

Sammanfattning på svenska / Summary in Swedish

Variation och förändring är centrala för det här programmet. Medeltidens manuskriptkultur har karakteriserats av just variation på alla nivåer, från paleografi och ortografi till traderingen av motiv och större textenheter. En viktig utgångspunkt är därför att denna variation troligen spelar en central roll för vår förståelse av normer och förändring i en framväxande skriftkultur. Vi planerar därför att genomföra studier av de möjligheter som handskriftskulturen ger till förändring i traderingen av texter för att formulera en systematisk syntes. Två perspektiv kommer att vara centrala, nämligen tid och rum. Vi kommer att operera med relativt öppna avgränsningar av både tidsperioden och det geografiska området som omfattas av studien vilket kan bli en utmaning men är avgörande för vårt sätt att närma oss materialet. Den relevanta tidsperioden avgränsas till ca 900-ca 1600, men denna avgränsning kommer att överskridas i båda riktningarna när det blir nödvändigt för att belysa våra frågeställningar. Först och främst inriktas vår utforskning mot den nordiska regionen, men perspektivet måste hela tiden justeras i relation till det europeiska materialet. Det övergripande syftet med programmet är tvådelat. Den första forskningsuppgiften syftar till att skapa en systematisk förståelse av förutsättningarna för texters tratering under perioden. Ett andra syfte är att utveckla teori och metod och relatera vår diskussion till ett internationellt forskningsmiljö.

Sammanfattning på engelska / Summary in English

Variance and change is central to this program. The manuscript culture of the Middle Ages has been characterised as constituted by variance on all levels, from palaeography and orthography to the transmission of motifs and larger textual units. An important contention at the outset of the program is that this variance plays perhaps the most significant role in our understanding of norms and change in the establishing of a literate culture. We therefore intend to carry out investigations of the modes of modification on various levels in the transmission of texts in order to establish a systematic synthesis. Two central perspectives concern time and space. We will operate with rather open definitions of both the time period covered by the program and the delimiting of the geographical area, something that may prove challenging but is essential to our approach. As for the time period relevant for the program the preliminary time-frame will be c. 900 to c. 1600, but this period will be transcended in both directions when necessary to achieve the synthesis we wish to establish. Primarily we will study the literate output of the Nordic region, but our perspective must inevitably lead us into European comparison. The overall aim of the program is twofold. Our first objective is to form a new synthesis in the view of texts in transmission in the Nordic realm. A second objective is to explore the theoretical and methodological issues further in order to contribute to the debate.

Projektbeskrivning / Project description

Variance and change will be central to this program. The manuscript culture of the Middle Ages has been characterised as constituted by variance on all levels, from palaeography and orthography to the transmission of motifs and larger textual units (see e.g. Zumthor 1987). An important contention at the outset of the project is that this variance plays perhaps the most significant role in our understanding of norms and change in the establishing of a literate culture. We therefore intend to carry out investigations of the modes of modification on various textual and material levels in the transmission of texts in order to establish a systematic synthesis from the study of variance and change throughout the Scandinavian Middle Ages. It should already here be stressed that the models we intend to employ are expected to provide a consistent understanding of the processes involving the introduction and development of new media and tools of communication, primarily in medieval Europe, but by way of analogy also for later periods, as for example the introduction of personal computers and Internet in the 1990s.

In Scandinavia Latin book culture was introduced with the establishment of Church institutions, and as in most parts of Europe, Latin script was soon adapted to the use of writing vernacular texts. The introduction of a new tool for linguistic communication and a new medium, writing with Roman script on parchment leaves gathered in booklets and codices, had an immense impact on the cultural, administrative and political structures of society. We take as a starting point the Europeanisation of not only Scandinavia but of European culture at large, i.e. the forming of a common European world-view (Bartlett 1993; Moore 2000), and distinguish three important processes as part of the Europeanisation:

- Latinisation concerns the introduction of Latin language and Roman script in Scandinavia
- Vernacularisation covers the movement of focus from Latin to the vernacular language
- Secularisation refers to the transition of literate culture from the Church institutions to secular institutions and individuals

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The traditional synthesis in the form of literary history is generally presented as a chronological narrative formed around the production of works, primarily works at the center of an accepted canon. Our intention is to establish a dynamic model for the synthesis based on the reception of texts in motion rather than static works, while to some degree retaining relevant aspects of the production of the

original form. One central aim of the program is to provide the theoretical and methodological framework for such a narrative of the history of texts. Our use of the concepts of genre and type of text will, for example, as a consequence also be determined by the actual reception of texts over time rather than by fixed and static categories. At the outset it is also important to stress that our material to a large extent will involve texts that are traditionally placed outside of the canon. This will enable us to form a more comprehensive view of the emerging literate culture.

Another important aspect of variance and change concerns the relation between on the one hand social groups and institutions and on the other hand individuals. It is obvious that the first categories are highly relevant for the changes of use and for the understanding of texts in transition, but this relevance does not match the latter, the individuals responsible for text production and re-production. The choice to reproduce a text or part of a text or to introduce it into a new context with new meanings is always made by an individual in interplay with social conventions and institutional expectations. Our intention is to investigate the medieval understanding of the individual in text transmission through studies of individuals as agents in various functions of text (re-)production as well as in changes in narrative functions concerning e.g. the perspective of narrator found in the medieval texts.

The overall aim of the program is twofold. Our first objective is to form a new synthesis in the view of texts in transmission in the Nordic realm based on recent approaches in a number of fields of research. Our contention is that scholarship in these fields has reached a point where it is today possible to see larger lines and again provide a comprehensive view. A second objective is, closely related to the first, to explore the theoretical and methodological possibilities further in order to provide new theoretical discussion as well as methods to connect input from the various fields of scholarship involved in the investigation of the use of script and texts. Our approach is closely connected to current international scholarship on the forming of a literate community in Europe in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, and we have established networks with scholars working with other European areas which will be further developed in the course of the program. Further, the focus of the program is in close connection to questions concerning the contact and influences between cultures and sub-cultures, which makes our work relevant also in relation to current fields of debate, as e.g. concerning the processes and implications of the introduction of new media as Internet and the use of modern computer technology. Our results will provide relevant historical insights into the processes of transmission and transformation of texts that can therefore be expected to open new perspectives to contemporary issues in relation to the theoretical and methodological debate concerning the function and transmission of texts in general, not limited to the Middle Ages or the Nordic realm.

Background, status of knowledge and our contribution

With the establishment of Church institutions in Scandinavia, from the first decades of the 11th century, the Latin book culture of the Church finally was firmly established. There is a relative consensus among scholars today that the earliest production of Latin manuscripts in the Nordic area for use within the Church institutions can be dated to the second half of the 11th century. It is only from the second quarter of the 12th century that we find extant writing in the

vernacular, and what is preserved from this period is primarily translated from Latin and related to the religious sphere. Translations played an important role throughout the Middle Ages. they brought the word of God to every part of what was becoming Europe. Moreover, translations contributed to spreading the ideas of a common European cultural heritage. In that way, the narratives of for example the siege of Troy and of Aeneas became part of the learned world of medieval scholars also in the vernacular languages. Lars Boje Mortensen (2006) discusses the relation between the medieval Latin book culture and the vernacular literacy which is being established throughout Europe. Vernacular literacy, he argues, was established on the models of Latin literacy and should be studied in this light. There are a number of groundbreaking works from the last two decades that provide new understanding of the processes of the emerging European literate culture. D.H. Green's work on reading in the Middle Ages (1994) will be of importance to our understanding of how translations were mediated and received. Of great significance is the work by Rita Copeland (e.g. 1991) on hermeneutics and rhetorics, and on the function of translations. Martin Irvine's (1994) discussion of the role of grammatica in medieval education is central. Brian Stock's (1983) important study of the implications of literacy, and more specifically, of the forming of 'textual communities' where written works are interpreted and play central roles in the everyday lives of the group members should also be mentioned.

