality and literacy and to the understanding of the early political history of the country.

## *1.2 Research achievements*

The report above shows that a substantial part of the plan for the first three years has been carried out. The first stage of the Cambridge project has been finished, which has resulted in and stimulated further research on the Christianisation of Norway. The comparative research has led to a new understanding of the Christianisation of Norway on the following points: (1) The political aspect of the Christianisation and the role of the kings have been underlined in contrast to the current understanding of the Christianisation as a gradual infiltration as a result of the increased contacts with other countries. (2) The importance of the “exporting” countries, i.e. imperial Germany and Anglo-Saxon England and the difference between them have been emphasised as the result of the study of the whole expansion of Christianity in northern and eastern Europe. Whereas the former was the strongest power of Western Christendom, exerting a profound influence on the neighbouring countries, the latter was relatively weak and during most of the period in a defensive position versus the Scandinavian countries. Norway forms the main example of a country Christianised from Anglo-Saxon England which may explain several features of the following period, such as the late introduction of the full ecclesiastical organisation, the dominant position of the king until the mid-12th century, the widespread use of the vernacular as a literary language and the preservation of much of the pagan poetry and mythology. (3) An extensive study of the existing archaeological material, based on selected localities in various parts of the country, has given a more nuanced understanding of the introduction of Christianity on the local level and demonstrated considerable local variation concerning when Christianity was introduced and paganism suppressed in a particular locality, with at least 100 years of difference concerning the latter. Thus, we are now able to map the gradual progress of Christianity more precisely than previously.

In accordance with the research plan, the other main point of emphasis in the study of Church and Christianity has been the Later Middle Ages. The main results here have been the completion of an edition with translation of all extant penitentiary supplications from the church province of Nidaros to the Apostolic Penitentiary and the building of a European network for a comparative study of the material in various countries of Europe.

The period between the Christianisation and the end of the Middle Ages has not been in focus in the same way, but Jonas Wellendorf’s thesis will give new results concerning Old Norse visions and their relationship to the European tradition within this genre, and Haki Antonsson has achieved new results on medieval hagiography by examining Scandinavian royal saints and the cult of Thomas Becket.

The third main point of emphasis during the first three years has been the relationship between orality and literacy, also in accordance with the research plan, in close connection with the study of historiography. Here new results have been gained in the following fields: (1) the study of propaganda, argumentation, and the formation of what in modern terms may be called public opinion through a new and profound examination of the pamphlets from the Investiture Contest. (2) The study of Eddic and skaldic poetry as evidence of the relationship between oral and written culture. (3) Tracing the first scriptoria on Norwegian ground back to the late 11th century through the examination of early liturgical fragments in cooperation with Norwegian and international experts. (4) Building of (or extending) international networks around four main themes: Roman history in the Middle Ages, the rise of fictionality, the rise of the vernacular literatures and their relationship to Latin (WUN, Multilingualism), and religious aspects of the construction of the past. (5) New grounds have been prepared for comparison, and in the case of historiography and the holy, insights into basic similarities between the Nordic and Eastern peripheries have been developed. (6) Establishment of a vantage point in the history of the book. The specificities of writing stories in books have shown their relevance for all subthemes, and furthermore make for

strong links with the Arrival-of-Writing project. (7) Inclusion of new theoretical perspectives in the analysis of Nordic literary culture, among other things ‘cybernetics of the Holy’ (Rappaport), theories of cultural transmission (Assmann) and narrativism (Ankersmit).

State formation and political culture (Project 3 in the original plan) received a fairly modest position in the plan for the first three years, owing to the greater priority given to the Christianisation project. During most of the period, the main emphasis here has been on the early period. Here the study of material objects, notably coins, have given a new understanding of the shifts in the relationship between the Carolingian Empire and Scandinavia in 9th century, while the study of the Christianisation has given a deeper understanding of the new religion as an element in the Viking chieftains’ efforts to gain control over the country. More recently, however, new interpretations have been given concerning the question of state formation by confronting the traditional view of the High Middle Ages as a major step in the direction of state formation with more recent views of pre-state society based on personal relationships. So far, the result from this confrontation point in the direction of an intermediate position, concerning Norway as well as the rest of Europe.

As regards the geographical area of research, the main emphasis so far has been on Scandinavia, particularly Norway and Iceland, but with a number of studies dealing with comparative issues and the relationship between Scandinavia and the rest of Europe. Less has been achieved in the form of work directly dealing with Eastern Europe. Here, however, the Christianisation project has given important impulses and yielded good contacts in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary (cf. 7) which have been followed up by mutual visits and common seminars. We expect this to lead to increased cooperation and greater emphasis on this area in the future which will also contribute to the final synthesis. One element of this synthesis which has emerged both in political and literary studies is the differentiation between a northern periphery under the immediate impact of the German empire (esp. Denmark, Poland, Bohemia) and one which is mainly under cultural, but not directly political, influence of both England and Germany (Iceland, Norway). On the other hand, comparison with East Central Europe has brought out many similar traits in the whole periphery which have previously been understood as specific to each country. (Expandable frame)

### *1.3 Industrial, social or cultural dividends (if any)*

The non-scholarly effects of a programme in medieval studies are to be found in the general cultural field, in making the results known to a larger audience and thus contribute to a greater understanding of the Norwegian cultural heritage and its general European background. The CMS’s field of research can from this point of view be said to be an important one, in a period when a new Europe is emerging through the creation of the EU and its expansion towards the east. Without taking any stand on controversial political issues, we believe that a study of centre and periphery in the Middle Ages is of value in understanding this process in pin-pointing unity and diversity in the cultural heritage of the region.

Consequently, we want the main results of our research to reach a wider audience and will in the next period work systematically to achieve this end. During the first three years, however, our strategy has been to give higher priority to original research and postpone major initiatives of popularisation. We have confined ourselves to some interviews and talks on radio and television and in the newspapers. Thus, the editions of *Historia Norwegie* and the new material from the Penitentiary Archive were presented in the newspapers, the latter also on TV. On the occasion of the extension of the EU in 1 May 2004, we arranged a series of lectures intended to present the event against the background “the long lines of history” in

the eastern periphery and gave an interview in the local newspaper. We have also written articles in the newspapers on various aspects of the CMS's activities. (Expandable frame)

### *1.5 List of publications*

In the prescribed format our list would take up half of the B document leaving little room for our report on research etc. In the hearing about the document formats we have previously made this point. We have therefore preferred to attach it as a separate list. It is also available at our website: [www.uib.no/cms](http://www.uib.no/cms)

We would like to direct the attention in particular to the following publications in the list (and will of course be willing to provide copies if needed): WB01, WB03, WB04, WA01, WA03, WA10, RB01, RB02, RA06, RA08, RA10, RA20, RA23, RA25, SA05, SA06, SA15, SA21, HB03, HA02, HA07, HA10, HN07. (Expandable frame)

## **2. Budget**

The transfer of considerable sums through the first three fiscal years is mainly due to the decisions made in 2003 and 2004 of not taking on a maximum of PhDs and postdoc from the beginning, but rather to build a sound infrastructure and, through research and conferences, to get better known on the Nordic and international scene in the period 2003-2005 and subsequently expand the staff and activities to a peak in the middle period of the centre, 2006-2010. The savings we have made will also be operative in terms of making arrangements with the faculty and departments about the employment of postdocs and senior researchers in shared positions.

Some minor factors have also contributed to the surplus:

CMS moved into the premises more than half a year after the establishment (September 2003) thus delaying the hiring of PhDs and postdocs. The first batch of applicants also included more interesting PhDs than postdocs.

In the budget we had planned for 12 months of guest professor expenses each year. It took longer than expected to cut deals with the right people and they usually prefer to stay only one or two months. There are logistic limits (in terms of research programme and administration) to the number of such minor contracts we want to make (in 2006, five).

The sums allotted for public outreach have, by and large, been accumulated until we had some research to present (see D).

The University gave CMS a lump sum (1 mill.) for equipment for the entire ten-year period.

The number of extended stays abroad for the permanent staff and, to some extent, for younger researchers have been more limited than expected. The small group of permanent staff has given priority to shorter visits abroad and arranging meetings and conferences in Bergen. The foreign young scholars we have employed usually want to stay at the Centre for the whole period (whereas many of the Norwegians have been abroad for longer periods).