The discussion of theoretical and methodological aspects of the emerging textual culture and the processes of change is in itself a central part of our planned work. In order to achieve a synthesis from the various aspects on literacy and manuscript culture that have appeared over the two recent decades we need to reconsider a number of traditional delimitations often established with national and romantic biases. This is not unique for the situation in Scandinavia, but is rather, we contend, a general challenge to modern investigations into the earliest history of vernacular literacy and manuscript culture in the larger, European context. We suggest, therefore, that the project will provide a debate of these issues which will have implications for the study of the emerging vernacular cultures in medieval Europe in general. We intend to discuss the implications of changes in the material dissemination of texts in the manuscript culture that are relevant also for the subsequent introduction of the printing press and the mass production of texts.

The project combines a philological with a comparative historical approach to the earliest processes of Europeanisation and the role of Latin book culture in the establishing of a vernacular literacy. The concept of Europeanisation is used in line with Robert Bartlett for the emerging consciousness in the 12th century of Europe as a cultural unit defined by the extension of the administration of the Catholic Church (Bartlett 1993). We suggest the following hypotheses about central phenomena in the Europeanisation process:

- Our overall hypothesis is that the establishment of Latin literacy in Europe is a pre-requisite for the Europeanisation. This will be tested with reference to the Scandinavian material, but our results will, we expect, be significant for the understanding of the processes of Europeanisation as a common European phenomenon
- In order to establish a vernacular written language there must be an indigenous production and re-production of Latin works. The earliest Latin works produced

Appendix 1: Project description

in Scandinavia play an important role for the emerging written vernacular

- The early translations are highly relevant for our understanding of the vernacularisation of Roman script, providing not only a system of script but also models of writing for the emerging vernacular literature
- The translations were significant in opening the way for a secularisation of written culture, where individuals of the indigenous elite could take part. This transfer of an institutional Latin book culture into a more secular literate culture in the vernacular has its starting points in the earliest period we are studying and is active throughout the period under scrutiny

The processes of Europeanisation in 12th and 13th century Scandinavia will be central for the program, as they are reflected in both Latin and vernacular traditions. In a European perspective, Latin literate culture was re-established in Europe at large after a period of decline in the centuries preceding the introduction of Church institutions in Scandinavia, and in all regions of the Church, vernacular written languages emerged during the High Middle Ages. Our contention is, therefore, that the establishing of a literate vernacular culture should not be seen as unique for Scandinavia in this period. The processes of Europeanisation include the establishing of vernacular written languages all over Europe and the subsequent exchange of Latin with the vernaculars in a growing number of domains. The translation of not only Latin works, but, perhaps more significant, of Latin models and types of texts, therefore must be studied as an important part of the Europeanisation of Europe. Closely related to these processes is the establishing of the Latin book culture. In order to allow for a Latin literacy we must expect a period of Latinisation, i.e. when Latin as a language as well as the Roman script is introduced in Scandinavia.

Once the Latin book culture was established in Scandinavia within the institutional frames of the Church, we may expect that Scandinavian clerics and monks soon started experimenting with Roman script in the vernacular. The earliest known writing in Scandinavian languages does show signs of novelty and uncertainty in orthography and form, but soon the script is used more effortlessly. Already from the first half of the 12th century we find both translations from Latin and indigenous works in the vernacular in the western parts of Scandinavia, in Norway and Iceland, while the emergence of the vernacular is rather later in Sweden and Denmark. If Latin at the outset was the universal and also all-encompassing language, while the vernacular represents the regional, this changes under the influence of translations from the former. Translations influenced the linguistic form as well as the literary system(s) for writing in the vernacular emerging in the period under study. In order to further enlighten the role of translation we need to study a variety of aspects concerning translations as target language texts. A translation will, as soon as it is transferred, be part of the receiving culture, and sometimes not even marked as being foreign to this culture. As the amount of translations increases and there is also a rise in the production of indigenous works in the vernacular, the status of the vernacular will be augmented. It could therefore be expected that the vernacular in the course of time will change its role in the Scandinavian society. It could perhaps be stated that the vernacular in the long run takes on the role of being the universal language. By this we mean that the vernacular literate system over time establishes generic forms to cover the domains originally restricted to Latin literacy. When the vernacular can be used in a variety of contexts, it obtains the

same or similar status as Latin. This means that when the vernacular written languages in Europe were established in such a way as to be able to replace Latin, they all filled a new kind of universal function, each language within its own specific area, but within the overall European community. From the above we have chosen to divide the work within the program along a time line from c. 900 to c. 1600.

An overall theoretical frame-work of the program is provided by the polysystem theory developed by Itamar Even-Zohar (see e.g. 1990). This notion of networks, primarily by Even-Zohar applied to the role of translations in modern literary traditions, will however need to be adjusted in a number of ways to account for our intended work. In our understanding of the polysystem it will consist of networks not only of works in a literate system. We are interested in the representations of works in an on-going transmission in manuscript tradition, i.e. the text witnesses of works found in various contexts over time will be treated individually as sources to variation and modes of modification. We intend also to incorporate the material artifacts, that is the manuscripts and other written documents and their representation of the texts, as well as institutions, social groups and individuals. This expanded system will enable us to connect the modes of modification of the literate culture on a number of levels.

In order to control this network of interrelated systems we need to establish nodes, or what we choose to refer to as observation points. Each of the strands will provide a number of observation points, that is, points in time and space from which it is possible to relate to other points. This will allow us not only to provide a number of individual studies, but rather to connect the six strands to the overall system over time. Our intention is to combine a synchronic perspective of the individual observation point and the synchronically defined system with a diachronic perspective mapping modes of modification within the system in change in space and time. The concept of observation points is chosen to stress the importance of long processes rather than a one-way chronology, that is, the point of observation is not seen as a station on a line, but rather as a place from where it is possible to observe a landscape of routes in various directions. A typical observation point could for example be an individual manuscript, a single version of a text, or the same version related to a scribal milieu. The manuscript is obviously the result of intentions and norms on many levels, e.g. the collection of individual texts, the material production of the manuscript, and the ordering and re-writing of the texts, all of which is related to a context of commissioner, scribe, illuminator etc. where the individuals are part of social and institutional milieux. Central observation points will therefore also be institutions associated to writing and re-writing of texts and to manuscript production as e.g. the Archbishop's see in Niðarós in late 12th century or the large Icelandic church-farm Möðruvellir fram in the second half of the 15th century. The polysystem approach will be used to describe the relations between the various observation points from a synchronic perspective where texts, manuscripts, institutions and individuals from a well-defined period within the longer time-frame are mapped and interrelated, while from a diachronic perspective we may relate the observation points over time and with a focus on variance and modes of modification.

In all historical scholarship the use of limited time periods, such as e.g. Antiquity or the Middle Ages, is essential in order to structure and further study certain well-defined aspects of human society and culture. It is, however, also often the

case that the use of these established categories of time may stand in the way of observations spanning the artificial, but well-established, limits set by earlier scholarship. A relatively recent example of the necessity of re-thinking periods is found in the scholarly debate on Late Antiquity as a period replacing the early Middle Ages in order to highlight the continuity of Roman culture in the first centuries after the fall of the empire (see e.g. Brown 1971). More recently Garth Fowden (2014) has argued for a new periodisation of what he refers to as the First Millennium in order to take into account the relevance of the emerging Islam for the larger picture of Eurasian history. One important aspect of the Latin book culture and its fostering of vernacular literate cultures in the European manuscript culture, then, must be the delimiting of a relevant time period under scrutiny.

The definition of a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* of our period of study will consequently be part of the objective of our studies and may therefore be adjusted in the course of the program. In this application, therefore, we will only provide a preliminary definition which may very well be refined in order to better provide empirical support for the theoretical discussion. We will put the *terminus post quem* to c. 900 when writing in Latin was being established within the Church institutions in Scandinavia at the same time as an earlier writing system, the runic script, was still in function and being adjusted in relation to the emerging Latin literacy. This choice takes into consideration the long period of knowledge about writing in Scandinavia, and that the Scandinavians had employed a writing system of their own for a millennium when Roman script was introduced. We will therefore include studies of early epigraphic writing with runes as well as with Roman characters in order to provide points of departure for our overall investigation of the establishing of a literate culture in the Nordic realm (see above on observation points). The *terminus ante quem* is rather more complicated. The manuscript culture is complemented by the printing press in mid-15th century and as early as the second half of this century printing is introduced in Scandinavia. This could provide a possible *ante quem*, but at the same time manuscript culture does continue more or less unimpeded over the next centuries, parallel to the emerging dominance of printed texts. Icelandic textual culture provides an excellent example of this continuity, where a literate scribal tradition survives until the early 20th century. It is, further, relevant to see the manuscript culture in light of this emerging new medium. We therefore preliminary define the *terminus ante quem* to c. 1600.

Whichever time period we delimit for our study, it will be necessary to make further limitations of shorter intervals within the overall time-frame or of contextually defined intervals related to individuals or institutions. It will be of great importance to our final results that these shorter periods be chosen with care. The very definition of a *terminus post quem* in itself amounts to marking that the main interest is concentrated on the time following this *terminus*. It could, however, also be seen as an observation point, a point from which it would be possible to view the preceding events and tendencies in the light of the appearance of the phenomenon used to define the *terminus*. For example the printing of the New Testament in Swedish in 1526 has often been used to define the end of the Swedish Middle Ages, but the printed book is co-annual to one of the most impressive medieval manuscripts produced in the Birgittine Vadstena Abbey containing a paraphrase of the Old Testament Pentateuch. These two works, one printed book representing the Reformation and the beginning of the

Early Modern period in Sweden and the other a late example of medieval monastic culture, could be used to illuminate further the 15th century leading up to the important changes we see in the first quarter of the 16th century as well as throwing new light on the two parallel media by mid-16th century.

A next delimitation concerns the spatial extension of the investigation. In earlier scholarship the modern national borders have often set the limits. The scholar working with Norwegian literate culture and language has often limited insights into the material from for example Sweden. For the 14th century this has as a consequence that the scholar working with Norwegian culture notes a complete breakdown of the literate culture by mid-century, often without taking into account the emergence of new genres and a flourishing literate culture in the Swedish, and subsequently Danish area of Scandinavia. If Scandinavia is seen as an overall system, however, it appears as if the changes should be studied as interrelated (see e.g. Johansson 2015). The Scandinavian system could, however, not be studied independent of the larger European system of which it is a part. Any study of a region of Europe in the Middle Ages, we contend, must be seen as part of and in constant interaction with the larger European context. The project will therefore delimit the object of study to the Nordic realm, i.e. Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland, but at the same time it will at all points consider the on-going parallel processes of change in the European literate system. The project will be structured in six strands. Each strand will address a well-defined material that can be related to the overall questions of modes of modification within the literate system of medieval Scandinavia. Three main areas can be pointed out that will be of great importance to all the strands:

1. The production and re-production of texts in the physical artifacts, the medieval manuscripts and epigraphic writing on various artefacts, and the changes we can register over time in the layout and use of various graphic markers to enhance both public reading to an audience and private, silent reading
2. The importance of institutions and social groups for changes in the emerging literate system, that is, the influence of e.g. church and secular schools, monastic, church and secular scriptoria
3. The importance of individuals as agents in the changes of the literate system, including e.g. commissioners, scribes, illuminators and later owners

These perspectives will be laid along the long time-line, with the establishing of what we refer to as observation points, as described above, which could consist of for example individual texts in transmission over time, representative manuscripts, translations from various time or milieux, institutions, social groups (ascending or disappearing), as well as individuals with known relations to texts and manuscripts. The observation points will allow us to form a network of information that can subsequently be related to the overall system and provide a synthesis.

The material aspects of manuscripts and epigraphics as artifacts and as the carriers of texts, the mediums of communication, must be central to a study of variance and change. The range of tools emerging over time to enhance the use of manuscripts and other media, and the variance in performance and craft is important not only from the perspective of the codicologist or art historian. These aspects are also highly relevant in our investigation of the use and function of texts in context. A text found in one context and with a certain function may vary

well be transmitted into a new context with a new function. We can also expect that additions of texts in a manuscript over time may indicate changes in function of the whole manuscript. A modern parallel to this would be the publication of a text in a printed journal with a certain authority and with a limited group of intended readers and the subsequent transmission of this same text digitally and with an extended group of readers. Our contention here is that the models we apply on the study of the material transmission of texts in the manuscript culture has implications for our understanding of the transmission of written communication also in modern media.

Another important perspective of the program concerns the dissemination of texts in manuscripts or in epigraphic writing with all the inherent variance rather than of static works. The continuous copying of texts and incorporation of whole texts or parts of texts in new contexts, in new compilations and in new collections where the old text often, if not always, is provided a new function and new possible receptions, must be central for a study of variance and change in the manuscript culture (see e.g. Johansson 2014). A new understanding of the processes involving the introduction of Latin models as well as Roman script for the vernacular must be built on thorough investigations of this culture of writing and re-writing. This perspective therefore will be pursued throughout the program and form a backbone of the synthesis we expect to establish.

The material we intend to study in each of the six strands is to a large extent available in critical editions as well as in facsimile editions with the exception of some of the epigraphic material treated in strand 1. This will enable us to base our preliminary investigations of the textual transmission on editions. For the study of textual variation the critical editions can in many cases provide relevant information. For our study of material aspects of variance we will use facsimile editions, and photographs when there is no available facsimile edition. It is obvious, however, that we will also need to spend time in the archives to scrutinise closer the physical objects of our studies.

Program plan and the organisation of strands

The program will run over eight years. We expect the project to be working full-scale at least from the first quarter of 2018. All the six strands described below will be conducted so that they can reach their completion by the end of 2025 in the form of final volumes in the planned series of publications.

Our intention is to have an introductory conference in the autumn of 2018 related to the whole program. This conference allows us to invite scholars we wish to collaborate with and also to make the overall objectives of the program known in the international scholarly milieu. In the years 2020–2023 we plan one international two-day conference each year with invited scholars from relevant areas of research for four theoretically and methodologically central aspects of the overall program. From each of these conferences we plan to publish an anthology in our series. The invited speakers will be asked to address relevant questions defined in collaboration with the core group in such a way that they can be included in the printed books; that is to say, the volumes will not be formed as conference volumes. The conferences will form natural control points for the program and also relate our own work to international scholarship in the field. At the end of the program in 2025 we plan a final conference which will present the synthesis of the six strands in the form of monographs in our series and the volume intended to provide the theoretical and methodological aspects of our

undertaking. At this conference we intend also to challenge scholars to debate future research in the field.