On one point expenses have exceeded the budget, namely international conferences and seminars in Bergen. This has been part of the strategy of putting ourselves on the map, and the frequency of CMS-financed conferences should abate somewhat in the middle period (2006-2010), also because the Nordic Centre (NCMS) takes over some of the activities.

In conclusion we can say, with the benefit of hindsight, that some of the dynamics of a ten-year centre were difficult to predict in the mechanical budget model we set out with. It has therefore been of paramount importance that we could make strategic decisions about employment (by far the largest item in our economy) with regard to a ten-year period (see D). (Expandable frame)

### 3. Staff and recruitment

#### 3.1 Assessment

The permanent staff consists of the group of five original applicants of which one left the Centre in 2005. This has affected the research plan but not the interdisciplinary dynamics as she was one of two historians. Since 2003 we have furthermore employed a senior scholar in archaeology as a postdoc and we have announced a four-year senior research position in archaeology as an immediate solution to our lack of the permanent position we have lost.

Through three rounds of calls (May 2003, April 2004, September 2005) we have recruited new junior scholars (phds and postdocs). Our policy has been to build up the staff gradually and to set high demands to those employed in order to get the best people available. This has resulted in a slower rate of employment than outlined in the initial budget (see B2 above and D). The recruitment has been very successful, resulted in good work and created a stimulating milieu at the CMS. We have also at present achieved a satisfactory gender balance as well as a good balance between Norwegians and foreigners. The response to announcements to positions has in general been satisfactory, with a development towards more international applicants in the last two rounds and with increasingly better postdoc applicants than PhDs. The positions have been announced formally in Norway and on our website and informally through our contacts abroad. The recommendations to the director about employment were given by the 4 (5) permanent staff members plus the senior archaeologist. In some cases we have asked for additional reports by art historians, archaeologists and others within and outside the university.

In addition to those employed directly by the CMS, a number of PhDs have been attached to the Centre and housed with us. These are successful applicants to University scholarships in Old Norse and History. They have been fully integrated in our daily work, seminars, conferences etc. One PhD in Medieval Latin has been part of our programme and employed at NTNU (Trondheim).

The mixture of CMS PhD's and Faculty of Humanities PhD's has sometimes proved an administrative challenge because of differing standards for duties (teaching and administrative) and because the channels of information at the faculty (CMS PhDs and postdocs do not in practice belong to a department). This has been one of the unforeseen difficulties in the Centre's position outside of the Faculty, but most problems have been sorted out in a good dialogue with departments and the Faculty.

We have had a number of visiting senior scholars, but it has been difficult to find suitable people for longer stays (those we want tend to be very busy!). But we have had stimulating stays for about a month by two historians and a philologist (Denmark, Australia, USA), a 10 month stay by a historian of language (Uppsala), and a number of visits by an archeologist (Warsaw). In 2006 the number of guest professors is rising significantly, but we are still dealing with stays of around a month.

Finally we have had a number of junior guests most of whom are not financed by CMS, but by exchange schemes and other sources. Several of these are staying for longer periods. Up till now our guests have come from Croatia, Switzerland, USA, United Kingdom, and Sweden.

The greatest problem at present is the imbalance between the permanent staff, only four positions, of which just three have permanent links with the mother departments at the University of Bergen. Our plan for dealing with this problem is presented in D 5. (Expandable frame)

### 3.2 List of academic staff with CVs

*Bagge, Sverre (1942) NOR* (at CMS 2003-). Cand. philol. Univ. of Bergen 1970; dr. philos. Univ. of Bergen 1980. Taught medieval history at the Univ. of Bergen since 1973; from 1991 as a professor. Visiting fellow at Clare Hall, Cambridge 1979-80; visiting scholar at Stanford Univ., 1995; visiting professor at Aarhus Univ., Denmark 1996. Awarded the Jarl Gallén Prize in 2004 (Helsinki).

*Haug, Eldbjørg (1947) NOR* (at CMS 2003-2005). Cand. philol. Univ. of Oslo 1974; dr. philos. NTNU, Trondheim, 1996. Associate prof. at UiB from 2001.

*Jørgensen, Torstein (1951) NOR* (at CMS 2003-). Cand.theol. 1976; Doctor of theology, Univ. of Oslo 1988. Professor at The School of Mission and Theology 1991-. Visiting research fellow at the Vatican Archives and Library, Rome 1997/98.

*Mundal, Else (1944) NOR* (at CMS 2003-). Cand. philol. Univ. of Oslo 1971. Professor of Old Norse philology, Univ. of Oslo 1985-94 at UiB since 1994. Visiting professor at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Iceland 1985 and St. Olaf College, USA January - February 1992.

*Mortensen, Lars Boje (1958) DK* (at CMS 2003-). Cand.mag dept. of Greek and Latin, Univ. of Copenhagen 1986; PhD *ibid.* 1989; Professor of Medieval Latin at the Univ. of Bergen since 1992. One-year research periods in London 1989 and Bologna 1998-99. Guest-professor at Göteborg 2000.

Post-doctoral fellows:

*Antonsson, Haki (1970) ISL* (at CMS 2004-2007). Univ. of Iceland, M. Lit. Medieval History 1995, Ph.D 2000; Lecturer Univ. of St. Andrews 2001-2004, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Univ. of Cambridge.

*Conti, Aidan Keally (1971) USA* (at CMS 2004-2007). B.A. Duke Univ., History and Latin, 1993; B.A. in English Language and Literature, Univ. of Oxford, 1998 (M.A., 2003); M.A & PhD in Medieval Studies, Univ. of Toronto, 2004.

*Garipzanov, Ildar (1966) RUS* (at CMS 2004-2007). Candidate of Historical Sciences, Kazan State University 1991; MA in medieval studies at Central European Univ., Budapest 1998; PhD at Fordham Univ., New York 2004.

*Nordeide, Sæbjørg Walaker (1956) NOR* (at CMS 2003-2006). Mag.art. 1983 Dept. of Nordic Archaeology, Univ. of Oslo; Dr. philos. 2003, Univ. of Oslo. Director of the interdisciplinary project 'Excavations in the Archbishop's Palace' in Trondheim, 1991-2003.

*Melve, Leidulf (1972) NOR* (at CMS 2003-2009, first as affiliate PhD, then as researcher and postdoc from 2005). Cand. Phil. History, 1999; PhD 2005, UiB.

*McDonald, Jennifer (1976) USA* (at CMS 2006-2009). BA History & Political Science, Univ. of Louisiana at Monroe 1995-1998; PhD History, University of Aberdeen 2005.

*Rankovic, Slavica (1971) UK* (at CMS 2006-2009). MA Univ. of Nottingham 2000-2001; PhD Univ. of Nottingham 2005.

Doctoral fellows:

*Ommundsen, Åslaug (1972) NOR* (at CMS 2003-2006). Cand. philol. UiB 1996, Latin, Greek, Art History.

*Thorvaldsen, Bernt Øyvind (1976) NOR* (at CMS 2003-2006). Cand.philol. Nordic studies, UiB 2002.

*Sønnesyn, Sigbjørn (1977) NOR* (at CMS 2003-2007). Cand. Philol. History, UiB 2002.

*Ugulen, Jo Rune (1968) NOR* (at CMS 2003-2006). Cand.philol. Old Norse philology, UiB

2002.

*Wellendorf, Jonas (1974) DK* (at CMS 2003-2006). Cand.philol. Old Norse philology & Latin UiB (& Copenhagen) 2002.

*Hahn, Agathe (1976) DE* (at CMS 2006-2009). MA in Old Norse philology, UiB 2004 (& theology and religion, Tübingen, Bonn).

*Landro, Torgeir (1978) NOR* (at CMS 2006-2009). Cand. Mag. History, Religion UiB 2005.

*Eriksen, Stefka (1979) BUL* (at CMS 2006-2009). Mphil \*Middelaldersenteret, Univ. of Oslo 2002-2004.

#### Affiliates:

*Birgisson, Bergsveinn (1971) ISL* (PhD fellow UiB 2002-2006). Cand.philol. Univ. of Bergen 2001 (& Iceland and Oslo).

*Budal, Ingvil Brügger (1975) NOR* (PhD fellow UiB 2004-2008). Cand. philol., Old Norse, Univ. of Bergen 2002.

*Heide, Eldar (1966) NOR* (PhD fellow UiB 2002-2006). MA Old Norse philology, Univ. of Oslo 1998.

*Inntjore, Hilde (1976) NOR* (PhD fellow University College Agder & CMS 2005-2009).Cand.philol. in history Univ. of Oslo 1998.