The focus of the first conference in 2020 will be on the production and reception of texts in a manuscript culture. This is an obvious first conference which will provide important control points for the core group in the third year of the program on central issues under investigation.

A second conference in 2021 will treat the contextualisation of manuscripts and genres. In this conference we intend to expand our interest to the socio-cultural aspects of texts and manuscripts, issues that will be further treated in the individual strands. The results from this conference will therefore be essential for the work of the core group.

In 2022 the conference will handle questions concerning the translation of texts and cultural models. Translation will be treated here from a wide definition based on recent developments in Translation Studies. This means that we will ask our contributors to address questions not only concerning what is traditionally considered as translations, but also to treat aspects of cultural transfer in a manuscript culture.

In the last conference in 2023 questions of multilingual and multigraphic literacy will be central. This includes on the one hand the relations between manuscripts and epigraphic texts in both runes and Roman script and on the other hand the relation between various languages in a multilingual and di- or multigraphic culture. Here it will be relevant to involve scholars from other cultural areas, e.g. from African societies where multilingual and also multigraphic cultures have been studied in more recent material.

Throughout the program we intend to have an on-going debate on theoretical and methodological aspects of our work. Our intention is to make explicit the decisions we make in this field in what could be characterised as a steering document, which at the close of the program will be finally published as a volume in the report series. The preliminary versions of this document will be available in digital form on the Internet.

The core group intends to work closely and have regular meetings. On a regular basis, at least once every year, our plan is to arrange work-shops where the core group works intensively together during a full week. These work-shops will be arranged away from our home institutions in order to enable us to work without interference from our ordinary institutional duties.

The strands

The six participants of the core group will each have the responsibility for a sub-project, or what we prefer to call strands to indicate that the individual projects are all closely related to the overall research questions of modes of modification. Each of the strands is expected to explore a certain perspective or a particular kind of material in order to contribute to the final synthesis of the whole program. Within each strand we intend to establish observation points that are intended to provide important information on both the spatial and temporal aspects of the emerging literate system of the Nordic realm and within a larger European context. Our intention is to further our understanding of the processes of literarisation within a common theoretical framework. Every strand will obviously need to establish and use methods relevant for the study of its main research questions and its particular material or field of interest, but at the same time all strands are coordinated so that their results are compatible and form a

coherent presentation in the final volumes of the program. In the following the individual strand is described closer and a number of observation points suggested. It should be clear, however, that there will be possibilities to add new observation points to further the strength of the overall result of the program. Our intention is therefore to involve senior scholars and PhD fellows working in the field in seminars and work-shops as well as in presenting their research in relation to the program activities.

Strand 1: Texts in the Open. Epigraphical Texts from Runic Monuments to Church Monuments

The epigraphic material found in the Nordic realm is vast and can be divided into two main categories, the earliest written in runes, and from the 10th century an increasing amount in Roman characters. A common feature of both categories is their physical form and context, mostly in the open and on stone or other durable material. This feature also indicates that the epigraphic texts were intended to be public rather than for the individual reading or more limited audiences of manuscript texts; their function was to be seen and read by both lay and learned. Never the less they functioned in the emerging literate culture of the manuscripts and must obviously be investigated in relation to this culture.

The work within this strand will be carried out in two main parts. The first part will form a comprehensive study of Roman alphabet inscriptions from the period under investigation. There is need for some initial documentation of the material which will be provided in the first four years of the program by Elise Kleivane and a PhD fellow with separate funding from the Norwegian Research Council. The focus will be on the Norwegian and Icelandic material, but also material from Sweden and Denmark will be drawn into the investigation. In a second part of the strand all kinds of epigraphy will be studied as part of the text history of medieval Scandinavia. This study will provide new insights into the history of texts that will both broaden and move the horizon of medieval text and script culture. Our contention is that it is not possible to understand Viking Age and medieval literacy unless the implications of the triangular relationship between runes, Roman alphabet epigraphy and manuscript texts are further studied. The empirical material and the research questions will be approached using rhetorical theories such as presented by Bitzer (1968) and Miller (1994). These theoretical works illustrate why one must take the needs and expectations inherent in the communicative situation into account when one is forming an utterance – if the utterance is going to be successful and achieve what is intended. Not only the verbal shaping is important when forming an utterance, the medium also plays an important part. This includes the choice of language, the choice of writing system, and the material aspects of the utterance such as layout, decoration and the object on which the writing is done. Thus, it matters whether the name Eiríkr is written on a church wall, or on a sword, or on a piece of wood shaped like a tag and found during the excavations of the Bryggen site in Bergen. In the first instance, the material context suggests we have an “I was here”-inscription, in the second instance we probably have an owner’s mark. In the third instance the material context reveals that we are dealing with an owner’s mark, but the object owned is not the tag, but whatever the tag was attached to. Applying rhetorical theory to the epigraphic material will not only provide new perspectives, but enable verbal utterances previously not analysed as texts, to be incorporated in philological studies.

The material and rhetorical approach will be combined with theoretical aspects of literacy, defined socio-functionally. This approach focus on how cultural and administrative functions become dependent on the use of writing. The study of literacy is thus not limited to reading and writing abilities. Questions of how and to what extent reading and writing abilities spread are relevant to this project, but the theoretical approach regarding literacy will relate to which functions writing was used for and what was considered suitably formed utterances for the different functions in different domains.

An overall question of great importance to the present strand concerns vernacularisation. Central research problems within this field focus on how foreign languages, writing systems, and text and writing cultures are incorporated into the vernacular culture. This begs a theoretical approach that poses research questions specifically interesting for Scandinavia, since the imported Latin writing culture – including the Latin language, the Roman alphabet and manuscript culture – here met an already existing vernacular epigraphic writing culture writing with runes. This means that literacy was already introduced into the Scandinavian culture, thereby having paved the way for the “new” writing culture and its more extensive literacy. Scholarship on vernacularisation has focused mainly on the linguistic aspects. This strand will bring this theoretical perspective further by including writing systems and rhetorical situations in the discussion.

The epigraphic material presents a multilingual situation that opens for approaches relating to socio-linguistic theories on domains. Both the vernacular Old Norse and the supranational Latin played an important part in the lives of all Scandinavians in the Middle Ages. In the Late Middle Ages, trading centres such as Bergen and Tønsberg, Stockholm and Oslo present an even more multi-lingual situation. Here the Hansa was an influential part of society, and Hansa dialects of Middle Low German have had profound impact on vocabulary and possibly also the morphosyntactical structure of the Scandinavian languages. However their direct influence was mainly limited to trading domains. Roman alphabet inscriptions give several examples of influences from Middle Low German. A good example is provided by a silver spoon found in Stavanger (Arkeologisk museum, Stavanger, nbr. S3819) dated to the last half of the 15th century, with an inscription in a mix of Latin and Middle Low German: “omnia vincit amor dit vorgeit”. It will therefore be relevant for us to operate with the inscriptions in runes and Roman writing in these urban centres as observation points. It will not, however, be sufficient to define e.g. Trondheim as an observation point in space, but also to establish observation points on a time-line for the individual centre.

One point of departure for this strand is the Viking Age runic monumental inscriptions found throughout Scandinavia. These could be related to the epigraphic tradition in Roman script found in contemporary Europe, but they may also be related to the emerging epigraphic writing with Roman script in Scandinavia. To make this comparison we need to establish relevant observation points related to both runic monuments and the parallel traditions of epigraphics in Roman writing. From the 12th century we find mixed inscriptions in church context with both Norse and Latin language and runic and Roman script. These inscriptions obviously represent a stage in the literalisation and vernacularisation where on the one hand Norse language is used in new contexts while Roman script is soon to be dominating. The interplay between choice of language and

choice of script will be of great interest in our overall study of the emerging literate system in Scandinavia during the Middle Ages.

A last, and allegedly still vague observation point concerns the relation between epigraphic writing and the types of script found in manuscripts and subsequently also in early prints. This part of the strand concerns primarily material from the 15th and 16th centuries and involves a further study of how texts and the physical form of writing interrelates between the various media of monuments in stone, manuscripts (e.g. the forming of initials, but also the content of marginal notes) and printed texts (as e.g. the forming of title pages as monuments with the titles presented as epigraphics).

Strand 2: Texts to Rule and Regulate. Legal and Administrative Texts in the Medieval Manuscript Culture

In the earliest stages of vernacular literacy in Roman script there seem to be a general interest in establishing legal and administrative documents. This tendency is common to the Nordic realm, but seems also to be present in other medieval vernaculars as well as in a more global perspective. These texts are generally treated as documents for historical studies and as indications of the emergence of literacy, but they are seldom related to the more narrative types of texts that are considered more literary from a modern perspective. Our contention, however, is that these texts need to be treated in relation to other types of texts if we are to understand the development of a literate culture in the vernacular and the modes of use, and changes in these modes, how texts interact with other texts and how new texts and genres are formed in the emerging vernacular literacy in full. Moreover, the borders between old and new laws have recently been regarded as more open than stated in earlier scholarship, which suggests an understanding and reception of law as dynamic and an object of negotiation (see e.g. Horn 2016). This perspective further one of our standpoints, that medieval manuscript culture cannot be measured with concepts from a culture based on printed or digital texts; to see the regularities in the medieval use of texts and media, we need also to address the foreignness of the manuscript culture.

The main material to be explored in this strand consists of the earliest provincial laws from the Nordic realm found in manuscripts from the 13th and 14th centuries and the subsequent national and municipal laws for the urban centres in manuscripts from the 14th to 16th centuries. Further, this strand explores the legislative and administrative types of texts that are introduced from European models, as e.g. legislative amendments (*réttarboetr*), judicial records and charters. The primary function of all these texts can be stated to be of a pragmatic, normative and regulative nature, rather than entertaining as the more canonical types of texts generally treated in scholarship on medieval literature. Our contention, however, is that they are in many ways parts of the narrative traditions in the vernacular, and that they in this respect are also providing important insights into the general use of manuscript texts and the modes of modification involved in the emerging vernacular literacy.

A central objective of this strand is to investigate the implications of the introduction, use and reception of legislative and regulative texts, primarily the laws, from a synchronic and diachronic perspective and in relation to the overall literary system of the Nordic Middle Ages. Our theoretical framework is that of literacy in a wide sense. The emerging literacy is related to the overall literary

system by establishing a number of observation points, e.g. a) the earliest legislative texts from the early 13th century, b) subsequently disseminated in manuscripts well into the 14th century, the compilation of laws for the realm, as e.g. c) the Magnús lagaboetr Law of the realm (1274) for the Norwegian kingdom or the Magnus Eriksson Law of the realm (c. 1350) for Sweden, and d) their subsequent representations in a large number of manuscripts, and finally e) the further development of regulative and administrative texts in the 14th to 16th centuries. These observation points will be related to the overall literary system in order to elucidate general modes of modifications of relevance for our understanding. One important aspect that will be addressed here concerns the reception of these texts in a society where texts were not only read in private, but also formed a part of the life of illiterate people in the form of public reading. The earliest legislative works (a) are not well preserved in the manuscript material (b). In order to understand the development of these types of texts it will still be essential to establish a general understanding of their place in the overall system. Central here will be the provincial laws from all over the Nordic realm. These texts are traditionally studied as indigenous of provenance, but there are reasons to also see them in relation to the European development of canonical law. This invites the use of theoretical approaches from Translation Studies, regarding the texts as the result of a vernacularisation of models found in the Latin book culture and formed in relation to indigenous traditions. This perspective will be further explored regarding the Laws of the realm (c) for the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway (the latter including the Icelandic Jónsbók tradition). The manuscript tradition (d) of these laws is vast and will provide a central material for our investigations of the reception and use of legislative texts in the literary system. Finally, the large corpus of pragmatic, legislative and regulative texts (e) has to be related to this system of administrative texts.

Strand 3: Texts in the Insular Distance. Narrative Concepts in Medieval Icelandic Literature

The literary system of the Nordic realm has quite different shapes in the various areas. The Icelandic literature has always been considered an exception and has received considerably more attention than the rest of the area in this period. We will not challenge the obvious singularity of this indigenous literature in the vernacular and we recognise the necessity of a special strand treating this material. This said, our contention is that the relation between the Icelandic canon and less canonical types of texts need to be addressed, and that our exploration in this strand needs to be closely related to the other strands in order to further our understanding of the emerging literary system of the Nordic realm. In modern research there is no doubt that the Icelandic family sagas mark the height of narrative art in medieval Icelandic literature. They were written between the 13th and the 15th centuries, but they were probably based on oral tradition. Whereas in the beginning of literary criticism these sagas were considered as an autochthon genre, since the middle of the 20th century a considerable part of scholarship has been devoted to discover influences from the European continent, e.g. in motives, style and structure. These influences are considered to have entered the Icelandic literary system via translations which made their way from the margins of the system into the centre and thus established new modes of narration, new stylistic features, new topics, etc.

A primary objective of this strand is to understand these processes, modes of modification, within the Icelandic literary system. Our aim is to establish criteria for what among medieval authors and a medieval audience was considered text that was worth finding a place for in the literary system. These criteria shall be found by analysing reflections on authorship as well as reflections and commentaries on narration or the act of narrating in medieval Icelandic texts.

Although in many sagas we can see clear signs of an underlying literary concept, i.e. that they were planned as well as conceived as written texts, we always have to have in mind that parallel to a written transmission there also most likely was an oral transmission. Texts were told and retold, and these oral variations may have found their way into written versions of a text. Therefore medieval texts are characterised by a high amount of variants and thus by their mouvance (Zumthor 1987) and by what seems to be instability. In this instance, therefore, we need to establish an observation point with a rather open definition as our understanding of oral traditions as the transfer of such traditions into a literate culture can only be based on theoretical reasoning and the available written material. Our contention is that it is necessary, never the less, to take this transfer into account in the investigation of the emerging literate system.

In addition to this, the questions of authorship and narrative aesthetics are further complicated by the fact that in most cases we do not know who wrote a work. We have a fairly large number of skalds (poets, usually working for kings or other rulers), but we have only superficial knowledge of a very small number of other authors. Whereas the skalds tend to speak about themselves as poets self-confidently and proudly we hardly have any prose author speaking of himself in first person singular. In medieval Icelandic literature we do not have texts like those, that have been analysed in connection with concepts of authorships in medieval High German and English literature by Sandra Linden (2015) and Alistair J. Minnis (1988).