*Kretschmer, Marek (1971) NOR* (PhD fellow at NTNU, Trondheim 2003-2006 with partial supervision at CMS). Cand. philol. Latin, UiB 2002.

#### Visiting Fellows:

*Betti, Marianna (1976) IT* (at CMS 2006). MA in Archaeology, Brooklyn College, CUNY & Univ. of Firenze, 2003.

*Brink, Stefan (1952) SWE* (guest prof. at CMS 2005) Prof. of Scandinavian languages, Uppsala, Aberdeen. Professor II at the Dept. of Nordic Languages at the University of Bergen, Norway 1999–2004.

*Ciardi, Anna Minara (1976) SWE* (at CMS 2004) Teol. cand., University of Lund, Doctoral candidate in Church History since September 2001.

*Galic, Gordana (1972) HRV* (at CMS 2005). PhD in Medieval literature 2003, University of Zagreb.

*Jensen, Kurt Villads (1957) DK* (guest prof. at CMS 2005) Associate prof. Medieval history, University of Southern Denmark.

*Porter, Edel (1972) IRL* (at CMS 2005-2006). MA Old and Middle English, University of Dublin, from 2002 PhD student at Univ. of Leeds.

*Reynard, Liliane (1958) FR* (at CMS 2003-2004). Cand. Mag., Univ. of Bergen 1984; Doctorate Univ. Paris IV-Sorbonne, Paris 2001.

*Seidel, Katharina (1981) DE* Univ. of Basel, Switzerland, Visiting researcher at CMS through a cultural agreement between Norway and Switzerland (August 2005- May 2006)

*Urbanczyk, Przemyslaw (1951) POL*. MA Warsaw Univ. 1974; PhD at the Institute of the History of Material Culture, Warsaw 1980; Doctor Habil at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Warsaw 1992.

*Ward, John Oastler (1940) AUS* (guest prof. at CMS 2005), Associate professor, Medieval

#### 4. Governance

The Governing Board set-up (see A) has been chosen to secure the dialogue both internally and externally. The Board ratifies the annual account and budget, discusses public outreach initiatives, the suggested research plans and the report by the Advisory Board. The governing board has mainly had a consulting role and discussions about its future authority have been undertaken (see D).

A Scientific Advisory Board (SAB) of international experts assesses the scholarly progress at CMS at a meeting with the senior scholars in Bergen each year. (Their presence at site visits as mentioned in the contract has not materialised (see 8 below)). The advice given by the SAB has proven a very fruitful guidance for CMS and we intend to continue with the same board.

In principle two bodies, the Governing Board and the University Board (represented by the Division for Research) control the reports before they reach the Research Council, but matters of employment also need to be cleared by the Faculty. In general this runs smoothly, as the University has been flexible and accommodating throughout the establishment period. This governance gives the director and the staff great freedom in running the centre and its activities.

(Expandable frame)

#### 5. Organisation

According to the instruction for the director, he is the sole leader of the CMS and responsible for the scholarly progress, the organisation and the budget. In practice, the running of the centre is largely a collective process. The four projects have one leader each. A staff meeting, consisting of these leaders plus representatives from the postdoc and PhDs, meet regularly, normally once a month, to discuss and decide important matters, such as announcement of scholarships, seminars, guest professors and researchers, and questions concerning national and international cooperation, including the Nordic Centre (NCMS).

In 2005, during the application process and after winning the competition for a Nordic Centre and the expansion with further new young scholars employed, it was clear that the administrative routines and workload of the permanent staff had to be delegated in a more formal manner. As a result a number of assignments, contacts etc were specified as responsibilities for each of the project leaders and the head of administration and others. Moreover two deputy directors were appointed in September 2005, Mortensen for budget, reporting and application strategy and Mundal to lead the research school. Together with Melve, the coordinator for the NCMS, the administrator, and the director, they form a management group which meets every second week to deal with running business and prepare matters for the staff meeting (The entire organisational map can be found on our web-pages). So far, this has worked well, but the administrative workload on director and vice directors has been mounting and thus highlighting our need for more senior (permanent) staff.

Decisions about the running of each project are taken by its leader and the other participants, but so far there has been no formal decentralisation of the budget, in contrast to the NCMS, where most of the funding has been divided between the three projects. It has been agreed, however, that in general a balance between the scholarly disciplines should be kept. In contrast to the NCMS whose participants are spread between four countries, the whole staff of the CMS is located in one building (except Inntjore at Agder University

College) and meet regularly. Moreover, much of the activity is common to the whole group and some people have affiliation to more than one of the projects. The interdisciplinary interests and activities of the researchers at CMS are beginning to create points of contacts and yield results which could not have come about without being in one organisation and under one roof. Our experience, however, is that such effects suddenly multiply and open new ideas only from the third and fourth year and on. There is thus a qualitative difference between the traditional three-years interdisciplinary projects without long-term commitment and a centre like this – a difference that is of another kind than the simple difference between three and ten years' work.

CMS has benefited from a number of other research environments at UiB, and, we have, hopefully, also enriched them. On one level we have kept on working together with our mother departments and arranged seminars, shared guests etc with them. Occasionally we have given lectures and minor courses as well. We have also (co)financed activities with other units: examples are the projects with AKSIS and the University Library (Ommundsen, Kyrkjebø, Haugen), with Bergen Museum (Nordeide, Steffensen), with the Department of English (Mundal, Halverson), with the Department of Archaeology (Nordeide, Øye a.o.), with the Faculty of Law (Bagge, Jørgensen, Sunde), with the Faculty of Social Sciences (Bagge, Melve a.o.). When we have cooperated through old and new contacts, invited people etc, we have in general had very fruitful scholarly exchange. What we have not been able to do, however, is to attract 'free' students and colleagues from various fields, although many of our seminars and guest lectures are announced as open on our web-pages. This failure we share with other units as it is an isolation mechanism which is well-known between departments in general – it seems to be inherent in modern student and faculty behaviour. One drawback of being housed as a separate unit outside the faculty in our own building is that a very small administrative staff has had to deal with all the infrastructure issues normally dealt with in larger and permanent units: running the building, responsibilities for health and security etc. (Expandable frame)

## 6. Research facilities

The location and premises at Villaveien 1A, in the middle of the campus, have been very satisfactory (CMS moved in September 2003). The accommodation of permanent staff, PhDs and postdocs (including a number of affiliates), each with their own office, under one roof has been crucial for the development of an interdisciplinary environment. The lack of one or two larger rooms has sometimes been impractical when groups of more than 15 were to meet. Guest researchers have been offered either their own office or a working place in the CMS library.

The University allotted a round sum of 1 million NOK for equipment in 2003 covering all ten years. The priority has so far been given to furniture, technical equipment and books. CMS has established a specialised library to supplement the holdings of the University Library and the collections of the departments. Apart from books the CMS has invested in text databases, most notably the Patrologia Latina on-line, co-financed with the University Library. The collaboration with the Library has been smooth, and we appreciate their flexibility and goodwill very much. The books and databases are permanent possessions of the University Library, but with temporary specific shelf marks for use only at CMS. In 2006 CMS has begun looking into video-link and access grid conferencing tools. The technical staff of UiB has been very efficient and helpful here. (Expandable frame)

## 7. Collaboration internally and externally

On the *local* level we have collaborated with the Departments of History and Archaeology, the section for Classical Studies and the interdisciplinary group for study of Christianity in Late Antiquity (PROAK) at the University of Bergen, in arranging common seminars on philology, agricultural history, Christianisation, fact and fiction in literature, propaganda, material culture and more (see also 5 above).

On the *national* level we have a formal agreement with the School of Mission and Theology, Stavanger, about Torstein Jørgensen's participation in the CMS, and the College is also represented in the governing Board of the CMS. We also collaborate with the medieval centres in Oslo and Trondheim. In 2004 we made a joint bid with the Centre in Oslo for 'Storforsk' means at the Norwegian Research Council for a common project on literacy. A conference on Church History at Røros in 2004 was arranged by Trondheim with considerable participation from the CMS, and there have been regular courses for junior scholars, arranged by Trondheim in 2004, Oslo in 2005, whereas CMS will arrange the one in 2006. We have also had good contacts with the group of scholars around Professor Kjell Lars Berge in Oslo who deal with the literary and rhetorical aspects of non-fiction prose.