In the second half of the last century a number of scholars have shown traces and influences from continental texts and authors on medieval Icelandic literature (see e.g. Lönnroth 1976 and Clover 1982). These individual studies, however, have never resulted in a systematic approach to medieval Icelandic authorship and narrative concepts. There are no poetological comments of individual authors found in this literature; rather we have to be attentive to artistic techniques, metaphors, or analogies that reflect problems of narrating and narration and that may elucidate the contemporary ideas of what constituted a “good” narrative.

Icelandic sagas contain a number of terms indicating the production of texts, as for instance *segja* ‘to say, to tell’, *setja saman* ‘to compose’, *rita* ‘to write’, *setja á bók* ‘to put into a book’. Some of these terms are clearly analogies to Latin expressions (*setja saman*), but there is no real equivalent for the Latin *auctor*. In Icelandic saga literature the anonymous – and maybe even the collective – authorship was a constituent feature, although this did not mean that the authors were not aware of what they were doing or that they were not eager to be good authors. This is clearly shown by metaphors connected to the construction of ships or buildings but also by *mises en abyme*, i.e. stories about storytelling, stories about plays, etc. In addition to this, sagas demonstrate the artistic awareness of the authors in their narrative techniques, as for instance the organisation of the plot, creation of tension, staging, dialogues, focalisation, etc. This strand will investigate the emerging saga genres from three perspectives. One approach will be intratextual with an analysis of the narrative techniques

structure, narrator, style) of singular works. To carry out this investigation the works will form observation points rather than the texts found in individual manuscripts. This means that we will accept to some extent previous datings of the works in order to be able to distinguish changes within the saga tradition over time. In a second stage this analysis will be related to a diachronical view of the texts in transmission in order to elucidate the mouvance of narrative techniques in transmission. Our obvious focus here is on the modes of modification that can be discerned in individual text witnesses to the work found in manuscript contexts and from various points on the overall time-line. In a third stage the results of the investigations will be related to general tendencies in the Nordic realm at large as well as in a larger European perspective.

Strand 4: Texts New and Old. The Dynamics of Texts and Genres in Manuscript Transmission

Various types of texts were often collected in large manuscripts, often referred to as either compilations or, perhaps more correctly, collections or miscellanies. In the Nordic realm this kind of manuscripts is best documented in Iceland and in the eastern part of the region. The aim of this strand is to investigate a number of manuscripts produced in Sweden and Iceland during the course of the 14th and 15th centuries within the social and cultural contexts in which they are believed to have been produced and used. Such collections of texts are of great interest for the general purpose of the overall program in a variety of ways:

- * they give us insight into the kind of textual materials that were collected in certain contexts, thus allowing for comparisons both within the same culture (i.e. in different manuscripts from different social contexts) and between cultures;
- * they provide evidence for the study of interaction a) between various literary genres b) between original literature and translated literature;
- * they provide evidence in support of hypotheses about how texts belonging to different genres and originating from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds were possibly used, both for the purpose of entertainment and instruction and for the purpose of discussing relevant themes (e.g. social and political ones) of the time in which the manuscripts were produced.

Late medieval manuscripts from Sweden and Iceland containing collections of texts have so far received, with few exceptions, relatively little attention in international scholarship, and thus demand further consideration. The adoption of a broad, interdisciplinary perspective (e.g. on paleography, codicology, social history, genre theory, polysystem theory) to analyse the manuscripts aims to reach as good an understanding as possible of the social and cultural value of these codices. Prior to any examination of the contents of each manuscript it will therefore be necessary to trace, whenever possible, each manuscript to its probable social context of production and use.

The Swedish manuscripts containing collections will be investigated primarily (but not exclusively) from the point of view of the use that their owners – and those who had access to their contents – would have made of the texts preserved in them. Since the majority of these lay manuscripts belonged to members of the aristocracy, the texts collected in them will be approached as bearers of political and social preoccupations, especially with regard to the relationship of the nobility to the king and the debate about the limitations of kingship that was part

of the political agenda of the Swedish aristocracy during the course of the 14th and 15th centuries. Another question that will be dealt with concerning the Swedish miscellanies is that of the languages in which the texts preserved in them are written. The assumption on which the analysis of linguistic mixing rests is that the selection of the language in which the text is written depends on the social level of its user(s). Hence, this kind of analysis contributes to better defining the context in which the miscellanies were used. A number of 15th century manuscripts containing collections will form observation points in this part of the strand.

The Icelandic manuscripts will be analysed mainly from the vantage point of genre studies, especially with regard to the interaction between various genres of the saga literature which will be done in close collaboration with strand 3. It is indeed hardly disputable that in the 14th and 15th centuries there was a redefinition of the hierarchy of saga genres, with the *riddarasögur* and the *fornaldarsögur* taking over the leading role that the *Íslendingasögur* genre appears to have had prior to that time. This change in the structure of the literary system was intimately linked to major changes in the political and social systems of Iceland after the annexation to Norway in 1262–64. Since any discussion of genre distinctions cannot lose sight of the materiality of textual transmission it will be necessary to start from the manuscript evidence we have, mapping the distribution and interaction of genres in codices and miscellanies. Two major questions that this strand will deal with are a) how much the transmission of sagas in manuscripts of collections contributed towards promoting generic intermingling and generic hybridity, and b) how texts making up the miscellanies were possibly used to address questions of social prestige and political power that were topical at a time in which upward social mobility was possible also for those individuals (and families) who did not have any connection to previous political elites from the time before annexation to Norway.

Strand 5: Texts and the City. The Interplay between Social Space and the Agency of Texts

The central period under scrutiny in the program concerns the emerging vernacular literate culture with Roman script. There was already a rather developed use of another writing system, the runes, which is treated in strand 1, but from the evidence it must be concluded that this tradition was never really integrated into the manuscript culture of parchment and ink. The new media and techniques enhanced the production of longer texts in a less work-intensive fashion even if it still was expensive to invest in a parchment manuscript. It is obvious, however, that there was an awareness of the possibilities offered and we can see that both the amount of written material as well as the various domains where writing is used increase throughout the Middle Ages, however with a visible variation across the Nordic realm.

The two writing systems typically related to different degrees of professionalisation. The written culture of the Roman alphabet was deeply anchored in the Latin-based educational system and surviving sources are mainly connected to professional activities. Runic writing in the Middle Ages, as it appears in Norwegian towns as e.g. Bergen and Trondheim, on the other hand, testifies to a private literacy rather than professional writing. The development of private and professional use of writing and texts is the core of this strand, with a governing hypothesis that the expanded use of writing and texts offers new

possibilities and sometimes changes the socio-cultural patterns dramatically with subsequent social mobility and societal changes as a result. In order to test this hypothesis one main objective of this strand will be to investigate closer the use of script and writing from a socio-cultural perspective in order to further elucidate the implications for individuals and institutions in the Nordic realm. Questions of literacy and its implications in parts of the society and for various historical periods have been the focus in the recent decades. In the Nordic realm there has e.g. been a number of thorough studies of the two scriptoria at the Birgittine monastery in Vadstena (see e.g. Andersson 2001; Hedström 2008), the diversified use of charters evidenced in the Nordic material (see e.g. Larsson 2009; Berg 2013; see also strand 2) and the use of runes in the Middle Ages (see e.g. Knirk 1994; Palm 1997). There are still, however, a number of areas of medieval society that are not treated to the same extent. One important instance is the emerging urban milieu, multilingual and, to judge from the archaeological findings, also to a high degree di-graphical with Roman script and runes used parallel. In this strand we intend to take our starting-point in existing literacy studies concerning the urban milieu and through supplementing studies provide a synthesis of how urban literacy emerged and developed through the Middle Ages. It will obviously be necessary here to relate to studies of European urban centres and how literacy was part of the processes of urbanisation. Our contention is that the Nordic material here will provide new insights that will be of benefit also in the larger debate on literacy and urbanisation.

A first step of the investigation involves establishing the relevant social groups and milieu, as well as the social arenas where the various groups interact. There are already well established social categories as e.g. aristocracy, clerics of the church, monastics and peasants, and arenas such as e.g. the king's court, assemblies of justice, educational institutions, schools, administration and markets. The social groups are generally defined from their occupation, which milieu they appear in and the social and political frames they are given. This analysis can be applied to the Nordic realm as a whole as well as to the singular kingdoms, but it is also relevant to consider e.g. well defined social groups as e.g. the Birgittine brothers in a Nordic context, in order to further elucidate sociopolitical aspects of the use of writing and texts.

These aspects will in a second step involve a sociolinguistic analysis of communication in order to better understand the various uses of texts extracted from the sources. The analysis takes as its point of departure ethnographical perspectives on communication that have traditionally been used in the research on literacy. Scholars have focused on script-acts and the various practices involved in writing, which will be of relevance here, as well as questions concerning the emergence and evolution of genres (see e.g. Miller 2016). The mapping of types of actions and practices must also be related to the level and kind of literacy of a society, as well as attitudes to writing and the ownership of books etc.

Finally it is relevant to ask how the changes in the use of writing and texts should be understood. There are a number of theoretical frame-works available for the establishment of literacy, and the literalisation of society that we need to evaluate and take into account. A general hypothesis could be that an increase in the production of texts in order to satisfy an increased use of texts over time leads to a transfer of authority from the field of personal relations to administrative and impersonal relations, which in its turn changes the frames governing the

individual. One could hypothetically say that the power of social relations are weakened in relation to the impersonal relations. In practice this leads to a situation where the individual can use an overall literate administration in relation to e.g. close relatives or even in relation to someone higher in the social hierarchy where tradition would earlier have been persisting. At the same time the impersonal structures may be equally oppressive as long as the authorities do not use their power. This will be investigated particularly in relation to the late medieval and early modern urban milieux.

Strand 6: Texts and Agency. The Networks of Textual Transmission and Change
The sixth strand will encompass more or less the whole period treated by the project and establish three main observation points in three different contexts in time and space. The earliest institutions relevant for our investigations are the emerging Church institutions of the 11th century and the old aristocracy. New institutions and new techniques generally can be expected to contribute to social mobility and changes in traditional social structures. A study of the emerging literate system will inevitably need to address questions concerning relations between old and new institutions as well as old and new social relations and the interplay between tradition and innovation. In the early phase under scrutiny in this strand we may expect the old aristocracy to play an important part in the establishing of Church structures and literate training, but the new institutions will most likely also provide incentives for social mobility primarily through the training of priests. The emerging monasteries can be expected to invite individuals to make social journeys. The old aristocracy also form the social base for the emerging institution of medieval kingship, which subsequently leads to changes in the role of the same aristocracy. By the mid-13th century, Scandinavian aristocracy is well on its way to forming a new group identity dependent on the court of the king, often being administrators of the king's realm. The new aristocracy will eventually form a literate elite relying on their knowledge of writing. These changes must therefore be related to the emerging and changing literate system we scrutinise in this program. By mid-14th century the medieval, more centralised kingship which is first established in what we now refer to as Norway (but including Iceland) was subsequently moving from Norway to Sweden in the union of 1319 and to involve Denmark in the Scandinavian union of the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden in 1397. Throughout the Middle Ages we must expect a great deal of geographic mobility with aristocratic families interrelated in marriages without boundaries, and count with monastic orders more considerate of their own organisation than with any given region.

We intend in this strand to establish observation points in relation to three milieux where the schooling of literates, the work of scribes and illuminators as well as the intellectual interests of social groups and institutions can be further elucidated. It will be of great importance to make a clear division between Church institutions and monasteries. It will also be important to relate the changes in the aristocracy to the emerging literate system. Relevant observation points will be the archbishop's see in Trondheim in the late 12th and early 13th century, the court of Hákon Magnússon in early 14th century Norway and its relation to the emergence of an administrative aristocracy, and finally the monastic scriptoria of Þingeyrar and Munkaþverá in the northern parts of Iceland. The first observation point will be the archbishop's see in Niðarós in the second

half of the 12th century and the early decades of the 13th century. Here we find the clearest traces of the Latin book culture that formed the starting point for vernacular literacy. This study will search the roots of Old Norse vernacular literacy in the anonymous *Historia Norwegie*, and Theodoricus Monachus' *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* both most likely produced in the second half of the 12th century. The authors of these Latin texts had models in the Latin tradition from which to form their work. The basic model was the Christian history spanning from Genesis to the day of the Last Judgment. There are clear indications that Niðarós was in close contact with the Austin monastery St Victor in Paris, and that important influences on the use of chronicles as well as on the training of clerics could be traced to this house and known writers as e.g. Hugh of St Victor. It will be essential to trace attitudes to the use of writing and manuscripts as well as ideas about the use of the vernacular in this connection. A central issue will be the implications of the French connection for vernacular literacy both in Norway and Iceland by 1200. The manuscript material for this period is scarce, however, and we therefore to a large extent will need to work with a comparative perspective in order to deduce the importance of the archbishop's see.

The second observation point is situated in relation to the court culture of Hákon Magnússon. In this aristocratic milieu we find a number of manuscripts produced and kept by members of the administration. Central is the manuscript *Hauksbók*, to a large extent written by the Icelandic nobleman Haukr Erlendsson. Haukr was most likely born in the 1270s in Iceland. His father was a lawspeaker (*l_gg_gumaðr*) and seems to have been a wealthy and powerful man. From genealogies found in the redaction of *Landnámabók* which is fragmentarily preserved in *Hauksbók* it is clear that Haukr's family had a claim for noble, Norwegian ancestry, something that perhaps was also important in Haukr's successful attempts to establish himself in Norway as a lawman (*l_gmaðr*) and courtier. Sometime around the turn of the century Haukr left Iceland to start his Norwegian career. He was soon dubbed a knight (*riddari*) and was titled *herra* in some charters. In 1319 he was one of the noblemen present when Magnus, the son of Erik Magnusson and Ingibjörg Hákonardóttir, was chosen king of Norway in accordance with the wishes of the Swedish church and court nobilities. Haukr is generally accepted as the main scribe of *Hauksbók* and is by most scholars thought to be the creative redactor of at least parts of the manuscript. Haukr's hand has also been identified in two charters, one issued on 28 January 1302 in Oslo and another from 14 October 1310, issued in Bergen and finally in a fragment of Magnús Hákonarson's Code of the Realm, today kept in the National Archives in Oslo. If we accept that Haukr wrote these texts himself, they give the impression of Haukr Erlendsson as a man who was himself using writing as a tool, i.e. that he is not only using hired scribes to do the work. This would indicate that competence in writing at this point was in the hands of the elite of the Norse society, not just professional, clerical scribes. *Hauksbók* does without doubt provide a treasure for the scholar studying the literate system of Norway and Iceland in the first decades of the 14th century. The manuscript will be thoroughly investigated in order to further our knowledge of how manuscripts containing collections of texts were put together, providing what could perhaps be characterised as private libraries for the literate elite.