Concerning *international* collaboration, the main points of departure have been a number of individual contacts and the two more formalised networks on the Christianisation project and the research on the Papal Penitential Archive. The Christianisation project deals with the Christianisation of the Northern and eastern periphery of Western Christendom (the Scandinavian kingdoms, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary and Rus) and is coordinated by Dr Nora Berend, Cambridge and with participation of scholars from most of the countries studied in the project. Several of these scholars have become regular visitors and partners. Nora Berend is a member of our Advisory Board, Professors Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (Warsaw) and Stefan Brink (Aberdeen) have played an important part in CMS's activities, and Professor Thomas Lindkvist and Senior Archivist Michael Gelting are our partners in the NCMS.

Scholars from seventeen countries participate actively in the network for research on the Papal Penitential Archive, administered by scholars affiliated with CMS/Bergen (Jørgensen), the Central European University/Budapest (Jaritz) and the University of Tampere (Salonen). This cooperation has resulted in several conferences, including one in Bergen in 2003, and joint publications.

These projects – as well as initiatives in the other research groups at CMS – have had great importance in establishing closer links with universities and scholarly milieux in Scandinavia, East Central Europe, and other parts of the world. Thus, we have concluded formal agreements with the partners in the NCMS, the Universities of Southern Denmark, Gothenburg and Helsinki and the Finnish Literary Society in Helsinki, plus with the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University in Budapest. The contact with the latter has so far resulted in mutual visits of scholars and a common seminar in Budapest where the whole of CMS took part. A similar agreement with the Centre for Medieval Studies at the Charles University and the Czech Academy of Sciences, which has recently launched a project about society and religion in Bohemia from the conversion to the 15th century, will be signed in the near future.

Other international partners are:

The World University Network (WUN), an international organisation of universities, mostly in the UK and the US but also including the Universities of Utrecht, Bergen, and Oslo. One of WUN's fields is medieval studies. So far, we participate in a project on multilingualism, in which research on the relationship between Latin and the vernacular is mainly managed by Bergen and York. Conferences, joint publications and a series of video-link lectures are the objectives. A PhD student from Bristol will visit Bergen for two months

in 2006 as a result of this cooperation. State formation may be a further field for this network (see D).

In 2003, the CMS joined the programme *Eurhist.*, run by an international group from various European countries coordinated from Paris which applied for EU funding for research on European history and culture, aiming at creating a basis for a common European education in history. The application failed but may be renewed in connection with EU's 7th Framework Programme (see D).

The NCCR (National Centre for Competence and Research) with the project "Mediality. Historical Perspectives" at Zürich University cooperates with CMS's project the Arrival of Writing. A Ph.D. student from this project is visiting Bergen in 2005-06, and Prof. Jürg Glauser will stay at the CMS in winter 2006-07.

The Nordic network, "Reykholt och den europeiska skriftkulturen. Medeltidens litteracitet i ett tvärvetenskapligt perspektiv", is part of the interdisciplinary "Reykholt project", centred in Reykholt, Iceland and financed by the NorForsk. Here Else Mundal is a member of the board, and she and other members of CMS have taken part in arranging conferences and a research school seminar.

Two seminars have been arranged (2005 and 2006) for scholars and students in Old Norse philology mainly from Cambridge and Bergen, coordinated by Judy Quinn (Cambridge) and Else Mundal (CMS). This cooperation will probably continue (see D).

A conference on Historiography and the Holy in 2003 has resulted in a publication with contributions by scholars from Scandinavia, Iceland, Germany, UK, the Czech Republic, Hungary and the US and later conferences on orality and literacy and on fact and fiction will in a similar way be followed up by publications and further cooperation.

Finally, the CMS has benefited greatly by visits from individual scholars in addition to those mentioned above: Professor Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (Warszaw) was a very active guest professor at CMS in two periods during 2004 [RA25, RA26, SA24, SA25, SA26]. Dr John Ward (history, Sidney), Professor Joseph Harris (Old Norse, Harvard) and Professor Marianne Kalinke (Old Norse, Illinois), Professor Patrick Geary (history, UCLA), and Professor Theodore M. Andersson (Old Norse, Stanford), and some of our junior scholars have spent shorter or longer periods abroad, in Cambridge, Erlangen, Vienna and Reykjavik. For the time being one PhD student from Zürich and one from Leeds are guest researchers at our centre, both for nine months.

### *Conclusion*

We have from the start of the CMS given high priority to creating international network in order to achieve our aim of linking together research on Scandinavia and the rest of Europe. In particular, we have been eager to get into contact with medievalists in East Central Europe. We consider these endeavours successful, and hope that the contacts we have established during the first three years will result in joint research and common publications in the following years.

Nationally, it has been a great advantage to us, as already mentioned in the original application, that there are medieval centres both in Oslo and Trondheim. Our relationship to them has been good, but the role of the CMS as a national centre for medieval studies should nevertheless be considered more carefully during the second period (see D).

Our local collaboration may perhaps be regarded as somewhat less successful. A problem from this point of view may be the fact that medieval studies are a fairly small field at the University of Bergen, to some extent also at the national level. Aware of this we have tried to engage in cooperation and common seminars with non-medievalists on theoretical problems of common interest. Such arrangements have often been successful from a scholarly point of view, but have usually not gathered a large audience.

In terms of organisation and teaching resources the relation to the relevant departments has, to some extent, been problematic. What was left at the departments when CMS was launched was typically not substantial enough to take care of a continuous commitment of teaching and supervision in medieval studies. The base units of teaching are, especially in the case of Old Norse and Latin, very small. Although the professors transferred to CMS still had the obligation to supervise master students in medieval studies, the departments were to a great extent left to their own devices in terms of both undergraduate and graduate teaching of medieval topics. Thus, paradoxically, the strengthening of medieval research led to a significant weakening of teaching and recruiting of students in the field. This tension needs to be addressed in the second period of the Centre. A better common planning of teaching and supervision resources must be prepared. Here it is essential that the situation of the departments are taken into account while, at the same time, the possibilities and the competence developed by the Centre should be put to use in the departments. In other words, both the departments and the Centre provide the premises for the recruitment policies in the years to come. It is an urgent challenge for the faculty and the University to face this problem, and it should be stressed that it is not possible to wait until the last years of the existence of the Centre, because by then most of the PhDs and postdocs trained at CMS will have looked for careers outside of UiB. (Expandable frame)

## 8. Administrative matters

In the establishment phase in 2003 and 2004 the only administrative officer was the head, Moen. From June 2004 a 50% post as executive officer for financial matters was added, and from September 2005 a full post as executive officer for conferences, infrastructure, service etc. was filled.

The main focus has been to situate CMS in the administrative routines of the University with the aim to create a smooth project-oriented administration. In contrast to the other two CoE's at the University, CMS is directly placed under the Board of the University. CMS is academically autonomous and has a mandate to negotiate contracts, manage financial operations and its human resources within the main regulations of the University. Internal administrative cooperation with the Department of Human Resources (HR) is related to financial operations and estimating budgets / reporting and general quality assurance. With respect to recruitment of staff members / announcements of positions CMS has established good routines with the administration of the Faculty of Arts and HR. The Division of Research is the main coordinator for contact with the Research Council and guidance for application for additional funding. The Office for International Relations is our main contact point for agreement with international partners and specific cooperation within the WUN network. The Department for Public Relations and Bergen Museum are important for our public outreach and website.

One challenge has been to keep the project orientation of the administration and to give priority to main tasks related to CMS activity and to find a balance between the routines of a quasi-permanent unit and a temporary project-oriented one.

Particular attention has been focussed on the integration of foreign staff members, guest researchers and visiting PhD fellows into CMS/UiB and Norway in general and to provide help with respect to all practical matters. Direct contacts with Police/immigration authorities, tax office, school/kindergartens, banks etc. have been necessary but very time-consuming duties. We would like to stress that our experience tells us that if research in Norway is to be attractive on a larger scale for foreigners, not least those outside of the EU, the system needs an overhaul. In spite of a great amount of work put into giving our guests a smooth welcome,

they have been subjected to varying degrees of catch twenty-two.

The organisation of conferences and seminars has also been time-consuming for the administration. Another challenge has been to relieve the project leaders as much as possible from administrative duties, but speaking from experience so far, the administrative tasks for all permanent staff in setting up a new ambitious unit was underestimated. (Expandable frame)

## 9. Other topics

--

(Expandable frame)

## 10. Signatures

<b>Centre:</b>	<b>Host institution:</b>
Place and date: .....	Place and date: .....
Printed letters and signature: .....	Printed letters and signature: .....