The last observation point will be the two Benedictine monasteries over the long period of the whole 14th century. This milieu was highly productive both in

writing new texts and re-writing the tradition throughout the 14th century. Known writers of texts as Bergr Sökkason, Árni Lárentíusson and Arngrímur Brandsson are known or suggested as authors of texts as e.g. Nikulás saga, Dunstanus saga and Tómas saga erkibiskups respectively which were subsequently re-written in manuscripts from the northern milieu (see Johansson 2007). The extant manuscript material from the northern Benedictines is vast and cannot be described in detail here. Suffice it to say that there are a number of groups of manuscripts and scribal hands available for the study of this monastic milieu throughout the 14th century. Our intention is to relate the processes of writing new texts and re-writing material transmitted in manuscripts reaching back to the 12th century. This will enable us to draw on a large and manifold material to study in detail the work of a monastic scriptorium, its intellectual endeavors in the fields of both religious and secular texts as well as the craft of well educated scribes in the re-production of long traditions.

Planned publications

Results from our research will be presented continuously at conferences and in journals during the whole period. The four conferences described above will be published in anthologies included in a series initiated in collaboration with the publishing house Walter de Gruyter. The Letter or Intent from de Gruyter states that they will publish the volumes in print (hardcover) and as e-books in Open Access.

1. The production and reception of texts in a manuscript culture (2021)
2. The contextualisation of manuscripts and genres (2022)
3. The translation of texts and cultural models (2023)
4. Multilingual and multigraphic literacy (2024)

The core group expects to publish one final volume from each strand and a collectively written volume on the theoretical and methodological framework that has been developed in the course of research. This volume is expected to contribute not only to the understanding of manuscript culture in the Nordic Middle Ages, but rather to the global debate in the relevant fields. The final results will therefore be contained in eight volumes published in the series mentioned above.

1. Core group: A History of Texts in a Manuscript Culture. Theoretical and Methodological Pre-Requisites
2. Elise Kleivane: Texts in the Open. Epigraphical Texts from Runic Monuments to Church Monuments
3. Anna Catharina Horn: Texts to Rule and Regulate. Legal and Administrative Texts in the Medieval Manuscript Culture
4. Stefanie Gropper: Texts in the Insular Distance. Narrative Concepts in Medieval Icelandic Literature
5. Massimiliano Bampi: Texts New and Old. The Dynamics of Texts and Genres in Manuscript Transmission
6. Jonatan Pettersson: Texts and the City. The Interplay between Social Space and the Agency of Texts
7. Karl G. Johansson: Texts and Agency. The Networks of Textual Transmission and Change

The Core Group

Karl G. Johansson is professor of Old Norse philology at the University of Oslo. He functions as leader for the program. In this capacity he has the overall responsibility for the coordination of all the strands and the in all six conferences to be arranged during the program period. Johansson has a long experience as project leader from a number of large projects, all of them including extensive international collaboration. The strand with the preliminary title Texts and Agency. The Networks of Textual Transmission and Change will be conducted by Johansson.

Massimiliano Bampi is associate professor of Germanic philology at Università Ca'Foscari Venezia. Bampi has experience of working with medieval material from the whole Nordic realm. His specialisation is on questions concerning genres and the emerging literate culture of the Nordic realm. His main responsibility is to explore the research questions formulated in the strand preliminary named Texts New and Old. The Dynamics of Texts and Genres in Manuscript Transmission.

Stefanie Gropper is professor of Skandinavistik at Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen. Gropper has in her research focused on the roles of translation in the vernacular culture of medieval Scandinavia. She has also contributed to the investigation of literacy and the emerging literate system of the region. Her main responsibility is to explore the research questions formulated in the strand preliminary named Texts in the Insular Distance. Narrative Concepts in Medieval Icelandic Literature.

Anna Catharina Horn is currently employed as researcher in a multidisciplinary project on the the Magnus lagaboetr Law of the Realm (1274) administrated by University of Bergen. Horn has focused on the legal texts of Scandinavia and primarily on the Norwegian laws. She has established an extensive network with scholars working with this material in the Nordic realm. Her main responsibility is to explore the research questions formulated in the strand preliminary named Texts to Rule and Regulate. Legal and Administrative Texts in the Medieval Manuscript Culture.

Elise Kleivane is currently employed as postdoc in the project Retrieving the Reformation at the University of Oslo. From August 2017 she leads a three year project financed by the Norwegian Research Council concerning epigraphic material from the Norwegian Middle Ages. Kleivane has experience from a number of the fields of study approached in the program with studies in manuscript transmission and translation as her main secondary focus. Her main responsibility is to explore the research questions formulated in the strand preliminary named Texts in the Open. Epigraphical Texts from Runic Monuments to Church Monuments.

Jonatan Pettersson is associate professor of Nordic Languages at Stockholm university. Pettersson has his central competence in Translation Studies, but has also established himself in the field of language history and sociolinguistics. His main responsibility is to explore the research questions formulated in the strand

preliminary named *Texts and the City. The Interplay between Social Space and the Agency of Texts.*

In the years 2021–2024 the core group wishes to include a scholar with expertise in the Latin book culture of the Scandinavian Middle Ages. It is central to the synthesis we intend to achieve that we take the Latin book culture into account in every strand of the program, and the scholar involved here therefore will be expected to relate to the overall objectives of the project and to collaborate closely with the individual strand in order to further our understanding of the interaction between the European and Latin book culture and the emerging literate system of the Nordic realm. At the time of the application we have, however, not decided on a person to fill this role.

The core group members will work closely with seminars on a regular basis where general as well as more specific problems are addressed. The planned conferences will give further incentives to close collaboration between the team members. Throughout the program we intend to invite MA students as well as PhD fellows and postdoc fellows into the project, taking part in the seminars and planning of conferences as well as conducting their own research within the frame-work provided by the program.

Advisory Board

We recognise the importance of an Advisory Board that plays an active role in the development of the program, and have therefore asked four scholars who have contributed significantly to the fields of interest of the program to take part in our work. The four scholars have accepted our invitation and will contribute to our work in various capacities. The Advisory Board consists of:

Keith Busby, Professor emeritus of Medieval French at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He has written extensively on Old French literature. Among his works *Codex and Context. Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript* (2002) is crucial for the objectives of the program.

Rita Copeland, Sheli Z. and Burton X. Rosenberg Professor of the Humanities, Professor of Classical Studies, English, and Comparative Literature. She has written across a number of fields and periods relevant to the program. Her book *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages. Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (1991) is a mile-stone.

Roger Ellis, Senior Lecturer in English at Cardiff University. He has published on Chaucer, the Middle English mystics and St Birgitta of Sweden. Since 1987 he has organised international conferences on medieval translation, and has edited the series *The Medieval Translator*. His work on medieval translation has been of great consequence for the program.

Carolyn R. Miller, retired SAS Institute Distinguished Professor of Rhetoric and Technical Communication. She has written extensively on aspects of genre and rhetorics. Articles as “Genre as Social Action.” (1994) and, recently, “Genre Innovation: Evolution, Emergence, or Something Else?” (2016) are important sources of inspiration to the program.

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